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# GILDAS.

~~PART I.~~

# GILDAE

## DE EXCIDIO BRITANNIAE,

FRAGMENTA, LIBER DE PAENITENTIA,

ACCEDIT ET

LORICA GILDAE.

# GILDAS:

*THE RUIN OF BRITAIN, FRAGMENTS FROM LOST LETTERS, THE PENITENTIAL,*

*TOGETHER WITH*

*THE LORICA OF GILDAS.*

Edited for the Hon. Society of Cymmrodorion.

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# PRELIMINARY NOTE.

In the present edition, it is intended to publish in a collected form the works ascribed to Gildas for which, roughly speaking, a date is assigned during the twenty years that elapsed between A.D. 540 and 560. The earliest references to Gildas that have come down to us are the two made by Columbanus in his letter to St. Gregory the Great, which must have been written between thirty and forty years after the death of the British writer (*i.e.*, A.D. 595-600). In the first passage, he is mentioned as *Gildas auctor* who has written against simony in bishops; in the second, as having been engaged in correspondence, respecting the monks who were leaving their convents to become hermits, with Vennianus, probably Finian, the abbot of Clonard in Meath, to whom Gildas sent "an exceedingly noble answer" (*et eligantissime illi rescripsit*). Gildas is thus widely known, not very long after his death, as a writer on ecclesiastical abuses, and as a correspondent whose opinion on new and doubtful movements was highly valued in Ireland.

In a general INTRODUCTION I hope to deal with the questions appertaining to the time and life of Gildas, the condition of Britain, its people and its Church, at that time, and the authorship of the several works named below. A map is also in preparation based on that in Spruner's *Histor. Atlas*, and Maps 15 (Roman Britain) and 16 (England and Wales before the Roman Conquest), in Parts I and XVI of *The Histor. Atlas of Modern Europe*. Oxford, 1896, 1898.

The works brought together in the volume, of which the present is Part I, are the following:—

1. The DE EXCIDIO BRITANNIAE. This work has been mistakenly read as history; it is, really, in no way a history, nor written with any object a historian may have. It may be regarded as a kind of "Tract for the Times" of the sixth century. Ebert (*Gesch. der Literatur des Mittelalters*) correctly terms the "De Excidio" a *Tendenzschrift*; it is a message or a sermon addressed to rulers and ecclesiastics by a fervent monk, containing historical portions which are of undoubted value, because we possess no other for a part of the period to which they refer, but which in the whole setting of their narration are coloured by the author's main

purport as a Christian moralist. We may regard it as extremely probable that this is the very work to which Columbanus refers, when writing shortly after A.D. 595.

2. A series of FRAGMENTS. These Fragments appear in a collection of rules or canons for church order, belonging to the early Irish Church. The whole consists of LXVII books, divided into chapters which give extracts from many ecclesiastical writers ; *e.g. Origenes, Hieronimus, Augustinus, Gregorius, Isidorus,* also *Sinodus Hibernensis,* &c. Among these appear extracts made probably from letters, now lost, of Gildas, such as that mentioned by Columbanus as written to Finian. These will be printed from the text of Wasserschleben's *Irische Kanonensammlung,* 2nd edition (Leipzig, 1885).

3. An early Penitential, or DE PAENITENTIA. This will be printed from the text of Wasserschleben's *Bussordnungen* (Halle, 1851), and Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils,* vol. i, p. 113 (1869). Penitentials, especially as found in the Celtic remains, show the gradual extension of disciplinary rules over the life, chiefly of monks, but also of those living outside the cloisters, in that age.

4. The LORICA GILDAE. After much deliberation, it has been thought better to include this poem as a probably genuine production of Gildas. The text will be that printed in THE IRISH LIBER HYMNORUM, published by the Henry Bradshaw Society, 1897 (vol. i, p. 206), compared with that of Zimmer in *Nennius Vindicatus:* "Die *Lorica* des Gildas," s. 337.

The necessary documentary research by examination of the few codices remaining, and of probable evidence as to lost ones, in the first editions professedly based upon them, has been already accomplished for us by the edition of Gildas which has appeared in the MONUMENTA GERMANIAE HISTORICA, forming vol. iii of the "*Chronica Minora Saec.* iv, v, vi, vii, edidit *Theodorus Mommsen*" (1894-1898). It may well be presumed that no fresh research could have provided us with a text of Gildas accompanied with the same guarantee of thoroughness as this edition by Dr. Mommsen. To profit by it is, however, rendered difficult for many readers by the fact that all introductory matter and critical notes are in Latin, while all questions appertaining to the contents of the work, as the learned editor several times intimates, are remitted to others. His task is mainly the production of the best possible text of Gildas' *De Excidio.* With deep respect and gratitude, Dr. Mommsen's text has been adopted for the present edition, excepting some changes of punctuation and words and phrases in particular portions of the work. The particular portions referred to are those places in which Gildas quotes from certain books of the Old Testament. As explained in the notes, the Latin text of these quotations is found to be a rude and excessively literal

rendering of the Greek of the Septuagint ; so far is this the case that the Greek version itself, for the quotations made from Job, Ezekiel, the Minor Prophets, and some other books, becomes a no unimportant part of the documentary evidence for the determination of readings. It has been so employed in this edition.

The FRAGMENTS seem to throw a distinct and pleasing light upon the man's character, and the PENITENTIAL will illustrate the beginnings of a peculiar mode of church discipline. Every one of the pieces named, after the *De Excidio*, has been made the subject of searching critical examination, as regards the text, by Dr. Wasserschleben or the late Mr. Henry Bradshaw, by Dr. Heinrich Zimmer and the editors of *The Irish Liber Hymnorum*. The Introductions and Notes in this edition will endeavour to deal with the subject-matter of each.

An unprejudiced student of Gildas comes back to his writings with the feeling that something of value may, and ought to, be got out of them ; my own frequent reading of these has led me to a higher appreciation of the man and his work. To my mind, it is a grave mistake to call Gildas a "historian": neither Columbanus, writing about forty years after his death, nor Alcuin, in the last quarter of the eighth century, regard him in this light. The fashion began with the Venerable Beda ; for him, in the early parts of his *Historia Ecclesiastica*, and, for the writers of the *Saxon Chronicle* also apparently, Gildas was the sole "historian" (*historicus eorum*). Mediæval writers, who invariably term him *historiographus*, helped to make the idea a fixed one. But Gildas would never have regarded himself as a "historian": he is a preacher, a revivalist, who will "attempt to state a few facts" (*pauca dicere conamur*), by way of illustrating his message, that divine anger must visit with punishment a sinning people and priesthood.

I could not but feel interested, in reading "The Letters of Cassiodorus," by Mr. Hodgkin, to notice what he says of "the inflated and tawdry style" of that strenuous and successful administrator, and exceptionally far-sighted Roman statesman. In the volume mentioned, which contains a *resumé* of letters in the *Variorum Libri* XII, Mr. Hodgkin gives an amusing specimen of how Cassiodorus, as prime minister, could write in the name of Theodoric to Faustus, the Prætorian prefect, who was dawdling over an order to ship corn from Calabria and Apuleia to Rome. Reprimanding the lazy official, Theodoric, by his minister, is made to say : "Why is there such delay in sending your swift ships to traverse the tranquil sea? Though the south wind blows and the rowers are bending to their oars, has the sucking-fish fixed its teeth into the hulls through the liquid waves, or have the shells of the Indian sea, whose quiet touch is said to hold so firmly that the angry billows cannot loosen it, with like power fixed their lips

into your keels?" Now Cassiodorus, who died A.D. 570, was a contemporary of Gildas, and we ought, in the case of Gildas as well as in his, to be able to conquer the aversion roused within us by an inflated style, because it is partly the fault of the age. Perhaps, in the case of Gildas, something should also be attributed to the emotional intensity that was, and is, characteristic of the Celtic race. Notwithstanding all such blemishes, a substantial net profit remains for the student of history and literature.

HUGH WILLIAMS.

*Bala*, *September 29th*, 1899.

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# Gildae

# De Excidio Britanniae.

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# Gildas

on

# The Ruin of Britain.

# De Excidio Britanniae.

## PREFACE.

*Motives for writing stated.*

In hac epistola quicquid deflendo potius quam declamando, vili licet stilo, tamen benigno, fuero prosecutus, ne quis me, affectu cunctos spernentis omnibusve melioris, quippe qui commune bonorum dispendium malorumque cumulum lacrimosis querelis defleam, sed condolentis patriae incommoditatibus miseriisque eius ac remediis condelectantis edicturum putet, quia non tam fortissimorum militum enuntiare trucis belli pericula mihi statutum est quam desidiosorum. Silui, fateor, cum inmenso cordis dolore, ut mihi renum scrutator testis est Dominus, spatio bilustri temporis vel eo amplius praetereuntis, imperitia sic ut et nunc, una cum vilibus me meritis inhibentibus, ne qualemcumque admonitiunculam[1] scriberem.

*Num.* xx, 12. *Levit.* x, 1, 2. *Num.* xxvi, 51, 65. *Exod.* xiv, 22; xvi, 15; xvii, 6, 11. *Num.* xxi, 6; xiv, 43; xi, 1. *Ios.* iii, 16; vi, 1, 20. *Ios.* vii, 23, 24. *Ios.* ix. II *Sam.* xxi, 1.

Legebam nihilominus admirandum legislatorem ob unius verbi dubitationem terram desiderabilem non introiisse: filios sacerdotis alienum admovendo altari ignem cito exitu periisse: populum verborum Dei praevaricatorem[2] sexcentorum milium duobus exceptis veracibus et quidem Deo carissimum, quippe cui iter levissime stratum profundi glarea maris rubri, cibus caelestis panis, potus novus ex rupe viator, acies invicta manuum sola intensa erectio fuerit, bestiis ferro igni per Arabiae deserta sparsim cecidisse: post ingressum ignotae ac si Iordanis portae urbisque adversa moenia solis tubarum clangoribus iussu Dei subruta, palliolum aurique parum de anathemate praesumptum multos stravisse: Gabaonitarum irritum foedus, calliditate licet extortum, nonnullis intulisse exitium;

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[1] The modest estimation of his work on the part of the author is found also in his use of the term *opusculum*, in cc. 62, 94. *Epistola* appears three times, cc. 1, 37, 93.

[2] *Praevaricatorem:* this word has taken its special meaning from the Old Latin version, where it represents παραβάτης of the LXX. Romans ii, 25, *praevaricator legis, a transgressor of the law.* The verb has, in the same way, the meaning of παραβαίνειν. In Cyprian, *Ex.* 32, 8, runs thus: *quoniam corruptus est et praevaricatus est vias meas quas praecepi eis.*

# The Ruin of Britain.

## PREFACE.

*Motives for writing stated.*

WHATEVER my attempt shall be in this epistle, made more in tears than in denunciation, in poor style, I allow, but with good intent, let no man regard me as if about to speak under the influence of contempt for men in general, or with an idea of superiority to all, because I weep the general decay of good, and the heaping up of evils, with tearful complaint. On the contrary, let him think of me as a man that will speak out of a feeling of condolence with my country's losses and its miseries, and sharing in the joy of remedies. It is not so much my purpose to narrate the dangers of savage warfare incurred by brave soldiers, as to tell of the dangers caused by indolent men. I have kept silence, I confess, with infinite sorrow of heart, as the Lord, the searcher of the reins, is my witness, for the past ten years or even longer; I was prevented by a sense of inexperience, a feeling I have even now, as well as of mean merit from writing a small admonitory work of any kind.

I used to read, nevertheless, of the wonderful legislator, that he did not enter the desired land because of hesitation in a single word; that the priest's sons, through bringing strange fire to the altar, perished in sudden death; that the people who transgressed the words of God, 600,000 of them, two faithful ones excepted, although beloved of God, because unto them the way was made plain over the bed of the Red Sea, heavenly bread was given as food, new drink from the rock followed them, their army was made invincible by the mere lifting up of hands—that this people fell in different places by wild beasts, sword and fire throughout the desert parts of Arabia. After their entrance by an unknown gate, the Jordan, so to say, and the overthrow of the hostile walls of the city at the mere sound of trumpets by God's command, I read that a small mantle and a little gold appropriated of the devoted thing laid many prostrate; that the covenant with the Gibeonites, when broken (though won by guile), brought destruction upon some: that because of the sins

*Num.* xx, 12.
*Levit.* x, 1, 2.
*Num.* xxvi, 51, 65.
*Exod.* xiv, 22; xvi, 15, 17; vi, 11.
*Num.* xxi, 6; xiv, 43; xi, 1.
*Josh.* iii, 16; vi, 1, 20.
*Josh.* vii, 23, 24.
*Josh.* ix.
II *Sam.* xxi, 1.

ob peccata hominum querulas sanctorum prophetarum voces et [*Hieron. Prolog. in Jerem.*] maxime Hieremiae[1] *ruinam civitatis suae quadruplici plangentis alphabeto.*

[*Thren.* i, 1.] Videbamque etiam nostro tempore, ut ille defleverat: *Solam sedisse urbem viduam, antea populis plenam, gentium dominam, principem provinciarum, sub tributo fuisse factam*, id est ecclesiam, [*Thren.* iv, 1.] *obscuratum aurum coloremque optimum mutatum*, quod est verbi Dei [*Thren.* iv, 2, 5.] splendorem. *Filios Sion*, id est sanctae matris ecclesiae, *inclitos et amictos auro primo, amplexatos fuisse stercora.* Et quod illi intolerabiliter utpote praecipuo mihi quoque licet abiecto,[2] utcumque ad cumulum doloris crescebat, dum ita eosdem statu prospero [*Thren.* iv, 7.] viventes egregios luxerat, ut diceret: *candidiores Nazaraei eius nive, rubicundiores ebore antiquo, sapphiro pulchriores.* Ista ego et multa alia veluti speculum quoddam vitae nostrae in scripturis veteribus intuens convertebar etiam ad novas et ibi legebem clarius, quae mihi forsitan antea obscura fuerant, cessante umbra ac veritate firmius inlucescente.

[*Matth.* xv, 24.] Legebam, inquam, Dominum dixisse: *Non veni nisi ad oves* [*Matth.* viii, 12.] *perditas domus Israel.* Et e contrario: *Filii autem regni huius eicientur in tenebras exteriores, ibi erit fletus et stridor dentium.* Et [*Matth.* xv, 26. = *Marc.* vii, 27.] iterum: *Non est bonum tollere panem filiorum et mittere canibus.* [*Matth.* xxiii, 13.] Itemque: *Vae vobis, scribae et Pharisaei hypocritae.* Audiebam: [*Matth.* viii, 11.] *Multi ab oriente et occidente venient et recumbent cum Abraham,* [*Matth.* vii, 23 = *Luc.* xiii, 27.] *Isaac et Iacob in regno caelorum;* et e diverso: *Et tunc dicam eis:* [*Luc.* xxiii, 29.] *discedite a me, operarii iniquitatis.* Legebam: *Beatae steriles et* [*Matth.* xxv, 10—12.] *ubera quae non lactaverunt;* et e contrario: *Quae paratae erant, intraverunt cum eo ad nuptias, postea venerunt et reliquae virgines dicentes: Domine, Domine, aperi nobis;* quibus responsum fuerat: [*Marc.* xvi, 16.] *non novi vos.* Audiebam sane: *Qui crediderit et baptizatus fuerit,* [*Rom.* xi, 17; xx, 22.] *salvus erit, qui autem non crediderit, condemnabitur.* Legebam apostoli voce oleastri ramum bonae olivae insertum fuisse, sed a societate radicis pinguedinis eiusdem, si non timuisset, sed alta [*Rom.* ii, 6.] saperet, excidendum. Sciebam misericordiam Domini, sed et

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[1] *Hieremiae:* here, and in c. 80, Gildas has the form *Hieremias*, but in c. 47 *Jeremias.* We find the very words of Gildas in the *Prologus in Ieremiam* of Jerome's Vulgate: *et civitatis suae ruinas quadruplici planxit alphabeto.* We read also his *Tituli Hieremiae Prophetae: clxiii, Lamentatio Hieremiae in quadruplici alphabeto.* Our first four chapters of Lamentations are these four alphabetic songs, the fifth chapter being almost a separate book, entitled,

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[2] On the writer's feelings respecting himself, see cc. 36, 37, 62, 64, 93, 108.

of men we have the complaining voices of holy prophets, and
especially of Jeremiah, who bewails the ruin of his city in four *Jerome. Prologue to Jerem.*
alphabetic songs.

I saw that in our time even, as he wept: *The widowed city* *Lament.* i, 1.
*sat solitary, heretofore filled with people, ruler of the Gentiles, princess*
*of provinces, and had become tributary.* By this is meant the
Church. *The gold hath become dim, its best colour changed;* which *Lament.* iv, 1.
means the excellence of God's word. *The sons of Zion*, that is, of *Lament.* iv, 2, 5.
the holy mother the Church, *famous and clothed with best gold have*
*embraced ordure.* What to him, a man of eminence, grew unbearable,
has been so to me also, mean as I am, whenever it grew to be
the height of grief, whilst he wailed over the same distinguished
men living in prosperity so far as to say: *her Nazarenes were* *Lament.* iv, 7.
*whiter than snow, ruddier than old coral, fairer than sapphire.*
These passages and many others I regarded as, in a way, a mirror
of our life, in the Scriptures of the Old Testament, and then I
turned to the Scriptures of the New; there I read things that previously
had perhaps been dark to me, in clearer light, because the
shadow passed away, and the truth shone more steadily.

I read, that is to say, of the Lord saying: *I am not come but* *Matt.* xv, 24.
*unto the lost sheep of the House of Israel.* And on the other side: *Matt.* viii, 12.
*But the sons of this Kingdom shall be cast into outer darknesses,*
*there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.* Again: *It is not* *Matt.* xv, 26 = *Mark* vii, 27.
*good to take the children's bread and cast it to the dogs.* Also:
*Woe unto you Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites.* I heard: *Many* *Matt.* xxiii, 13.
*shall come from east and west and recline with Abraham, Isaac,* *Matt.* viii, 11.
*and Jacob in the Kingdom of Heaven;* and on the other hand: *Matt.* vii, 23 = *Luke* xiii, 27.
*And then shall I say unto them: depart from me ye workers of*
*iniquity.* I read: *Blessed are the barren and the breasts that have* *Luke* xxiii, 29.
*not given suck;* and on the contrary: *Those who were ready, entered* *Matt.* xxv, 10-12.
*with him to the marriage feast, then came also the other virgins*
*saying, Lord, Lord, open unto us;* to whom the answer was made,
*I know you not.* I heard certainly: *He who believeth and is baptized,* *Mark* xvi, 16.
*shall be saved, he, however, who believeth not shall be condemned.*

I read in the apostle's word that a branch of the wild olive had *Rom.* xi, 17, 20, 22.
been grafted into the good olive tree, but that it must be broken
off from partaking in the root of fatness of the same, if it did not
fear, but should be highminded. I knew the mercy of the Lord, *Rom.* ii, 6,

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"The Prayer of Jeremiah." Cassiodorus, a contemporary of Gildas, refers to the book in similar words: *Ieremiam vero, qui civitatis suae ruinas quadruplici flevit alphabetico . . .*—*De Inst. Div.*

iudicium timebam; laudabam gratiam, sed redditionem unicuique secundum opera sua verebar; oves unius ovilis dissimiles cernens merito beatissimum dicebam Petrum ob Christi integram confessionem, at Iudam infelicissimum propter cupiditatis amorem, *Apoc.* ii, 6. Stephanum gloriosum ob martyrii palmam, sed Nicholaum[1] miserum propter immundae haereseos notam.

*Act.* iv, 32; v, 9. Legebam certe: *Erant illis omnia communia;* sed et quod dictum est: *Quare convenit vobis temptare spiritum Dei?* Videbam e regione, quantum securitatis hominibus nostri temporis, ac si non esset quod timeretur, increverat. Haec igitur et multo plura, quae brevitatis causa omittenda decrevimus, cum qualicumque cordis *Deut.* vii, 6 = xiv, 2. 1 *Petr.* ii, 9. compunctione attonita mente saepius volvens, si, inquam, peculiari ex omnibus nationibus populo, semini regali gentique sanctae, ad *Exod.* iv, 22. quam dixerat: *Primogenitus meus Israel*, eiusque sacerdotibus, prophetis, regibus, per tot saecula apostolo ministro membrisque illius primitivae ecclesiae Dominus non pepercit, cum a recto tramite deviarint, quid tali huius atramento aetatis facturus est? Cui praeter illa nefanda immaniaque peccata, quae communiter cum omnibus mundi sceleratis agit, accedit etiam illud veluti ingenitum quid et indelebile insipientiae pondus et levitatis ineluctabile.

Quid? mihimet aio tibine, miser, veluti conspicuo ac summo doctori talis cura committitur, ut obstes ictibus tam violenti torrentis, et contra hunc inolitorum scelerum funem per tot annorum spatia interrupte lateque protractum serves depositum tibi creditum *I Cor.* xii, 15, 16. et taceas? alioquin hoc est dixisse pedi: *speculare* et manui: *fare*. Habet Britannia rectores,[2] habet speculatores.[3] Quid tu nugando mutire disponis? Habet, inquam, habet, si non ultra, non citra numerum. Sed quia inclinati tanto pondere sunt pressi, idcirco spatium respirandi non habent. Praeoccupabant igitur se mutuo talibus obiectionibus vel multo his mordacioribus, veluti condebitores sensus mei. Hi non parvo, ut dixi, tempore, cum *Ecclesiastes* iii, 7. legerim *Tempus esse loquendi et tacendi*, et in quadam ac si angusta timoris porticu luctabantur. Obtinuit vicitque tandem aliquando creditor, si non es, inquiens talis audaciae, ut interveridicas rationalis *Heb.* ii, 7. secundae a nuntiis[4] derivationis creaturas non pertimescas libertatis

[1] Peter and Judas, as well as Stephen and Nicolas, are similarly contrasted in c. 67. Jerome, *Ep.*, 14, 8, says: *Attendis Petrum, sed et Iudam considera; Stephanum suspicis, sed et Nicolaum respice.*

[2] *Vide* c. 27.

[3] c. 66.

[4] *Nuntiis.* We have here the Old Latin *nuntius* for *angelus*, so that Heb. ii, 7, "a little lower than the angels," must have been familiar to Gildas in the older version. The Pseudo-Cyprian ad Novatianum 16, quotes Jude 14,

but feared his judgment also; I praised his grace, but dreaded the rendering unto each one according to his works.

As I beheld sheep of one fold unlike one another, I called Peter, with good reason, most blessed on account of his sound confession of Christ, but Judas most unhappy because of his love of covetousness; Stephen I called glorious, because of the martyr's palm; Nicolas, (*Rev.* ii, 6.) on the contrary, miserable, owing to the mark of unclean heresy.

I read, indeed: *They had all things in common*, but I read also: (*Acts* iv, 32; v, 9.) *Why did ye agree to tempt the Spirit of God?* I saw, on the contrary, what great indifference had grown upon the men of our age, as if there were no cause for fear.

These things, and many others which I have decided to omit for the sake of brevity, I pondered over with compunction of heart and astonishment of mind. I pondered—if the Lord did not spare a people, peculiar out of all the nations, the royal (*Deut.* vii, 6 = xiv, 2. 1 *Pet.* ii, 9.) seed and holy nation, to whom he had said: *Israel is my first born* (*Exod.* iv, 22.) —if he spared not its priests, prophets, kings for so many centuries, if he spared not the apostle his minister, and the members of that primitive church, when they swerved from the right path, what will he do to such blackness as we have in this age? An age this to which has been added, besides those impious and monstrous sins which it commits in common with all the iniquitous ones of the world, that thing which is as if inborn with it, an irremovable and inextricable weight of unwisdom and fickleness.

What say I? Do I say to myself, wretched one, is such a charge entrusted to thee (as if thou wert a teacher of distinction and eminence), namely to withstand the rush of so violent a torrent, and against this array of growing crimes extending over so many years and so widely, keep the deposit committed to thee, and be silent? Otherwise this means, to say to the foot, *watch*, and to (1 *Cor.* xii, 15, 16.) the hand, *speak*.

Britain has rulers, it has watchers. Why with thy nonsense art thou inclined to mumble? Yea, it has these; it has, if not too many, not too few. But, because they are bent down under the pressure of so great a weight, they have no time to breathe. My feelings, therefore, as if fellow debtors with myself, were alternately engrossed by such objections, and by such as had much sharper teeth than these. These feelings wrestled, as I said, for

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*cum multis milibus nuntiorum* = ἐν ἁγίαις μυριάσιν. The word is also used by Lactantius, *Instit.* ii, 8, 6. Koffmane, *Gesch. des Kirchenlateins*, p. 13, gives other examples.

aureae decenti nota inuri, affectumsaltem intellegibilis asinae eate-
Num. xxii. nus elinguis non refugito spiritu Dei afflatae, nolentis se vehiculum fore tiarati magi devoturi populum Dei, quae in angusto maceriae vinearum resolutum[1] eius attrivit pedem, ob id licet verbera hostiliter senserit, cuique angelum caelestem ensem vacuum vagina habentem atque contrarium, quem ille cruda stoliditate caecatus non viderat, digito quodammodo, quamquam ingrato ac furibundo, et innoxia eius latera contra ius fasque caedenti demonstravit.

In zelo igitur domus Domini sacrae legis seu cogitatuum rationibus, vel fratrum religiosis precibus coactus, nunc persolvo debitum[2] multo tempore antea exactum, vile quidem, sed fidele, ut puto, et amicale quibusque egregiis Christi tironibus,[3] grave vero et importabile apostatis insipientibus. Quorum priores, ni fallor, cum lacrimis forte, quae ex Dei caritate profluunt, alii enim atque cum tristitia, sed quae de indignatione et pusillanimitate deprehensae conscientiae extorquetur, illud excipient.

Sed ante promissum Deo volente pauca de situ, de contumacia, 2
de subiectione, de rebellione, item de subiectione ac diro famulatu, de religione, de persecutione, de sanctis martyribus, de diversis haeresibus, de tyrannis, de duabus gentibus vastatricibus, de defensione itemque vastatione, de secunda ultione tertiaque vastatione, de fame, de epistolis ad Agitium, de victoria, de sceleribus, de

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[1] *Resolutum.* The Old Latin version given by Sabatier reads *et compressit pedem* simply; the Vulgate has *et attrivit sedentis pedem;* which, along with the quotations, suggests that Gildas in the Pentateuch is familiar with the Vulgate version only. It is difficult to find a meaning for *resolutum;* it could hardly mean "the foot that was loose or free;" and I have ventured to take the word in a meaning suggested by c. 21, *vino madidi prepebant resoluti*, i.e., enervated, weakened, enfeebled. Columbanus writes: *Iuvenum corpora fluxa et resoluta.*

[2] Gildas regards his work as a "debt" contracted long ago in answer to the pious entreaties of his friends: it is also a "promise" made ten years back. Such a statement would warrant us in regarding the strictures of the book as sentiments entertained by a large circle of British men in the sixth century; the numerous suggestions also found in the work as to the ideas held by the writer respecting the due performance of duties by ministers of the church, and his estimate of those found wanting, were in no way peculiar to himself. He represents feelings and ideas common to him and many of his contemporaries.

[3] *Tironibus.* The word *tirones* does not seem in Gildas to carry the meaning of "young." Though ordinarily denoting a young soldier, a recruit, or in any profession "non aetate sed usu forensi atque exercitatione tironem,"

no short time, when I read: *There is a time to speak and a time to keep silence,* [*Eccles.* iii, 7.] and wrestled in the straight gate of fear, so to speak. At length the creditor prevailed and conquered. He said: If thou hast not the boldness to feel no fear of being branded with the mark that befits golden liberty among truth-telling creatures [*Heb.* ii, 7.] of a rational origin second to the angels, at least shrink not from imitating that intelligent ass, inspired, though mute, by the Spirit [*Num.* xxii.] of God. Unwilling it was to be the carrier of the crowned magician about to curse the people of God; it bruised his feeble foot in the narrow path near the wall of the vineyards, though it had on that account to feel his blows like those of an enemy. She pointed out to him the angel from heaven, as if with the finger, holding his naked sword and opposing them (whom he in the blindness of cruel stupidity had not observed), though the magician, ungrateful and furious, was unrighteously beating her innocent sides.

In my zeal, therefore, for the holy law of the Lord's house, constrained by the reasons of my own meditation or overcome by the pious entreaties of brethren, I am now paying the debt exacted long ago. The work is, in fact, poor, but, I believe, faithful and friendly to all noble soldiers of Christ; but severe and hard to bear to foolish apostates. The former of these, if I am not mistaken, will, peradventure, receive it with the tears that flow from the love of God; the others, also, with sorrow, but the sorrow which is wrenched from the anger and timidity of an awakened conscience.

2 Before, however, fulfilling my promise, let me attempt to say a little, God willing, concerning the geographical situation, the stubbornness, the subjection and rebellion of our country; also of its second subjection and hard service; of religion, persecution, and holy martyrs, of diverse heresies; of tyrants, of the two nations which wasted it; of defence and of consequent devastation; of the second revenge and third devastation, of famine; of the letter to Agitius; of victory, of crimes; of enemies suddenly

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yet Jerome in his monastic writings seems to have given it the meaning of anyone who has become a follower of Christ. In his *Vita Hilarion.*, 5, he mentions *tirunculos Christi* apparently in this meaning. Neither Forcellini nor Du Cange renders any help here, unless it be where the latter gives instances of a *castellanus* or a *castri vassallus* being called *tyro.* In c. 73 the word is applied to the writers of the New Testament or to the apostles and martyrs mentioned in the New Testament: in c. 12, *omnes Christi tirones* is certainly equivalent to "all Christians." *Tiro* also = *catechumenus.*

nuntiatis subito hostibus, de famosa peste, de consilio, de saeviore multo primis hoste, de urbium subversione, de reliquis, de postrema patriae victoria, quae temporibus nostris Dei nutu donata est, dicere conamur.[1]

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[1] The list of subjects of which Gildas intends to give a brief account, introductory to his more serious task, may be classified under four heads :—

(1) Britain itself; the weak unfaithfulness of its inhabitants towards the Romans leading to subjection and punishment; *i.e.*, a geographical description of Britain; an account of the stubbornness of its people, their subjection, the rebellion, the second subjection and hard service. Here we have *the relation of Britain to Rome only*, Rome being God's avenger.

(2) An account of the rise of the Christian religion; persecution (in the world at large and in Britain), martyrs, heresies.

(3) Tyrants, whose abandonment of the island left it open to the attack of the "two nations"; defence (with the aid of a Roman legion); devastation, second revenge (this time again successful by Roman aid); third devastation,

announced; of the great well-known plague; of counsel; of enemies far more fierce than the first; of the ruin of cities, of the men who survived; of the final victory won by the mother country, which is the gift granted by the will of God in our own times.

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famine, letter to Aetius, victory, crimes. Gildas begins his account of "the two nations," Scots and Picts, *not at the point when their ravages began*, but at a juncture which makes the story a telling one for his purpose: that is, when, owing to the action of the tyrannus Maximus, the country was left defenceless against these barbarians. On Aetius, see c. 20.

(4) The same enemies suddenly announced, the plague, the counsel entertained by the Britons to *invite* the Saxons, etc. This last part of the narrative relates the struggles of the Britons with the Saxons, beginning again *not with the earliest attacks of these barbarians*, but with a significant policy which changed the whole attitude of affairs. The narrative ends with victory and peace. (See Introduction).

It would be well to keep in mind that (1) is a period of *revolt*, (3) of *inroad*. (See Additional Note at end of c. 18).

# PART I.

*Preliminary* (cc. 3-26)*: Description of Britain, Character of its People; Introductory narrative of events, extending from the First Parthian Peace and the Roman expedition into Britain which followed it, to the writer's own time* (A.D. 117—c. 540). *Reference to the rise of Christianity and its progress in Britain inserted* (cc. 7-12).

[The Cambridge MS. (Century XIII) inserts here the following summary ot the part included in cc. 3-26.

INCIPIUNT CAPITULA LIBRI SEQUENTIS.

*Capitulum I.* Descriptio Britanniae insulae et quod illa divina statera terrae totius ponderatrice sit librata, de eius situ, habitu et qualitate, de amoenitate et pulcritudine, de fertilitate et ubertate, de longitudine et latitudine, de civitatibus antiquis et fluminibus praecipuis, de rivis pernitidis et leni murmure serpentibus, de lucidis fontibus et congruis animalium pastibus, de frigidis lacubus et torrentibus exundantibus.

*II.* De nimia tyrannide indigenarum et crudelitate saevissima ydolatrarum.

*III.* Quam dolose Romani Britones sibi subegerint et quam bellicose ipsis diutius reluctaverint.

*IIII.* Quomodo Romani postremo Britonibus praepositos vectigales praefecerint, ita ut non Britannia, sed Romania insula censeretur, et quicquid habere potuisset aeris et argenti vel auri, imagine Caesaris notaretur.

*V.* Quo tempore Christus in mundum venerit et quanta persecutio tempore Diocliciani emerserit.

*VI.* Quanta martyrum gloria tam in Britannia quam in universa tunc effloruerit ecclesia.

*VII.* Quomodo ecclesia redivivo flore respiraverit, sed tamen Arriani contagio infecta defecerit.

*VIII.* Qualiter gens Britonum imperatores Romanos attriverit.

*IX.* Qualiter Britones arctati a Scottis et Pictis pro Romano miserint auxilio et obtinuerint; et quale consilium Romani eis dederint, videlicet ut inter duo maria murum per milia passuum plurima trans insulam instruerent (-rint in MS.) a mari Scotiae usque ad mare Hiberniae, id est a Kair Eden civitas antiquissima, duorum ferme milium spatio a monasterio Abercurnig, quod nunc vocatur Abercorn, ad occidentem tendens, contre occidentem iuxta urbem Alcluth. At insulani murum non tam lapidibus quam cespitibus construentes ad nihilum utilem statuunt, qui statim Romanis repatriantibus iterum ab ipsis impugnati sunt.

These details of the more northern wall (originally that of Hadrian, A.D. 122), from Caer Eden in the neighbourhood of the monastery of Abercurnig to Alclut, are taken partly from *Beda*, *H. E.*, i, 12, partly from some other source; may be from personal knowledge of the place, as the MS. was written in the North.

*X.* Quam misere legati Britonum Romam iterum mittuntur, scissis vestibus, nudis pedibus, opertis sablone capitibus, lubricis gressibus, lacrimosis postula-

## PART I.

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tionibus, querulis vocibus, cunctis membris contrementibus, a Romanis auxilia petentes et impetrantes.

*XI.* Quomodo Britones rursum Romanum solatium repetierunt, et qualiter Romani sese excusaverunt, sed tamen laudare et monere coeperunt, ut murum a mari ad mare facerent, quod et fecerunt a mari Norwagiae usque ad mare Galwadiae per octo pedes latum et duodecim altum et turres per intervalla construxerunt, eo in loco ubi Severus imperator maximam fossam firmissimumque vallum, crebris insuper turribus communitum, per CXXXII milia passuum longe ante fecerat, id est a villa, quae Anglice Wallesende dicitur, Latine vero Caput Muri interpretatur, quae est iuxta Tinemuthe ; qui murus multum distat a praefato vallo apud meridiem, quam antea apud Kair Eden supra mare Scotiae constituerunt.

The details which the scribe has added here also are partly from *Beda*, *l. c.*, partly as before, from local knowledge.

*XII.* Qualiter gens scabra Scottorum comperta excusatione Romanorum in Britones insurrexerint et eos persequendo lacesserint.

*XIII.* Quod Britones adhuc more solito ad Romanos mittentes nichil profecerint, sed rursum suis viribus innitentes Pictos propulerint.

*XIIII.* Quomodo omnis iustitia a Britonibus perierit et omnis nequitia pro veritate, etiam inter religiosos, succreverit (-uent in MS.).

*XV.* Quod Britones pro Saxonibus miserunt et eos deo iudicante pro peccati flagello susceperunt.

*XVI.* Qualiter gens Saxonica cum tribus kyulis (*superscr.*, i. longis navibus) Britanniam appulerit et postea Britones impugnaverit.

*XVII.* Quomodo Saxones sumtus maiores solito expetunt et hoc genere impugnandi materias quaesierunt et sancta dei diripuerunt.

*XVIII.* Qualiter Ambrosius Aurelianus solus eis restiterit et quis Gildae Sapientis nativitatis annus sit.

*XIX.* Quomodo gens Britannica postea tota ydolatriae erroribus sit subdita.

*XX.* Recapitulatio singulorum, quae superius descripta sunt, epigramatum, in qua recapitulatione auctor operis promittit se maiorem librum de regibus Britonum et de proeliis eorum describendum, quem et postea facit.

There is no evidence that Gildas ever wrote a book of this description ; the *Historia Britonum* of Nennius may, however, be the book meant, since that work is in some MSS. attributed to Gildas, and Geoffrey of Monmouth quotes from it naming Gildas as author (vi, 13 ; p. 102 of *Brut*).

Expliciunt capita.]

(1) Description of Britain. De situ.

BRITTANNIA[a] insula in extremo ferme orbis limite circium 3 occidentemque versus divina, ut dicitur, statera terrae totius ponderatrice librata ab Africo boriali propensius tensa axi, octingentorum in longo milium, ducentorum in lato spatium,[1] exceptis diversorum prolixioribus promontoriorum tractibus, quae arcuatis oceani sinibus ambiuntur, tenens, cuius diffusiore et, ut ita dicam, intransmeabili undique circulo absque meridianae freto plagae, quo ad Galliam Belgicam navigatur, vallata duorum ostiis nobilium fluminum Tamesis ac Sabrinae veluti brachiis, per quae eidem olim transmarinae deliciae ratibus vehebantur, aliorumque minorum meliorata, bis denis bisque quaternis civitatibus[2] ac nonnullis castellis, murorum turrium serratarum portarum domorum, quarum culmina minaci proceritate porrecta in edito forti compage pangebantur, molitionibus non improbabiliter instructis decorata;

[1] Gildas is frequently said to have derived his geographical details from Orosius (*Hist.*, i, 2, 77), but what the Spanish presbyter wrote may have been a common-place in Gaul and Britain by the time of Gildas, and even from other sources. Pliny gives the same length and breadth : *insula habet in longo milia passuum* DCCC, *in lato milia* CC. The words of Orosius run thus : *Britannia oceani insula per longum in boream extenditur; a meridie Gallias habet . . . . haec insula habet in longo milio passuum* DCCC, *in lato* CC ; the measurements, we see, are stated word for word the same as by Pliny. Orosius says, "towards the north" as to the position of the island, in which he is followed by Gildas, though in poetic language ; but Gildas has the further detail that with respect to the continent Britain lies towards the west-north-west and the west (circium occidentemque versus). The two writers may well be independent of one another. In the remainder of this description, Gildas draws upon his own personal acquaintance with his native island, lingering over each detail, though in faulty style. On the geography of Britain and Ireland in ancient writers, see Bunbury, *History of Ancient Geography*, vol. i, p. 584, etc.

[2] *Twenty-eight cities.* Suetonius, in *Vesp.* 4, mentions that there were twenty cities in Britain. It is difficult to define the special character of the towns and town population that had grown up in Britain under Roman rule. From the material supplied in Hübner's *Corpus Inscr. Lat.*, vol. vii, and a few

[a] We find a free rendering into Welsh of several portions of Gildas in *Ystorya Brenhined y Brytanyeit*, by Geoffrey of Monmouth († A.D. 1154). The Welsh quotations are from the edition of *The Bruts*, by Mr. Gwenogfryn Evans ; the very slight variations made will explain themselves as simply intended to render the passages easier to read.

Y rwg Freinc ac Iwerdon y mae gossodedic ; wyth cant milldir yssyd yn y hyt, a deucant yn y llet. A pha beth bynnac a vo reit y dynawl aruer o andyffygedic ffrwythlonder hi ae gwassanaetha. Y gyt a hynny kyflawn yw or maes-tired llydan amyl, a brynneu arderchawc adas y dir dywyllodraeth, drwy

3 THE island of Britain is situated in almost the furthest limit of the world, towards the north-west and west, poised in the so-called divine balance which holds the whole earth. It lies somewhat in the direction of the north pole from the south-west. It is 800 miles long, 200 broad, not counting the longer tracts of sundry promontories which are encompassed by the curved bays of the sea. It is protected by the wide, and if I may so say, impassable circle of the sea on all sides, with the exception of the straits on the south coast where ships sail to Belgic Gaul. It has the advantage of the estuaries of two noble rivers, the Thames and the Severn, arms, as it were, along which, of old, foreign luxuries were wont to be carried by ships, and of other smaller streams ; it is beautified by 28 cities, and some strongholds, and by great works built in an unexceptionable manner, walls, serrated towers, gates, houses, the roofs of which, stretching aloft with threatening height, were firmly fixed in strong structure. It is adorned by widespread plains, hills

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other sources, it may be concluded that besides the great military posts the civil development of Britain was somewhat insignificant. Gildas informs us that the wall (of Hadrian) ran "between cities" (*inter urbes, quae ibidem forte ob metum hostium collocatae fuerant*). There were no doubt garrison towns where the auxiliary cohorts were stationed : there were also, Eburacum, where the VIth legion was fixed ; Deva, with the XXth ; and Isca, with the IInd Augusta. Besides these military stations, though Gildas speaks of *cunctae coloniae* and *coloni* in c. 24, not more than four are known that were, strictly speaking, *coloniae*, viz., Eburacum, Camulodunum, Glevum, Lindum. Many small towns are named, especially towards the south and south-east ; but Wales, in Hübner's map of places yielding inscriptions, is almost a blank. The single *municipium* known, Verulamium, is accidentally mentioned by Gildas, as well as Caerlleon (*i.e.*, Caer legion = Legionum urbs). The *Historia Britonum* gives a list of these twenty-eight, which Zimmer argues must have been drawn up some time before A.D. 796 (Nennius, *Vindicatus*, pp. 108-110). He notices the intervocalic "g" in Cair Legion, Cair Segeint, Cair Guorthigirn.

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y rei y deuant amryvaelon genedloed frwytheu. Yndi hefyt y maent koetydd a llwyneu kyflawn o amgen genedloed anifeileit abwystuileit. Ac ygyt a hynny amlaf kenueinoed or gwenyn o blith y blodeuoed yn kynullaw mel. Ac y gyt a hynny gwierglodyeu amyl a dan awyrolyon vynyded. Yn y rei y maent ffynhoneu gloew eglur or rei y kerdant ffrydyeu ac a lithrant gan glaer fein. A murmur arwyftyl kerd. A hun yw y rei hynny yr neb a gysgo ar eu glan. Ac ygyt a hynny llynneu ac avonoed kyflawn o amryvaelon genedloed bysgawt yssyd yndi. Ac eithyr y perueduor yd eir droftaw y Ffreinc. Teir avon bonhedic yssyd yndi. Nyt amgen Temys, a Hymyr a Hafren. A rei hynny megis teir breich y maent yn ranu yr ynys. Ac ar hyt yrei hynny y deuant amryvael gyfnewityeu or gwladoed tramor. Ac ygyt a hynny gynt yr oed yndi wyth prif dinas arhugeint yn y theckau.—*Red Book of Hergest* (Evans), p. 40.

campis late pansis collibusque amoeno situ locatis, praepollenti culturae aptis, montibus alternandis ănimalium pastibus maxime convenientibus, quorum diversorum colorum flores humanis gressibus pulsati non indecentem ceu picturam eisdem imprimebant, electa veluti sponsa monilibus diversis ornata, fontibus lucidis crebis undis niveas veluti glareas pellentibus pernitidisque rivis leni murmure serpentibus ipsorumque in ripis accubantibus suavis soporis pignus praetendentibus, et lacubus frigidum aquae torrentem vivae exundantibus irrigua.

(2) Character of people. De contumacia.

Haec erecta cervice et mente, ex quo inhabitata est, nunc Deo, 4
interdum civibus,[1] nonnumquam etiam transmarinis regibus et subiectis ingrata consurgit. Quid enim deformius quidque iniquius potest humanis ausibus vel esse vel intromitti negotium, quam Deo timorem, bonis civibus caritatem, in altiore dignitate positis absque fidei detrimento debitum denegare honorem et frangere divino sensui humanoque fidem, et abiecto caeli terraeque metu propriis adinventionibus aliquem et libidinibus regi?

Igitur omittens[2] priscos illos communesque cum omnibus gentibus errores, quibus ante adventum Christi in carne omne humanum genus obligabatur astrictum, nec enumerans patriae portenta[3] ipsa diabolica paene numero Aegyptiaca vincentia, quorum nonnulla liniamentis adhuc deformibus intra vel extra deserta moenia solito more rigentia torvis vultibus intuemur, neque nominatim inclamitans montes ipsos aut colles vel fluvios olim exitiabiles, nunc vero humanis usibus utiles, quibus divinus honor a caeco tunc populo cumulabatur, et tacens vetustos immanium tyrannorum annos, qui in aliis longe positis regionibus vulgati sunt, ita ut Porphyrius[4] rabidus orientalis adversus ecclesiam canis

[1] *Civibus.* The term *cives*, citizens of the Roman Empire, is throughout employed by Gildas to designate his countrymen. By this character they are, in his eyes, to be distinguished from the "barbarians."

[2] Gildas, in his narrative, intends to omit all reference to four subjects. (1) He will not treat of the pre-Christian beliefs which the Britons had in common with the whole human race; he naturally calls them "errors." (2) The forms of old idolatry, remains of which still survived "inside and outside the deserted walls" of temples, will not be recounted. (3) Superstitious honours paid to mountains, valleys and rivers, he will not exclaim against. (4) He will be silent respecting the old years of tyrants, evidently having his eye particularly on Maximus, A.D. 383-388.

His attempt will be to narrate the *evils* which Britain suffered herself and those which she inflicted on others "*during the times of the Roman emperors.*"

in pleasant situations adapted for superior cultivation, mountains in the greatest convenience for changing pasture of cattle. The flowers of divers colours on these, trodden by human footsteps, gave them the appearance of a fine picture, like a chosen bride adorned with various jewels. It is irrigated by many clear springs, with their full waters moving snow-white gravel, and by shining rivers flowing with gentle murmur, extending to those who recline on their banks a pledge of sweet slumber, and by lakes overflowing with a cool stream of living water.

4 This island, of proud neck and mind, since it was first inhabited, is ungratefully rebelling, now against God, at other times against fellow citizens, sometimes even against the kings over the sea and their subjects. For what deeper baseness, what greater unrighteousness, can be or be introduced by the recklessness of men, than to deny to God fear, to worthy fellow citizens love, to those placed in higher position the honour due to them, without detriment to the faith—than to break faith with divine and human sentiment, and having cast away fear of heaven and earth, to be governed by one's own inventions and lusts?

I, therefore, omit those ancient errors, common to all nations, by which before the coming of Christ in the flesh the whole human race was being held in bondage; nor do I enumerate the truly diabolical monstrosities of my native country, almost surpassing those of Egypt in number, of which we behold some, of ugly features, to this day within or without their deserted walls, stiff with fierce visage as was the custom. Neither do I, by name, inveigh against the mountains, valleys or rivers, once destructive, but now suitable for the use of man, upon which divine honour was then heaped by the people in their blindness. I keep silence also as to the long years of savage tyrants, who are spoken of in other far distant countries, so that Porphyry, the rabid eastern dog in hostility

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These limitations are instructive, inasmuch as they show how the narrative itself is ruled by the spirit of the whole "Epistle."

[3] *Portenta.* Vol. vii of Hübner's *Corpus Inscr. Lat.* bears ample evidence that the worship, *e.g.*, of Mithra, had spread in Britain, the monuments of which were mainly erected by Roman officers. Gildas in the word *portenta* seems to refer to such remains of oriental cults. Cf. Jerome, *Ep.*, 107, 2: nonne specum Mithrae et omnia *portentosa simulacra* quibus Corax, Nymphus, Miles, Leo, Perses, Helios, Dromo, Pater initiantur.

[4] *Porphyrius rabidus orientalis adversus ecclesiam canis.* Porphyry (233-304) is called *orientalis* as a Greek writer; besides other (philosophical) works he wrote also a work in xv Books "Against the Christians" (κατὰ χριστιανῶν).

*Hieron., De Viris ill., Praef., Ep.* 133.

dementiae suae ac vanitatis stilo hoc etiam adnecteret : *Britannia*, inquiens, *fertilis provincia tyrannorum*, illa tantum proferre conabor in medium, quae temporibus imperatorum Romanorum et passa est et aliis intulit civibus et longe positis mala ; quantum tamen potuero, non tam ex scriptis patriae scriptorumve monimentis, quippe quae, vel si qua fuerint, aut ignibus hostium exusta aut civium exilii classe longius deportata[1] non compareant, quam transmarina relatione, quae crebris inrupta intercapedinibus non satis claret.

(5) Subjection by Rome. De subjectione.

5 Etenim reges Romanorum cum orbis imperium obtinuissent subiugatisque finitimis quibusque regionibus vel insulis orientem versus primam Parthorum pacem[2] Indorum confinium, qua peracta in omni paene terra tum cessavere bella, potioris famae viribus firmassent, non acies flammae quodammodo rigidi tenoris ad occidentem caeruleo oceani torrente potuit vel cohiberi vel extingui, sed transfretans insulae parendi leges nullo obsistente advexit imbellemque populum, sed infidelem non tam ferro igne machinis, ut alias gentes, quam solis minis vel iudiciorum concussionibus, in superficie tantum vultus presso in altum cordis dolore sui oboedientiam proferentem edictis subiugavit.

6 Quibus statim Romam ob inopiam, ut aiebant, cespitis repedanti-

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He is several times named by Jerome, always with Celsus and Julian, as an opponent of Christianity, *e.g.*, *Ep.* 57 ; but in the Preface to the *De Viris Illustribus*, we find the very appellation "rabid dog" applied in the plural to Celsus, Porphyry and Julian. Discant igitur Celsus, Porphyrius, Iulianus *rabidi adversus Christum canes.*

In *Ep.* 133, Jerome, while answering the *Definitiones et Syllogismi* of Coelestius (the Irish companion of Pelagius), says : "Lastly (an objection which your friend Porphyry is wont to make against us), what reason is there that the compassionate and merciful God has suffered whole nations, from Adam to Moses and from Moses until the advent of Christ, to perish through ignorance of the Law and His Commandments? For neither Britain, a province fertile in tyrants, nor the people of Ireland . . . . knew Moses and the prophets (*Neque enim Britannia fertilis provincia tyrannum et Scoticae gentes . . . .*)." Jerome probably intends a thrust at the Briton (?) Pelagius, and Coelestius the Irishman ; but Gildas has evidently fallen into the error of ascribing the words of Jerome himself to Porphyry. The Benedictine editors seem also to take this view, that Porphyry is only credited with the *character* of the objection. The quotation as it is, together with the words which introduce it, allows us to conclude that Gildas was conversant with the writings of Jerome, and in particular with such as treat of the doctrines of Pelagius, though the latter is not mentioned by him. We cannot, therefore, argue from his silence that he "knew nothing" of the Pelagian heresy.

[1] These very words are reproduced, without recognition, by the author, or

to the Church, added this remark also in the fashion of his madness and vanity; *Britain*, he says, *is a province fertile in tyrants.* Those evils only will I attempt to make public which the island has both suffered and inflicted upon other and distant citizens, in the times of the Roman Emperors. I shall do it, however, to the best of my ability, not so much by the aid of native writings or records of authors, inasmuch as these (if they ever existed) have been burnt by the fires of enemies, or carried far away in the ships which exiled my countrymen, and so are not at hand, but shall follow the account of foreign writers, which, because broken by many gaps, is far from clear.

*Jerome, De Viris ill., Pref., Ep.* 133.

5 The Emperors of Rome acquired the empire of the world, and, by the subjugation of all neighbouring countries and islands towards the east, secured through the might of their superior fame their first peace with the Parthians on the borders of India. When this peace was accomplished, wars ceased at that time in almost every land. The keenness of this flame, however, in its persistent career towards the west, could not be checked or extinguished by the blue tide of the sea; crossing the channel it carried to the island laws for obedience without opposition; it subjugated an unwarlike but faithless people (not so much as in the case of other nations by sword, fire, and engines, as by mere threats or menaces of judgments) who gave to the edicts merely a skin-deep obedience, with resentment sunk deep into their hearts.

6 Immediately on their return to Rome, owing to deficiency, as they said, of necessaries provided by the land, and with no suspicion

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compiler, of the *Book of Llan Dav*, in the "Life of Dubricius" and the "Life of Oudoceus." (See Introduction, as to materials used by Gildas.)

*Vita Dubr.*, p. 84: quippe cum fuerint aut ignibus hostium exusta aut exilii civium classe longius deportata. *Vita Oudicei*, p. 139: quippe cum fuerint aut ignibus exusta aut exilii civium classe longius deportata. (Evans.)

[1] The first Parthian peace. There appears to be some confusion in the mind of Gildas here: the passage will bear a good meaning, if understood of the peace made shortly after the death of Trajan, A.D. 117; therefore the expedition to Britain mentioned by Gildas here is that under Hadrian, who in A.D. 122 built the great wall called after him. Why does Gildas select this particular time? The answer may be found in the word "unfaithful;" after the great advances and improvements made under Agricola (78-85), which, no doubt, ceased not with his abrupt departure, the Britons soon show themselves restless under Roman rule. This, to the mind of Gildas, proved them to be an "unfaithful people," and the record of their swift subjection under such a character serves well the special purpose of his work. See Additional Note, c. 18.

Insurrection against Rome. De rebellione.

bus et nihil de rebellione suspicantibus rectores sibi relictos ad enuntianda plenius vel confirmanda Romani regni molimina leaena trucidavit dolosa.[1] Quibus ita gestis cum talia senatui nuntiarentur et propero exercitu vulpeculas ut fingebat subdolas ulcisci festinaret, non militaris in mari classis parata fortiter dimicare pro patria nec quadratum agmen neque dextrum cornu aliive belli apparatus in littore conseruntur, sed turga pro scuto fugantibus dantur et colla gladiis, gelido per ossa tremore currente, manusque vinciendae muliebriter protenduntur, ita ut in proverbium et derisum longe lateque efferretur, quod Britanni *nec in bello fortes sint nec in pace fideles.*

*ergilius, Aen.* ii, 120.

Second subjection and servitude. Item de subiectione ac diro famulatu.

Itaque multis Romani perfidorum caesis, nonnullis ad servitutem, 7
ne terra penitus in solitudinem redigeretur, mancipalibus reservatis, patria vini oleique experte relicta Italiam petunt, suorum quosdam relinquentes praepositos indigenarum dorsis mastigias, cervicibus iugum, solo nomen Romanae servitutis haerere facturos ac non tam militari manu quam flagris callidam gentem maceraturos et, si res sic postulavisset, ensem, ut dicitur, vagina vacuum lateri eius accommodaturos, ita ut non Britannia, sed Romania censeretur et quicquid habere potuisset aeris argenti vel auri imagine Caesaris notaretur.

Rise of Christianity. De religione.

*us.* (*Ruf. int.*), *H. E.*, ii, 2, 3.

Interea glaciali frigore rigenti insulae et velut longiore terrarum 8
secessu soli visibili non proximae verus ille non de firmamento solum temporali, sed de summa etiam caelorum arce tempora cuncta excedente universo orbi praefulgidum sui coruscum ostendens, tempore, ut scimus, summo Tiberii Caesaris, quo absque

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[1] *Leaena dolosa.* These words have been frequently understood as referring to Boudicca's revolt against Suetonius Paulinus, when the latter was in Anglesey, A.D. 62, but the date of the "First Parthian Peace" makes this impossible. Zimmer is of opinion that the words imply a reminiscence of that vassal queen. This, again, is not very probable, because Gildas shows a fondness elsewhere for the term "lioness," as applied to a country: in c. 23 *leaena barbara* stands for the home of the Saxon hordes, and in c. 27 for the kingdom of Damnonia. It is difficult to fix the date of this second expedition of the Romans against Britain. Was it that of Antoninus Pius, who in 143 built the second wall—the vallum of turf—between Clyde and Forth, or the expedition of Septimius Severus in 193? Gildas' account is extremely vague; yet, as he mentions no other visit of Roman forces until the end of the fourth century, and implies extensive provisions for the consolidation of the Roman power in the island, it is not improbable that he has the successful work of Severus in his mind.

A difficulty arises with the last sentence of c. 7. Mr. Rhys (*Celtic Britain*, p. 19) concludes that British coinage came to an end about the time of Claudius (died A.D. 54), or soon after 69; and in the *Monumenta Hist. Brit.*, p. clii, we read: "After the expedition of Claudius and his establishment of the

of rebellion, the treacherous lioness killed the rulers who had been left behind by them to declare more fully, and to strengthen, the enterprises of Roman rule. After this, when news of such deeds was carried to the senate, and it was hastening with speedy army to take vengeance on the crafty foxes, as they named them, there was no preparation of a fighting fleet on sea to make a brave struggle for country, nor a marshalled army or right wing, nor any other warlike equipment on land. They present their backs, instead of their shields, to the pursuers, their necks to the sword, while a chilling terror ran through their bones: they hold forth their hands to be bound like women; so that it was spread far and wide as a proverb and a derision: the Britons *are neither brave in war nor in peace faithful.*

7 The Romans therefore, having slain many of the faithless ones, reserving some for slavery, lest the land should be reduced to destitution—return to Italy leaving behind them a land stripped of wine and oil. They leave behind governors as scourges for the backs of the natives, as a yoke for their necks, so that they should cause the epithet of Roman slavery to cling to the soil, should vex the crafty race not so much with military force as with whips, and if necessary, apply the unsheathed sword, as the saying is, to their sides. In this way the island would be regarded not as Britannia but as Romania, and whatever it might have of copper, silver, or gold would be stamped with the image of Cæsar.

8 Meanwhile, to the island stiff with frost and cold, and in a far distant corner of the earth, remote from the visible sun, He, the true sun, even Christ, first yields His rays, I mean His precepts. He spread, not only from the temporal firmament, but from the highest arc of heaven beyond all times, his bright gleam to the whole world in the latest days, as we know, of Tiberius Cæsar. At

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Roman power in Britain, the Britons discontinued the art of coining." Reference is made there, in a note, to the present passage of Gildas as "confirming this opinion." Such confirmation is not possible if the view taken here be correct, *i.e.*, that Gildas has selected the expedition of Hadrian as his starting-point, unless Gildas is erroneously ascribing to the time of Severus what had already taken place in the time of Claudius. The work of Severus in Britain was, however, far more effective than anything that could be accomplished with the limited occupation secured under Claudius. Moreover, while it was quite natural that Roman coins should be current in Britain from an early period, the policy of *forbidding* British coinage was barely possible until the time of Severus, and it is something of this kind that is implied in the words of Gildas. It is curious that the name of no emperor later than Constans (A.D. 337-350) is found on inscriptions in Britain.

ullo impedimento eius propagabatur religio, comminata senatu nolente a principe morte delatoribus militum eiusdem, radios suos primum indulget, id est sua praecepta, Christus.[1]

Evangeliza-ion of Britain. The Diocle-ian persecu-ion. De persecu-ione.

…s. (Ruf.), H. E., viii, 1; x, 1, 10.

Quae, licet ab incolis tepide suscepta sunt,[2] apud quosdam tamen 9 integre et alios minus usque ad persecutionem Diocletiani tyranni novennem,[3] in qua subversae per totum mundum sunt ecclesiae et cunctae sacrae scripturae, quae inveniri potuerunt, in plateis exustae et electi sacerdotes gregis Domini cum innocentibus ovibus trucidati, ita ut ne vestigium quidem, si fieri potuisset, in nonnullis provinciis Christianae religionis appareret, permansere. Tunc quantae fugae, quantae strages, quantae diversarum mortium poenae, quantae apostatarum ruinae, quantae gloriosorum martyrum coronae, quanti persecutorum rabidi furores, quantae e contrario

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[1] If we read this section with care we find that Gildas is not referring to the introduction of Christianity into Britain; his meaning seems to be that the sun rose for Britain as for the whole world by the resurrection of Jesus Christ. He is evidently taking his information (*ut scimus*) from the Latin version of Eusebius' *Chronicon*. This reads: "When Pilate sent information to Tiberius of the doctrine of the Christians, Tiberius referred it to the Senate, so that it should be received among the other sacred records. But when it was decided by the city fathers that the Christians should be expelled from Rome, Tiberius in an edict threatened the accusers of the Christians with death. Tertullian writes so in his Apologeticus" (*Pilato de Christianorum dogmate ad Tiberium referente Tiberius retulit ad senatum, ut inter cetera sacra reciperetur. Verum cum ex consulto patrum Christianos eliminari Urbe placuisset, Tiberius per edictum accusatoribus Christianorum comminatus est mortem. Scribit Tertullianus in Apologetico. An. Abr.* 2053.) *Eus. Chron.*, Schöne, ii, p. 151. Tert., *Apol.* 5.

[2] *Quae, licet ab incolis tepide suscepta sunt.* This is all that Gildas says respecting the evangelisation of Britain. Whether he knew more as to the first preachers of Christianity it is impossible to tell, but his words imply that its spread among the native population (incolae) of the island was exceedingly slow: they received it "coldly." Among Roman officials and foreign immigrants it may have spread early, so that the few remains which now attest an early Christian church in Britain belong to them, and are found in the parts most thoroughly Romanised. According to the evidence furnished by Hübner's seventh volume of Latin inscriptions, we gather that heathenism of various types continued long, even among these provincials. Mithra and Cybele, Tyrian Hercules and Phœnician Astarte, had their worshippers: at York there was a temple to Serapis, and at Caerlleon, in South Wales, the Roman Legate, Postumius Varus, restores a temple of Diana late in the third century, that is, not *very* long before that Council of Arles (314) which we know so well. Christian inscriptions are more numerous in Wales than in any other part of Britain, yet neither there nor in the other parts do they indicate a date earlier than the middle of the fifth century. Of Britain, as well as of Gaul, the words of M. le Blanc are true, that the legendary stories of a conversion

that time the religion of Christ was propagated without any hindrance, because the emperor, contrary to the will of the senate, threatened with death informers against the soldiers of that same religion.

9 Though these precepts had a lukewarm reception from the inhabitants, nevertheless they continued unimpaired with some, with others less so, until the nine years' persecution of the tyrant Diocletian. In this persecution churches were ruined throughout the whole world, all copies of the Holy Scriptures that could be found were burnt in the open streets, and the chosen priests of the Lord's flock butchered with the innocent sheep, so that if it could be brought to pass, not even a trace of the Christian religion would be visible in some of the provinces. What flights there were then, what slaughter, what punishments by different modes of death, what ruins of apostates, what glorious crowns of martyrs, what mad fury on the part of persecutors, and, on the contrary, what

"by explosion" have no evidence whatever in their favour. "L'école historique n'admet point chez nous un Christianisme fait, comme on l'a dit, par explosion" (Preface, xli, *Insc. Chrétiennes de la Gaule*). A solid historic truth lies in that curt *tepide* of Gildas.

[3] *Novennem*, the nine years' persecution. The meaning to be attached to this expression may be gained from c. 12, "when ten years had not yet been completed." Eusebius speaks of the persecution as having lasted *ten* years (ὁ δεκαέτης χρόνος, *H. E.*, viii, 15), yet both numbers admit of ready explanation. The first Edict of Diocletian, of which Gildas gives the first and second provisions, was issued in February 303, and the Edict of Milan, terminating state persecution of Christianity, appeared towards the end of 312. The period was in this way a good deal more than nine years, though not quite ten. Gildas seems to be simply copying or enumerating, in order, the provisions of Diocletian's Edicts as stated in Rufinus' version of the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius. By the first provision of Edict I, the churches were to be levelled to the ground; by the second, the Scriptures were to be burnt; another provision, involving degradation, finds no mention in this narrative of Gildas. Edict II, published not long after, commanded all church officers to be imprisoned without even the option of recantation. Edict III (or so-called Edict) again soon followed, leading to the application of torture, which too often resulted in death, though death hitherto had not been enjoined as a punishment. With Edict IV, in 304, the persecution reached its fiercest point by reproducing the former measures of Decius: commanding all men to offer sacrifice and libations to heathen deities, it brought in its train the atrocities described by Eusebius, and chronicled in so many *Acta Martyrum*. An African writer of the fourth century describes the persecution in words that remind us of Gildas here: "It made some martyrs, others confessors; some it demeaned in a calamitous death; it spared only those who succeeded in hiding themselves" (Optatus, *De Schism. Donat.*, i, 13).

[Apoc. xiii, 10; xiv, 12.] *sanctorum patientiae* fuere, ecclesiastica historia narrat,[1] ita ut agmine denso certatim relictis post tergum mundialibus tenebris ad amoena caelorum regna quasi ad propriam sedem tota festinaret ecclesia.[a]

[(c) Holy Martyrs. De sanctis martyribus. 1 Tim. ii, 4.] Magnificavit igitur misericordiam suam nobiscum Deus volens *omnes homines salvos fieri* et vocans non minus peccatores quam eos, qui se putant iustos. Qui gratuito munere, supra dicto ut conicimus[2] persecutionis tempore, ne penitus crassa atrae noctis

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[1] *Ecclesiastica historia narrat.* Under this term we are to understand the Latin version of Eusebius' *Historia Ecclesiastica*, by Rufinus. But the mention of "ecclesiastical history" suggests the very question that has been asked by several. Schöll was probably the first to suggest that Gildas is here adopting the description he found in Eusebius of the Diocletian persecution, and applying the same to Britain. But this chapter is in fact *not a description of persecution in Britain;* it rather describes what took place "over the whole world" (*per totum mundum*), and as such is a *resumé* of Book VIII in Eusebius' *History*. The actual course of events is followed by Gildas, just as the edicts succeeded each other, and as described by Eusebius in the second chapter of the book named—the ruin of churches, burning of Scriptures, slaughter of Christians. Further, when the final step was taken by the emperors in the issue of the fourth Edict, the real object had become (as here stated by Gildas) the extermination of Christianity. It is hardly just to say: "Gildas' *general* statement respecting this persecution rests (as usual with him) upon an *unauthorised transference to the particular case of Britain of the language of Eusebius* (*H. E.*, viii, 2) *relating to the persecution in general, and is conclusively contradicted* by Eusebius himself and by Sozomen and Lactantius" (Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, i, p. 6, *n.*). The last italics are mine: but this is what Gildas does *not* do in this part; he is simply summarising what "*Ecclesiastica Historia*" narrates respecting the church in general. His definite references to Britain are moderate. (*Vide* next note.)

Besides the places named in *Eusebius*, one might consult the *De Morte Persecutorum* of Lactantius; and, in addition to the notes of Heinichen (pp. 381, 405) on the former, Mason on *The Persecution of Diocletian*, chs. v and vi, and the notes in McGiffert's translation of *Eusebius*, pp. 325, 397.

[2] *Ut conicimus.* These words imply that Gildas had no definite information respecting the exact time of the martyrdoms mentioned in this section. The reading of Codex X, *ut cognoscimus*, is evidently a gloss, echoing the fixed tradition of the copyist's own time. That the martyrdom of St. Alban took place during the Diocletian persecution is, therefore, a guess on the part of Gildas. He evidently found the narrative given here in some lost *Acta* or *Passio*, and we find that Beda has added other details from some second *Acta*

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[a] Ac yna y kyuodes creulonder Dioclicianus amherawdyr Rufein, drwy yr hon y dilewyt Crisdonogaeth o ynys Brydein, yr hon a gynhallyssyt yndi yn gyuan yr yn oes Les vab Coel y brenhin kyntaf a gymerth cret a bedyd yndi. Kanys Maxen tywyssawc ymladeu yr amherawdyr creulawn hwnnw a doeth yr ynys a llu mawr gantaw. Ac o arch a gorchymyn yr amherawdyr y diuaawd

*patience of the saints*, the history of the church narrates. In consequence the whole church, in close array, emulously leaving behind it the darkness of this world, was hastening to the pleasant realms of heaven as to its own proper abode. *Rev.* xiii, 10; xiv, 12.

God, therefore, as willing that all men should be saved, magnified his mercy unto us, and called sinners no less than those who regard themselves righteous. He of His own free gift, in the above mentioned time of persecution, as we conclude, lest Britain should be completely enveloped in the thick darkness of black night, 1 *Tim.* ii, 4.

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also lost. Now, many of these acts of martyrdom are found void of all details as to time and place, as, for instance, those condemned by the famous *Decretum* of Pope Gelasius in 496 (*Hefele*, ii, 618); if such a one had come into the hands of Gildas, it was natural that he should conjecture the events there narrated to have taken place in the last great persecution. One is tempted also to notice a difference of reading found here in some codices, as possibly recording a different, if not the original, tradition; these are, *uellonnensis* E, *uellamiensem* C, *uellomiensem* D. Nevertheless, it is, perhaps, safest to conclude that Gildas found Verulamium fixed in tradition as the place of suffering of a martyr bearing the name Albanus, though it is not named in the account given by the author of the *Life of Germanus* of a visit paid by the Gallic bishops Germanus and Lupus (A.D. 429) to the tomb of Alban: "The priests," we read, "sought the blessed martyr Albanus in order to render thanks, by his mediation, to God; where Germanus, having with him relics of all the apostles and of different martyrs, offered prayer, and commanded the grave to be opened in order to place there the precious gifts." (*V. Germ.*, i, 25.) We can thus say that Albanus was known and revered as a martyr *c.* 429, while the place of his martyrdom appears for the first time in this chapter of Gildas' work. In the edition of Jerome's *Martyrology*, lately prepared by De Rossi and Duchesne (for Aa. Ss., *Nov.*, Tom. II) one codex, the *Cod. Bern.* (*c.* A.D. 770), records "in Britain was *Albinus martyr*, along with others, 889 in number, placed in the list of those whose names are written in the book of life." We are informed in the *Prolegomena* of several indications, that the exemplar from which this MS. was copied had been in the possession of, or written by, someone connected with Ireland. If so, we find in this 889 about the earliest example of the amplification which the words of Gildas underwent at the hands of later writers. Its exaggeration raises the question whether persecution was possible in Britain, inasmuch as it belonged to the part of the Empire assigned to Constantius, as Cæsar of the West or Gaul. It has been held that Gildas is contradicted by Eusebius and Lactantius, who are understood as asserting that Constantius had no part in the persecution (Eus., *H. E.*, viii, 13, 13: *Vita Const.*, I, 3. 17:

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yr eglwysseu ac wynt ac agahat o lyfreu yr yfcrythur lan. Ac y gyt a hynny y merthyrynt etholedigyon effeireit, a Christonogyon fydlawn oed ufud darystygedic udunt y dan wed Mab Duw, mal y kerdynt yn doruoed y deyrnas gwlat nef. Ac yna y damlywychwys Mab Duw y drugared hyt na mynei bot kenedyl y Brytanyeit yn llychwin o dywyllwch pechodeu, namyn goleuhau o

caligine Britannia obfuscaretur, clarissimos lampades sanctorum martyrum nobis accendit, quorum nunc corporum sepulturae et passionum loca, si non lugubri divortio barbarorum quam plurima ob scelera nostra civibus adimerentur, non minimum intuentium mentibus ardorem divinae caritatis incuterent: sanctum Albanum Verolamiensem, Aaron et Iulium Legionum urbis cives[1] ceterosque utriusque sexus diversis in locis summa magnanimitate in acie Christi perstantes dico.

*[C]f. Baedae, H. E.*, i, 7.

Quorum prior postquam caritatis gratia confessorem persecutoribus insectatum et iam iamque comprehendendum, imitans et in hoc Christum *animam pro ovibus ponentem* domo primum ac mutatis dein mutuo vestibus occuluit et se discrimini in fratris supra dicti 11

. x, 15.

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Lact. *De Morte Pers.*, xv: Letter of Donatist bishops to Constantine in *Optat. De Schism. Don.*, i, 22). In his anxiety to exonerate the father of Constantine the Great, Eusebius may be regarded as having gone too far when he said that he destroyed none of the church buildings, μήτε τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τοὺς οἴκους καθελών. Lactantius expressly states that the churches, as mere walls which could be restored, were pulled down by him, but that he kept intact and safe the true temple of God, that is, the human body. *Nam Constantius, ne dissentire a maiorum praeceptis videratur, conventicula, id est parietes qui restitui poterant, dirui passus est; verum autem dei templum, quod est in hominibus, incolume servavit.* It must be remembered that Constantius was only Caesar of the "parts beyond the Alps," and that he did not visit Britain until A.D. 306, the year of his death at York. The Caesar's power was limited, which would render the name of Maximian as a rabid persecutor, especially after the fourth Edict of 304, the more potent name with many governors and magistrates. Constantius was bound to conform to the policy of the Augusti in carrying out edicts which bore his own name as well as theirs. When, therefore, it is known that many martyrdoms *did* take place in Spain, though that country belonged to Constantius, it is not unreasonable to suppose that Britain had witness of the same sufferings, especially before 306, when he himself arrived in the island. Some confirmation of this view is afforded by the numerous place-names beginning with Merthir, or Merthyr, found in parts of Glamorgan, and more sparsely in Monmouth and Brecknock. *Vide* Additional Note after c. 26.

[1] *Aaron et Iulium Legionum urbis cives.* Of these two martyrs nothing more is known than is told us here by Gildas. Mason, in *The Persecution of Diocletian*, p. 146, calls them "two clergymen of Caerleon," an epithet the justice of which can neither be proved nor disproved. Dr. Plummer (vol. ii, p. 20)

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nadunt e hunein egluraf lampeu gleinyon verthyri. Ac yr awr hon y mae bedeu y rei hynny ac eu hescyrn ac eu creireu, yn y lleoed y merthyrwyt, yn gwneuthur diruawr wyrtheu a didanwch yr neb a edrychei arnadunt, pei na bei gwynvanus ac wylofus y Gristonogyon clybot ry wneuthur o estrawngenedyl paganyeit ar fydlawn Gristonogyon ac eu priawt genedyl e hunein y kyfryw. Ac ymplith y bonedigyon bobloed merthyri o wyr a gwraged y diodefwys seint Alban. Ac y gyt ac ef Julius ac Aaron o Gaer Llion ar Wysc. Ac yna y

kindled for us bright lamps of holy martyrs. The graves where their bodies lie, and the places of their suffering, had they not, very many of them, been taken from us the citizens on account of our numerous crimes, through the disastrous division caused by the barbarians, would at the present time inspire the minds of those who gazed at them with a far from feeble glow of divine love. I speak of Saint Alban of Verulam, Aaron and Iulius, citizens of Caerlleon, and the rest of both sexes in different places, who stood firm with lofty nobleness of mind in Christ's battle.

11 The former of these, through love, hid a confessor when pursued by his persecutors, and on the point of being seized, imitating in this Christ laying down his life for the sheep. He first concealed *John* x, 15.
him in his house, and afterwards exchanging garments with him, willingly exposed himself to the danger of being pursued in the

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in his *Notes on Beda*, says that "the story of Aaron and Julius must be considered extremely doubtful," and refers us to *Haddan and Stubbs*, i, 6, for confirmation. One finds it difficult to understand why this story must be doubted. There must have been a tradition to this effect at Caerlleon in the sixth century, and in the *Book of Llandav* we find evidence of the very local tradition that has been said to be wanting. The Index of that book mentions about eighteen place-names beginning with *Merthir* (modern Welsh, Merthyr), one of which is *Merthir Iún* (*Iulii*) *et Aaron*. A *merthyr* means, as its Latin original *martyrium* denotes, "place of martyr or martyrs," that is, a church built in memory of a martyr, and generally over his grave. The word is found in Jerome's *Chronicon*: *Cuius industria in Hierosol. martyrium extructum est;* it is used also by Adamnan in his *De Locis Sacris: inter illam quoque Golgotham basilicam et martyrium*, i, 8. Du Cange quotes *Isidore*, xv, 9: *Martyrium, locus martyrum, Graeca derivatione, eo quod in memoriam martyris sit constructum, vel quod sepulcra sanctorum ibi sunt martyrum* (Greek, τὸ μαρτύριον). We can hardly doubt that such a name as Merthyr, from *martyrium*, is as old as *llan*, or *cil*, or *disert*, if not indeed older. This at once carries it beyond the sixth century. Now the boundary of this particular *merthir* is: "The head of the dyke *on the Usk;* along the dyke to the breast of the hill, along the dyke to the source of Nant Merthyr, that is Amir" (pp. 225, 226, 377). Here we have a *merthyr* of Julius and Aaron in the neighbourhood of Caerlleon. A grave objection may meet us here; many of the persons whose *merthyr* survives as a place-name belong to the mythical progeny of Brychan, killed, it is said, by the "pagan Saxons." These shadowy beings cannot disturb the main argument.

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kymerth seint Alban Amphibalus ydoedit awr py awr yn y dwyn oe verthyru ac y kudywys yn y dy e hun. A gwedy na thygyei hynny y kymerth y wisc ymdanaw e hun ac yd ymrodes y merthyrolyaeth droftaw, gan elewychu Crift y gwr a rodes y eneit dros y deueit. Ac odyna y deu wr ereill drwy aneiryf boeneu ar eu korfforoed a ellygwyt y wlat nef drwy verthyrolyaeth.—*Brut of Geoff.*, pp. 106, 107. *Amphibalus:* a name for the *confessor* coined by Geoffrey, probably from St. Alban's *amphibalus* or cloak.

vestimentis libenter persequendum dedit, ita Deo inter sacram confessionem cruoremque coram impiis Roman tum stigmata cum horribili fantasia praeferentibus placens signorum miraculis mirabiliter adornatus est, ut oratione ferventi illi Israeliticae arenti viae
iii. 17. minusque tritae, stante diu arca prope glareas testamenti in medio Iordanis canali, simile iter ignotum, trans Tamesis nobilis fluvii alveum, cum mille viris sicco ingrediens pede suspensis utrimque modo praeruptorum fluvialibus montium gurgitibus aperiret et priorem carnificem tanta prodigia videntem in agnum ex lupo mutaret et una secum triumphalem martyrii palmam sitire vehementius et excipere fortius faceret. Ceteri vero sic diversis cruciatibus torti sunt et inaudita membrorum discerptione lacerati, ut absque cunctamine gloriosi in egregiis Ierusalem veluti portis martyrii sui trophaea defigerent. Nam qui superfuerant silvis ac desertis abditisque speluncis se occultavere, expectantes a iusto rectore omnium deo carnificibus severa quandoque iudicia, sibi vero animarum tutamina.

*Eus.* (*Ruf.*), ix 10. Igitur bilustro supra dicti turbinis necdum ad integrum expleto 12
emarcescentibusque nece suorum auctorum nefariis edictis, laetis luminibus omnes Christi tirones quasi post hiemalem ac prolixam noctem temperiem lucemque serenam aurae caelestis excipiunt. Renovant ecclesias[1] ad solum usque destructas; basilicas sanctorum

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[1] *Renovant ecclesias . . . . basilicas sanctorum martyrum.* Gildas in this chapter is, no doubt, describing the change which came after the cessation of persecution, in terms suggested to him by Eusebius through the Latin version of Rufinus : *ecclesiae* denotes the sacred edifices, the *domus ecclesiae* as they are elsewhere called, for public worship : *basilicae* is here employed, as frequently, for the chapels raised above the resting-place of a martyr. *Basilica*, as a new name for the place where the Christian assembly meets, makes its appearance in the fourth century. The word had a wide signification : "hall," or a splendid edifice of any kind, but in Christian speech it implied a reference to the heavenly King or *Basileus* (βασιλεύς), and therefore was formed parallel with another less common appellation, *dominicum*, τὸ κυριακόν, *i.e.*, the Lord's house. Schultze (*Archäologie der Altchristlichen Kunst*, 1895) strongly insists upon the newer theory that the *basilica* of the Christians is derived from the ancient Roman house, not from the *basilica* as judgment-hall for forensic use (Section 7, *Die Basilika*). This theory renders it easier for us to understand how the meaning became differentiated so as to make *basilica* the peculiar name for churches or chapels raised over the graves of martyrs and saints to commemorate their life and death. The *Sacram. Gelasianum* (Cent. vii) contains a service to be used *in dedicatione basilicae novae*, where it is expressly called a "house of prayer," and is said to be built "in honour of a certain saint" (in honorem sancti *illius*) : we have also in the same service a benediction of the altar in such basilica. The Roman Martyrology calls these buildings

clothes of the brother mentioned. Being in this way well pleasing to God, during the time between his holy confession and cruel death, in the presence of the impious men, who carried the Roman standard with hateful haughtiness, he was wonderfully adorned with miraculous signs, so that by fervent prayer he opened an unknown way through the bed of the noble river Thames, similar to that dry little-trodden way of the Israelites, when the ark of the covenant stood long on the gravel in the middle of Jordan; *Josh.* iii, 17.
accompanied by a thousand men, he walked through with dry foot, the rushing waters on either side hanging like abrupt precipices, and converted first his executioner, as he saw such wonders, from a wolf into a lamb, and caused him together with himself to thirst more deeply for the triumphant palm of martyrdom, and more bravely to seize it. Others, however, were so tortured with diverse torments, and mangled with unheard of tearing of limbs, that without delay they raised trophies of their glorious martyrdom, as if at the beautiful gates of Jerusalem. Those who survived hid themselves in woods, deserts, and secret caves, expecting from God, the righteous ruler of all, to their persecutors, sometime, stern judgment, to themselves protection of life.

12 Thus when ten years of the violence referred to had scarcely passed, and when the abominable edicts were disappearing through the death of their authors, all the soldiers of Christ, with gladsome eyes, as if after a wintry and long night, take in the calm and the serene light of the celestial region. They repair the churches,

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*concilia martyrum.* Jerome, *Ep.* 60, 12, speaks of basilicas ecclesiae et *martyrum conciliabula;* but in Britain, as we have seen in a previous note, the name that prevailed was *martyrium*, still common in Welsh. Yet one place, apparently, has preserved *basilica* in Welsh. This is Bassalec (Bassaleg) in Glamorgan: see Index to *Book of Llandaf*, p. 273, *Benedictus presbiter Bassalec;* pp. 319, 323, 333, 344, *ecclesia de Basselec.* Dr. Kuno Meyer has kindly supplied me with several other instances where *baslec* stands for *basilica.* "It occurs twice in the Calendar of Oengus, November 19th and September 15th. In the Lebor Brecc, in the passion of Partholon (*i.e.*, Bartholomew): 'they made a great *baslec* for him and placed his body into it' (p. 177a). In the *Annals*, edited by O'Grady, in *Silva gadelica*, p. 326, A.D. 643, is an obscure quatrain:

'Iar mbreith ind rig do baislic'
After carrying the king to a basilica,

which means, after his burial. *Baisleac* is the name of a parish church in co. Roscommon, and *Baisliocán* (dimin.) is the name of a townland in the parish of Kilcronane, bar. of Dunkerron, co. Kerry (O'Don., *Suppl.* to O'Reilly)." *Baslec*, in O'Mulconry's *Glossary*, is Irish for *basilica* (*Archiv für Celt. Lexikogr.*, i, 240, 242).

martyrum fundant construunt perficiunt ac velut victricia signa passim propalant, dies festos celebrant, sacra mundo corde oreque conficiunt, omnes exultant filii gremio ac si matris ecclesiae confoti.

(9) Heresies. De diversis haeresibus.

Mansit namque haec Christi capitis membrorumque consonantia suavis, donec Arriana perfidia,[1] atrox ceu anguis, transmarina nobis evomens venena fratres in unum habitantes exitiabiliter faceret seiungi, ac sic quasi via facta trans oceanum omnes omnino bestiae ferae mortiferum cuiuslibet haereseos virus horrido ore vibrantes letalia dentium vulnera patriae novi semper aliquid audire volenti et nihil certe stabiliter optinenti infigebant.

(10) The tyranni, particularly Maximus. De tyrannis.

Itemque tandem tyrannorum virgultis crescentibus et in 13
immanem silvam iam iamque erumpentibus insula, nomen Romanum nec tamen morem legemque tenens, quin potius abiciens germen suae plantationis amarissimae, ad Gallias magna comitante satellitum caterva, insuper etiam imperatoris insignibus (quae nec decenter usquam gessit), non legitime, sed ritu tyrannico et tumultuante initiatum milite, Maximum mittit.[2] Qui[a] callida primum arte potius quam virtute finitimos quosque pagos vel provincias contra Romanum statum per retia periurii mendaciique sui facinoroso regno adnectens, et unam alarum ad Hispaniam, alteram ad Italiam extendens et thronum iniquissimi imperii apud Treveros[b] statuens tanta insania in dominos debacchatus est, ut duos imperatores legitimos, unum Roma, alium religiosissima vita pelleret. Nec mora tam feralibus vallatus audaciis apud Aquileiam urbem

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[1] *Perfidia*=unbelief or heresy, in ecclesiastical writers. "Ad quorum *perfidiam* coarguendam synhodus CCCXVIII episcoporum in Niciam urbem Bithyniae congregata omnes hereticorum machinas Homonsii oppositione deleuit."—Hieron., *Chron.*; Paulus Diaconus has, *Arriana perfidia* (*M. G. H.*, x, 374).

[2] There is a striking resemblance between Gildas' way of describing the double crime of Maximus and the language of Sulpicius Severus in his *Vita Martini*. It seems impossible that it could be accidental. St. Martin had

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[a] Ac ym pen yspeit pump mlyned fyberwhav a oruc Maxen o amylder eur ac aryant a swllt a marchogyon. Ac yn y lle paratoi llyges a wnaeth a chynullaw attaw holl ymladwyr ynys Prydein. Ac a allwys y gael o leoed ereill a gwedy bot pop peth yn barawt kychwyn a oruc parth a Llydaw y wlat a elwir Brytaen Vechan yr awr hon.—*Brut*, p. 115.

[b] A gwedy bot pob lle o hynny yn darestygedic idaw y gossodes eistedua y deyrnas y ny dinas aelwir Treueris. Ac yna y dechreuawd ryuelu ar y deu vroder Gracian a Valawn a oedynt amherodron yn Rufein. A gwedy llad y neill y detholes y llall o Rufein ymeith.—*Brut*, p. 117.

Ac yn yr amser hwnnw y llas Maxen yn Ruuein ac y gwafgarwyt a oed ygyt ac ef or Brytanyeit.—*Brut*, p. 120. *Maxen* in the Welsh under c. 9 stands for

ruined to the ground ; they found, construct, and complete basilicae in honour of the holy martyrs, and set them forth in many places as emblems of victory ; they celebrate feast days ; the sacred offices they perform with clean heart and lip ; all exult as children cherished in the bosom of their mother, the church.

For this sweet harmony between Christ the head and the members continued, until the Arian unbelief, fierce as a snake vomiting forth upon us its foreign poison, caused deadly separation between brethren dwelling together. In this way, as if a path were made across the sea, all manner of wild beasts began to inject with horrid mouth the fatal poison of every form of heresy, and to inflict the lethal wounds of their teeth upon a country always wishful to hear something new and, at all events, desiring nothing steadfastly.

13 At length also, as thickets of tyrants were growing up and bursting forth soon into an immense forest, the island retained the Roman name, but not the morals and law ; nay rather, casting forth a shoot of its own planting, it sends out Maximus to the two Gauls, accompanied by a great crowd of followers, with an emperor's ensigns in addition, which he never worthily bore nor legitimately, but as one elected after the manner of a tyrant and amid a turbulent soldiery. This man, through cunning art rather than by valour, first attaches to his guilty rule certain neighbouring countries or provinces against the Roman power, by nets of perjury and falsehood. He then extends one wing to Spain, the other to Italy, fixing the throne of his iniquitous empire at Trier, and raged with such madness against his lords that he drove two legitimate emperors, the one from Rome, the other from a most pious life. Though

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been approached by Maximus with great respect ; "though repeatedly invited to his table he absented himself, saying that he could not partake of his table *qui imperatores unum regno, alterum vita expulisset*" (*V. M.*, 20, 2). Orosius also describes the double atrocity, but in words that show no close similarity to those of Gildas : "Ubi Gratianum Augustum subita incursione perterritum . . . dolis circumventum interfecit, fratremque eius Valentinianum Augustum Italia expulisset" (*Hist.*, vii, 34, 10).

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the Latin *Maximianus*, the name of Diocletian's co-emperor in the west. In this place, no doubt owing to the error in c. 27 of the *Historia Britonum* of Nennius (where we find *Maximianus* incorrectly for *Maximus*), it seems—but only seems—to be Welsh for *Maximus*. By Nennius, the persecutor *and* the tyrant are both named *Maximianus*, and through his mistake the two have the same Welsh name. *Maxim Guletic* occurs in "Indexes to Old-Welsh Genealogies ;" Anscombe, in *Archiv für Celt. Lexikographie*, i, 206 (1898).

capite nefando caeditur, qui decorata totius orbis capita regni quodammodo deiecerat.

(11) Picts and Scots. De duabus gentibus vastatricibus.

Exin Britannia omni armato milite, militaribus copiis, rectoribus 14
licet immanibus, ingenti iuventute spoliata, quae comitata vestigiis supra dicti tyranni domum nusquam ultra rediit, et omnis belli usus ignara penitus, duabus primum gentibus transmarinis vehementer saevis, Scotorum[1] a circione, Pictorum ab aquilone calcabilis,

(12) Defence made against them. De defensione.

multos stupet gemitque annos. Ob quarum infestationem ac 15
dirissimam depressionem legatos Romam cum epistolis mittit, militarem manum ad se vindicandam lacrimosis postulationibus poscens et subiectionem sui Romano imperio continue tota animi virtute, si hostis longius arceretur, vovens. Cui mox destinatur legio[2] praeteriti mali immemor, sufficienter armis instructa, quae ratibus trans oceanum in patriam advecta et cominus cum gravibus hostibus congressa magnamque ex eis multitudinem sternens et omnes e finibus depulit et subiectos civos tam atroci dilacerationi ex imminenti captivitate liberavit. Quos iussit construere inter duo maria trans insulam murum, ut esset arcendis hostibus turba instructus terrori civibusque tutamini; qui vulgo irrationabili

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[1] The Scoti came from the North West (*a circione*). This would fit well with the explanation that at this time they had made no fixed settlements in the land subsequently called after them Scotland. Until the tenth century, *Scoti* or *Scotti*, and *Scotia* or *Scottia*, in Latin writers, mean respectively Irishmen and Ireland: in c. 21 Gildas calls them *grassatores Hiberni*. After the Dalriad migration of Irish settlers in Cantyre and the island of Islay, about A.D. 502, there were Scoti "qui Britanniam inhabitant," as Beda could write in Book I of his *History*; but at the time to which Gildas refers any occupation that might have taken place was merely migratory. The first mention of Picts, by the *Panegyricus* of A.D. 292, refers also to *Hiberni*. We find an irruption of Scots *and* Picts (Scottorum Pictorumque gentium ferarum excursus) first mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus, Book xx, i, 1, while writing of Julian's activity in Gaul (A.D. 360). Four years later, he relates, the Picti, Saxones, Scotti, and Atacotti, were harassing the country (xxvi, 4, 5). It is not strange, therefore, when contingents from over the seas had been, thus so long, abetting the northern barbarians, that Gildas should speak of *transmarinae gentes*, though the Picts did not come under that designation. Beda, in copying Gildas, gives an explanation of the term: "we say *transmarinae gentes*, not because they were outside Britain, but because they were remote with respect to the Britons, and two bays intervened" (*H. E.*, i, 12). Plummer pronounces this to be a very forced gloss (vol. ii, p. 23); cf. also the words of c. 17, which tell us that they were driven over seas by the Roman troops: *trans maria fugaverunt*. The adverb, *primum*, has been understood as implying that this rush of Scots and Picts, about A.D. 383, was their first inroad into Britain. Gildas is not guilty of such an error, because *primum* must be taken as

fortified by hazardous deeds of so dangerous a character, it was not long ere he lost his accursed head at Aquileia : he who had in a way cut off the crowned heads of the empire of the whole world.

14 After this, Britain is robbed of all her armed soldiery, of her military supplies, of her rulers, cruel though they were, and of her vigorous youth who followed the footsteps of the above-mentioned tyrant and never returned. Completely ignorant of the practice of war, she is, for the first time, open to be trampled upon by two foreign tribes of extreme cruelty, the Scots from the north-west, the Picts from the north ; and for many years continues stunned

15 and groaning. Owing to the inroads of these tribes and the consequent dreadful prostration, Britain sends an embassy with letters to Rome, entreating in tearful appeals an armed force to avenge her, and vowing submission on her part to the Roman power, uninterrupted and with all strength of heart, if the enemy were driven away. A legion is forthwith prepared, with no remembrance of past evil, and fully equipped. Having crossed over the sea in ships to Britain, it came into close engagement with the oppressive enemies ; it killed a great number of them and drove all over the borders, and freed the humiliated inhabitants from so fierce a violence and threatening bondage. The inhabitants were commanded to build a wall across the island, between the two seas, so that, when strongly manned, it might be a terror to repel the enemies and a protection to the citizens. The wall being made not

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qualifying *calcabilis*. Previous to the departure of Maximus, carrying the Roman army with him to the continent, the barbarians had always found a Roman force to contend with : now, "*for the first time*," the country is open (*calcabilis*) to their attack.

[3] *Legio.* Maximus crossed over to Gaul in 383, and after the murder of Gratian was unwillingly acknowledged Emperor by Theodosius and Valentinian. When Valentinian fled, the usurper approached Italy, being at Aquileia in September or October 387, and at Rome early in 388. His death took place in the summer of that year, so that it was impossible for any Roman armament to help the Britons in repelling the barbarian marauders before 388 or 389. The "many years" (*multos stupet gemitque annos*) of suffering, to which Gildas alludes in the previous section, are explained by this fact. We know also that the XXth legion, stationed at Chester, was withdrawn by Stilicho in 402 or 403; and from Claudian's *De Bello Getico* (vv. 416-418), that it had previously served against the Picts and Scots. This legion may, therefore, have been part of the force employed in the attack now mentioned.

absque rectore factus non tam lapidibus, quam cespitibus[1] non profuit.

(13) Repeated devastation. Itemque vastatione.

Illa domum cum triumpho magno et gaudio repedante illi 16 priores inimici ac si ambrones,[2] lupi profunda fame rabidi, siccis faucibus ovile transilientes non comparente pastore, alis remorum remigumque brachiis ac velis vento sinuatis vecti, terminos rumpunt caeduntque omnia et quaeque obvia maturam ceu segetem metunt, calcant, transeunt.

(14) Second revenge (by Roman aid). De secunda ultione.

Itemque mittuntur queruli legati, scissis, ut dicitur, vestibus,[a] 17 opertisque sablone capitibus, inpetrantes a Romanis auxilia ac veluti timidi pulli patrum fidissimis alis succumbentes, ne penitus misera patria deleretur nomenque Romanorum, quod verbis tantum apud eos auribus resultabat, vel exterarum gentium opprobrio obrosum vilesceret. At illi,[3] quantum humanae naturae possibile est, commoti tantae historia tragoediae, volatus ceu aquilarum

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[1] *Cespitibus.* Two walls are mentioned by Gildas, one of turf and another of stone. Hadrian (cf. c. 17), whose policy seems everywhere to have been a policy of caution, built a wall in A.D. 122, along the more southern line from the Tyne to the Solway. It was, then or afterwards (by Severus ?), made of stone, and formed the practical frontier of the province. In 143 the turf wall (*murus cespiticius*) of Antoninus Pius was constructed from Clyde to Forth. Now the Welsh "Brut" of Geoffrey of Monmouth understands the construction of the stone wall mentioned in c. 17 as the *re*-building of Hadrian's wall, or, as it is called there the wall of Severus. The *earthen* wall, which Gildas in this section describes as being built, may, therefore, naturally be regarded as the *murus cespiticius* of Antoninus Pius repaired or rebuilt. The Romans now drive the barbarians to the more northern line, commanding the Britons to *re*-construct the no-doubt ruinous rampart: at a later period (c. 17), they are satisfied with the safer boundary between Tyne and Solway.

[2] *Ambrones:* Eutrop. v, i, 1 : *Romani consules M. Manlius et Q. Caepio a Cimbris et Teutonibus et Tagurinis et Ambronibus, quae erant Germanorum et Gallorum gentes victi sunt* . . . . Oros. v, 16, 9 : *Teutones Cimbri et Tigurini et Ambrones.* A fanciful explanation of the word as used here by Gildas is given in *Verr. Flacc. ap Fast., ep.*, p. 17 : "The Ambrones were a Gallic race, who, because they had suddenly lost their lands, owing to an inundation of the sea, began to support themselves and theirs by plunder and pillage.

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[a] A phan gigleu y raedywedidigyon elynyon a foassynt y Iwerdon ry lad Gracian, kynnullaw a wnaethant wynteu y Gwydyl ar Yscottyeit a gwyr Denmarc ar Llychynwyr ygyt ac wynt. A dyuot hyt yn ynys Brydein ae hanreithaw o dan a haearn or mor y gilyd. Ac wrth hynny anuon llythyreu a wnaeth y Brytanyeit hyt yn Ruuein a dagreuawl gwynuan yndunt, gan adaw tragywydawl darostygedigaeth ac uvulldawt a theyrnget udunt .yr gollwg kanhorthwy attunt y eu rydhau y gan eu gelynyon. Ac odyna yd anuonet lleg

of stone but of turf, proved of no advantage to the rabble in their folly, and destitute of a leader.

16 The legion returned home in great triumph and joy when their old enemies, like rapacious wolves, fierce with excessive hunger, jump with greedy maw into the fold, because there was no shepherd in sight. They rush across the boundaries, carried over by wings of oars, by arms of rowers, and by sails with fair wind. They slay everything, and whatever they meet with they cut it down like a ripe crop, trample under foot and walk through.

17 Again suppliant messengers are sent with rent clothes, as is said, and heads covered with dust.

Crouching like timid fowls under the trusty wings of the parent birds, they ask help of the Romans, lest the country in its wretchedness be completely swept away, and the name of Romans, which to their ears was the echo of a mere word, should even grow vile as a thing gnawed at, in the reproach of alien nations. They, moved, as far as was possible for human nature, by the tale of such a tragedy, make speed, like the flight of eagles, unexpected in quick movements of

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. . . . For this reason it came to pass that men of low character are called *ambrones*." Holder's *Altkeltische Sprachsshats* gives numerous extracts from Glossaries, *e.g.*, *ambrones = luxuriori, profusi, devoratores hominum, devolatores, consumptores patrimoniorum.* Nennius, *Hist. Brit.*, has the word twice, c. 63: *Omne genus ambronum* (Stevenson prints, *Ambronum*); c. 27, *Saxones ambronum* (in error, apparently). The word is derived from a root, *ambh*(*a*)*r*, which may be the original of ὄ(μ)βριμος = strong.

[3] This second expedition of the Romans against the Scots and Picts must have taken place before A.D. 407, in which year the tyrannus or usurper, Constantine, left Britain for Gaul. We are able to fix the possible time for the two expeditions. No forces could be spared during the five years' reign of Maximus (383-388), nor during the struggles of Constantine (407-411): we are thus limited to a period of about eighteen years, 389-407. The arrangements for defence described in the next section may have been Constantine's plans and efforts to make Britain secure in his rear. His departure proved to be the final abandonment of Britain by the Empire.

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o wyr aruawc attunt. A gwedy eu dyuot y ynys Brydein ac ymlad ar gelynyon eu dehol a wnaethant o holl deruyneu ynys Brydein, a rydhau y gywarsagedic bobyl or druan ormessawl geithiwet honno. Ac yr gwrthlad gormessoed a gelynyon yd archyssei Seuerus amherawdyr gynt gwneuthur mur y rwg Deifyr ar Alban or mor y gilyd. Kanys yr Alban yn gyntaf y gnottaei pob gormes dyuot or a delei y ynys Brydein. Ac yna eilweith y kawssant wynteu oe kyffredin gyghor gwyr Ruuein ar Brytanyeit atnewydu y mur hwnnw ae gwplau or mor y gilyd.—*Brut*, p. 120.

equitum in terra, nautaram in mari cursus accelerantes inopinatos primum, tandem terribiles inimicorum cervicibus infigunt mucronum ungues casibusque foliorum tempore certo adsimilandam hisdem peragunt stragem, ac si montanus torrens crebris tempestatum rivulis auctus sonoroque meatu alveos exundans ac sulcato dorso fronteque acra, erectis, ut aiunt, ad nebulas undis (luminum quibus pupilli, persaepe licet palpebrarum convolatibus innovati, adiunctis rimarum rotarum lineis fuscantur) mirabiliter spumans, ast uno obiectas sibi evincit gurgite moles.[1] Ita aemulorum agmina auxiliares egregii, si qua tamen evadere potuerant, praepropere trans maria fugaverunt, quia anniversarias avide praedas nullo obsistente trans maria exaggerabant.

Igitur Romani, patriae denuntiantes[a] nequaquam se tam 18
laboriosis expeditionibus posse frequentius vexari et ob imbelles erraticosque latrunculos Romana stigmata,[2] tantum talemque exercitum, terra ac mari fatigari; sed ut potius sola consuescendo armis ac viriliter dimicando terram, substantiolam, coniuges, liberos et, quod his maius est, libertatem vitamque totis viribus vindicaret et gentibus nequaquam sibi fortioribus, nisi segnitia et torpore dissolveretur, inermes vinculis vinciendas nullo modo, sed instructas peltis ensibus hastis et ad caedem promptas protenderet manus, suadentes, quia et hoc putabant aliquid derelinquendo populo commodi adcrescere, murum non ut alterum,[3] sumptu publico

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[1] *Gurgite moles*, cf. *Verg. Aen.*, ii, 427: Oppositasque evicit gurgite moles.

[2] *Romana stigmata:* a *stigma* (στίγμα) was a brand impressed upon slaves and artisans, as a mark of ownership, or for identification. *Stigmata, hoc est nota publica, fabricensium brachiis, ad invitationem tironum, infligatur, ut hoc modo saltem possint latitantes agnosci. Cod. Theod.* x, 22, 4. In the present passage the marks or emblems of Roman power would be the disasters inflicted upon the barbarians, and these again were visible in the Roman army and navy, as the means of effecting them. It is, however, possible that Gildas is using the word, in a sense not found elsewhere, for the Roman *standards.* Schöll includes *stigma* in his list of words found only in Gildas, or found very rarely.

[3] *Murum non ut alterum.* The wall of Hadrian *re*built of stone. *Vide*

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[a] A gwedy daruot cwplau gweith y mur y menegis gwyr Ruuein yr Brytanyeit hyt na ellynt wy gymryt llafur a pherigyl ac aneiryf dreul ar wyr Ruuein; ac arueu a meirch ac eur ac aryant ar vor ac ar dir yn keissyaw amdiffyn pobyl mor lesc ac wynteu y gan grwydyredigyon ladron a gormessoed. A bot sened Ruuein yn blinaw o dreulaw eu da ac eu fwllt mor waftat a hynny yn kerdet mor a thir, ac yn diodef agheuolyon berigleu drostunt. A bot yn well ganthunt dilyssu eu teyrnget no hynny. Ac ygyt a hynny bot yn iawnach

cavalry on land and of sailors by sea; before long they plunge their terrible swords in the necks of the enemies; the massacre they inflict is to be compared to the fall of leaves at the fixed time, just like a mountain torrent, swollen by numerous streams after storms, sweeps over its bed in its noisy course; with furrowed back and fierce look, its waters, as the saying goes, surging up to the clouds (by which our eyes, though often refreshed by the movements of the eyelids, are obscured by the quick meeting of lines in its broken eddies), foams surprisingly, and with one rush overcomes obstacles set in its way. Then did the illustrious helpers quickly put to flight the hordes of the enemy beyond the sea, if indeed escape was at all possible for them: for it was beyond the seas that they, with no one to resist, heaped up the plunder greedily acquired by them year by year.

18 The Romans, therefore, declare to our country that they could not be troubled too frequently by arduous expeditions of that kind, nor could the marks of Roman power, that is an army of such size and character, be harassed by land and sea on account of unwarlike, roving, thieving fellows. They urge the Britons, rather, to accustom themselves to arms, and fight bravely, so as to save with all their might their land, property, wives, children, and, what is greater than these, their liberty and life: they should not, they urge, in any way hold forth their hands armourless to be bound by nations in no way stronger than themselves, unless they became effeminate through indolence and listlessness; but have them provided with bucklers, swords and spears, and ready for striking. Because they were also of opinion that it would bring a considerable advantage to the people they were leaving, they construct a wall, different from the other, by public and private contributions,

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note, p. 34. Gildas speaks of two walls being built, one of turf, the other of stone: in fact, the two walls had been so constructed from the first, the stone wall in A.D. 122, the turf in A.D. 143, so that his words can imply no more than the repairing of them, though the repairs needed, after so many years of neglect and ruin, must have been extensive in the extreme.

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udunt ehunein kymryt dysc ac aruer o ymlad mal y gellynt amdiffyn eu gwlat ae gwraged ac eu plant ac eu goludoed ac eu rydit a thros eu buched ehunein, no dodi eu golut ar eu hymdiret yn waftat yggwyr Ruuein.

Ac yn ol y parabyl hwny y rodes y Rueinyeit gadarnyon dysgedigaethau ar ymladeu yr ergrynedic bobyl honno. Ac adaw agkreifft udunt y wneuthur aeruaeu. Ac erchi udunt adeilyat kestyll ar lann y mor yn y porthuaeu y bei disgynuaeu llogeu wrth gadw eu gwlat o honunt rac eu gelynyon.—*Brut*, pp. 121, 122.

privatoque adiunctis secum miserabilibus indigenis, solito structurae more, tramite a mari usque ad mare inter urbes, quae ibidem forte ob metum hostium collocatae fuerant, directo librant; fortia formidoloso populo monita tradunt, exemplaria instituendorum armorum relinquunt. In litore quoque oceani ad meridianam plagam, quo naves eorum habebantur, quia et inde barbaricae ferae bestiae timebantur, turres per intervalla ad prospectum maris collocant, et valedicunt tamquam ultra non reversuri.

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## ADDITIONAL NOTE TO CC. 5-7, 13-18.

Gildas in these chapters refers to Roman interference as exercised on four different occasions. Unless we condemn the whole narrative as confused and undeserving of credit, it may be well to endeavour to find some points in which the account given of Roman visits touches well ascertained facts of history. Such an enquiry will, I believe, yield some results not devoid of interest.

1. Remembering that the leading purpose of this work was to bring about a reformation of morals in Church and State, that it is in fact a Sermon, or a "Tract for the Times," we must recognise that the writer is in no way bound to present his facts in due order of occurrence. Even more may be said: he is not bound to narrate events which, because of their high importance in fashioning subsequent events, have a special claim upon a historian. He is free, and in a way would be wise, to choose those that have a special bearing upon the message he brings to the notice of his readers. This is exactly what Gildas seems to me to have done: in no way does he call this part "a history;" his intention is simply to say "a few things" respecting the points named by him, before fulfilling his solemn promise (*ante promisum Deo volente pauca . . . . dicere conamur*).

The first visit or expedition of the Romans to Britain is placed by him "after the first peace with the Parthians." The empire of the world had been won, and an almost universal peace had come to pass (c. 5). Gildas may have read the Third Book of Orosius' *Historiae*, where we find similar mention of a Parthian peace (*post Parthicam pacem*), followed by a general cessation of war, and obedience to Roman law. This was in B.C. 20 under Augustus, after the advance of Tiberius Nero into Armenia. (A full account is given in Merivale's *Rome under the Emperors*, vol. iv, p. 173.) Orosius relates these events in order to show that the light of Christianity came into the world at the same time (quodsi etiam, cum imperante Caesare ista prouenerint, in ipso imperio Caesaris inluxisse ortum in hoc mundo Domini nostri Jesu Christi liquidissima probatione manifestum est.—*Hist.*, iii, 5, 8). Gildas also introduces the rise of Christianity, but after relating the events of two Roman expeditions to Britain.

Now, by many writers, both these have been understood as the expeditions of Julius Caesar (B.C. 55, 54). The Preface, for instance, to the *Mon. Hist. Britannica*, speaking of the narrative of Gildas, says: "It may be divided into two periods; the former extends from the first invasion of Britain by the Romans to the revolt of Maximus at the close of the fourth century, and the latter from the revolt of Maximus to the author's own time." I find it very difficult to accept this view. In any way some confusion in the mind of Gildas

joining the wretched inhabitants to themselves: they build the wall in their accustomed mode of structure, in a straight line, across from sea to sea, between cities, which perhaps had been located there through fear of enemies; they give bold counsel to the people in their fear, and leave behind them patterns for the manufacture of arms. On the sea coast also, towards the south, where their ships were wont to anchor, because from that quarter also wild barbarian hordes were feared, they place towers at stated intervals, affording a prospect of the sea. They then bid them farewell, as men who never intended to return.

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may be assumed, who, we again remind ourselves is writing not with a historian's interest in facts as such, but with a reformer's bent to find a moral purpose in them. He is, however, definite in certain limits he sets to himself. "Those evils only will I attempt to make public which the island has both suffered and inflicted upon other and distant citizens, *in the times of the Roman Emperors*" (c. 4). The Parthian peace of which Orosius speaks was secured under Augustus, many years after the death of Julius Caesar, therefore the first expedition described by Gildas, if after *this* Parthian truce and the subsequent universal peace, cannot be the attempted, though barely successful, conquest of Britain by Caesar. The expedition, according to Gildas, is due to the stubbornness (*contumacia*) of an unfaithful people (*infidelem populum*), that is, it was an expedition *to punish* not to conquer. Such a one could only take place "under the Roman Emperors" after the ten years' work of conquest and settlement during the reign of Claudius (A.D. 43-53). The vigorous measures under Vespasian's generals, particularly Agricola, were intended to advance the Roman occupation, though Agricola, it is well known, succeeded in attaining larger and more permanent results. These, also, must precede the events narrated by Gildas.

We, therefore, look out for "a peace with the Parthians," followed by a *punitive* expedition to Britain, and find the former in the peace made by Hadrian, shortly after the death of Trajan, A.D. 117, the latter in the expedition of Hadrian. Hadrian's policy of caution aimed at the maintenance of peace by restricting warlike operations "Adeptus imperium . . . tenendae per orbem terrarum paci operam intendit." This is said by Aelius Spartianus, who in mentioning the difficulties adds further: "Britanni teneri sub Romana ditione non poterant." It was then that the great wall from Tyne to Solway was built (A.D. 122). "Under Hadrian," we read in Mommsen's work: "A severe disaster occurred here, to all appearance a sudden attack on the camp of Eburacum, and the annihilation of the legion stationed there, the same 9th legion which had fought so unsuccessfully in the war with Boudicca. Probably this was occasioned, not by a hostile inroad, but *by a revolt of the Northern tribes that passed as subjects of the empire*, especially of the Brigantes. With this we have to connect the fact that the wall of Hadrian presents a front towards the south as well as towards the north; evidently it was destined also for the purpose of keeping in check the superficially subdued North of England (*The Provinces*, i, 188)." It may not be wrong to conclude that Gildas, with some confusion in that word "*first* Parthian peace," has selected this instance, first of all, to point his moral of "evils suffered" for "evils inflicted" by an "unfaithful people" (A.D. 122-124).

2. At what time must we place the second expedition? Unfortunately it is only described in high-flowing language, almost turgid, void of all details: no name or date is supplied us. The first impression is that it occurred not long after troops had been withdrawn owing to the heavy burden of maintaining them. If so, then we may regard this second visit of the Romans as that which was made under Pius Antoninus to punish renewed conflicts on the part of the Brigantes. At that time, the Roman boundary was extended further north and fixed, though only for a time, by the turf wall built between Clyde and Forth (A.D. 143). But there seem to have been serious disturbances in Roman Britain, as well as renewed attacks by the Caledonians and Maeatae, so that Severus found himself led to interfere by an expedition in 209, during the operations of which he died at York in 211. Either of these two visits of Roman forces would fit the description given by Gildas, while the fact that no further troubles of any kind are mentioned until the end of the fourth century, may incline us to decide in favour of the expedition of Severus.

3. There is a long interval from 122 or 209 to 383, of which not a word is said by Gildas. He then introduces Maximus, the "tyrannus" or usurper, and makes his *first mention* of the marauding incursions of the Picts and Scots. However, I believe a good reason for this silence is not far to seek. It has struck many as strange that this *historiographus*, as he is called by the mediæval writers, should not have said a word about Constantius Chlorus and his son Constantine embarking together from Boulogne in 306, on purpose to drive back the Picts and Scots, nor of the splendid deeds of Constantine in the war against them. There was a more terrible incursion of these barbarians, aided by the Attacotti, about 368, when the Franks and Saxons also harassed the opposite Gallic coast, plundering and burning and murdering prisoners.* Yet Gildas makes no mention of this, or of the successful attack made upon them by Theodosius, father of Theodosius the Great, nor is anything said respecting the rebuilding of ruined cities and military posts, effected by him in that year (*Amm. Marcell.*, xxviii, 3).

Gildas, had he been writing *as* a historian, would be rightly censured for such grave omissions as these, but his motive and plan is different. On that account we cannot wonder that he passes by events, however important, which do not show the Britons to be a guilty people, suffering because of their evil ways. In 306 and 368, the Britons were faithful Roman subjects, who could in no way have contributed to the calamities of the empire. It was otherwise in 383. Was it not Britain herself that sent forth the usurper Maximus? Such is the view that Gildas takes, and, moreover, his action in denuding Britain of Roman troops, for the first time after Agricola's settlement, laid the island bare to the plundering expeditions of the barbarian tribes. For these reasons, a more detailed account is given both of Maximus himself and of the fresh inroad which followed his abandonment of the island, than of the two early expeditions against British revolt. That the usurpation of Maximus could be laid to the charge of Britain herself, as Gildas represents the matter, finds no insignificant

* The words of Ammianus Marc., xxvii, 5, 8, have been usually understood *as if the Franks and Saxons were ravaging Britain itself* along with the northern nations. But must we not understand *Gallicanos vero tractus Franci et Saxones isdem confines . . . . violabant*, in the sense taken above?

support in some ancient writers. Orosius describes the tyrannus as a man of strong character and probity, worthy to be Augustus, but created emperor *against his will* (in Britannia *invitus* propemodum ab exercitu imperator creatus, *Hist.*, vii, 34.) Zosimus dwells upon the unpopularity of Gratian at the time among the soldiery, owing to the favour shown by him to the barbarian Alani (τοῦτο τοῖς στρατιώταις κατὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἔτεκε μῖσος, *Hist. Nova*, iv, 35). "It is possible that he (Maximus) was rather the instrument than the author of the mutiny" (Hodgkin's *Italy and Her Invaders*, i, 401). Now this is exactly the implication of Gildas' language : *non legitime, sed ritu tyrannico et tumultu ante initiatum milite, Maximum mittit (Britannia).*

Maximus crossed over into Gaul, taking with him the greater part of three legions : with these and the forces which joined him on the continent, he was able soon to make himself master of almost the whole of Europe west of Italy.

The further words of Gildas, which describe this progress, show that he was writing this part also of his narrative with a firm grasp of the real facts of the time.

He gives prominence to cunning artfulness (callida ars), to perjury and falsehood, on the part of Maximus, which unamiable features of his character are amply attested by writers of the fourth and fifth centuries. Socrates describes the guile by which the young emperor Gratian was captured and murdered (Γρατιανὸς δόλῳ τοῦ τυράννου Μαξίμου ἀνῄρητο, *H. E.*, v, 11) ; Sozomen speaks of the specious pretext he advanced that he would "allow no innovation to be introduced with respect to the national faith and church order." Mr. Hodgkin, in narrating the meeting of the two armies, that of Maximus and Merobaudes, Gratian's counsellor and general, adds : "For five days there were slight and indecisive skirmishes, but during all this time Maximus and his right-hand man, Andragathius, the commander of his cavalry, were tampering with the fidelity of Gratian's troops." At a later time, when Theodosius was making his preparations to suppress him, aided by the Gothic *foedorati*, the man of whom Gildas speaks with such sincere reprobation is thus described by the same historian : "Indeed, Maximus, whose one idea of strategy seems to have been to bribe the soldiers of his opponent, had actually entered into negotiations with some of the barbarians, offering them large sums of money if they would betray their master" (*Italy and Her Invaders*, i, 403, 465). Gildas fixes our attention upon Maximus because through him, the second stage of "the evils suffered" by Britain, begins in a highly aggravated form. But he may have felt also that this usurper, in whose usurpation Britain had a guilty share, had been a prominent figure in history. Ambrose of Milan gives an account of two embassies to him, in which the wily Maximus found the great bishop too astute for him ; he is spoken of in the writings of Zosimus, of the ecclesiastical historians Socrates and Sozomen, of Jerome, Augustine, Orosius and Sulpicius Severus, probably others, besides several Chronica and Annales. After reaching Italy in 387, and Rome itself early in 388, the energy of Theodosius the Great brings his career to an end ; he was captured and put to death "at the third milestone from Aquileia" on August 28th (Prosper Tiro, *Chron.*, and Socrates, *H. E.*, v, 14).

It is only now that Gildas, for the first time, mentions the Picts and Scots, old enemies though they had been, because *first*, Britain was guilty of the old sin of unfaithfulness, and *secondly*, because not until then had the barbarians

found the civilised parts of the island empty of proper garrisons to obstruct their path. It was the best opportunity for robber-inroads.

4. Two Roman expeditions are mentioned by Gildas as taking place *after* Maximus had carried the forces needed for defence over to Gaul. The brief account given above will aid us in finding the *terminus a quo* for the time during which these took place. The position of Maximus, though strong, made it impossible for him to spare any of the old garrisons, much less any other forces, to take the field in Britain against the Scots and Picts.* It may be concluded, therefore, that no expedition could come until Theodosius had afresh reorganised the empire. This brings us to the year 389. It is possible also to fix a *terminus ad quem*.

In the last days of December, 406, the Vandals and Alani crossed the Rhine for a furious attack upon the rich provinces of Gaul (*Wandali et Halani Gallias trajecto Rheno ingressi II k. Jan.* Prosper Tiro, *M. G. H.*, ix, p. 465). In consequence, great dissatisfaction arose in Britain, where many Gallic detachments were then serving, and moved by fear of a general collapse of the empire, they proceeded to set up a new emperor. After making trial of several, they eventually fix on one bearing the noble name of Constantine, *οἰηθέντες καθότι ταύτην εἶχε προσηγορίαν καὶ βεβαίως αὐτὸν κρατήσειν τῆς βασιλείας*, Sozom., *H. E.*, ix, 11 ; *vide* also *Oros.*, vii, 40. "Having perpetrated extensive murder, they—*i.e.*, the Vandals, Alani and Suabians—became objects of fear even to the armies serving in Britain, and drove them, through fear of an attack against themselves, to proceed to the election of tyrants such as Marcus and Gratian, and after these Constantine" (*Zosimus*, vi, 3, 1). On this act, Mr. Hodgkin, in the first volume of *Italy and Her Invaders*, p. 740, remarks: "Where the liege-men of a constitutional king change a ministry, the subjects of an elected emperor upset a dynasty." The discontented army of Britain was led over to Gaul in the year 407 by Constantine, the third tyrannus, of whose deeds a full account by Dr. Freeman will be found in the *English Historical Review*, 1886, in his article on "Tyrants of Britain, Gaul and Spain," or in the above-named work of Mr. Hodgkin. At no time, therefore, in the year 407, or subsequently, could any detachment of Roman forces be sent over to Britain, because this usurpation of Constantine, with his four years of power over the Prefecture of the Gauls, was the beginning of the final abandonment. "It was not Britain that gave up Rome, but Rome that gave up Britain." By A.D. 446, we know from Gildas, there were hardly any of the old Roman families left in the island.

Between 383 and 389, as has been said, no succour by the empire could have been despatched to Britain ; from 388-9 onwards order and authority were being restored in the West by Theodosius the Great, and continued until 406 or 407. This is, therefore, the interval during which the two expeditions mentioned by Gildas must have taken place, that is, a period of about eighteen years (A.D. 389-407). It would be natural that Theodosius, while reorganising Italy and the Prefecture of the Gauls, after the defeat and execution of Maximus, should not delay in sending succour to Britain. It is certainly difficult to find definite evidence of such assistance. Socrates mentions

* St. Ambrose reminds Maximus, in the second embassy, of the latter's project to enter Italy "followed by barbarian battalions" (barbarorum stipatus agminibus, *Ep.* 24).

Chrysanthus, a Novatian bishop at Constantinople, who was drawn into the episcopate against his will. His work as bishop began in 407, but before that he had filled several public offices about the palace, and after being raised to consular rank in Italy, was appointed by Theodosius the Great, Vicar of Britain. In the tasks of this office he acquitted himself well (*H. E.*, vii, 12). It is just possible that in him we have one of the men employed by Theodosius in undoing the havoc caused by Maximus in Britain, which would mean repelling the barbarians.

Theodosius died in 395, and from that time until his death in 408, Stilicho was actual, though not nominal, ruler of the West. Claudian's verse has preserved many particulars respecting this brave soldier and strong minister of Honorius, and as the poems do not extend beyond the year 404, the frequent mention of Britain found in them must refer to events anterior to that date. These may be read in the *Mon. Hist. Brit.*, xcvii, xcviii, therefore I shall only quote the following from the poem on the Gothic war (*De Bello Getico*, A.D. 402 or 403):—

> "Venit et extremis legio praetenta Britannis
> Quae Scoto dat frena truci, ferroque notatas
> Pertegit exsangues Picto moriente figuras."

We have, therefore, clear evidence that measures were taken to repress the barbarians of the North after the death of Maximus, and before 402. I am further tempted to add the following quaint translation given by Speed in his *Great Britaine*, from the poem "On the First Consulship of Stilicho," of the year 400. Britain is made to say of Stilicho—

> "When Seas did foame with strokes of Oares,
> That beat the billowes backe,
> His force effecting with his cares,
> Prevented still my wracke:
> He bade me fear no forraine powers,
> That Picts or Scots could make,
> Nor of the Saxons that on Seas,
> Uncertaine courses take."

The reference to Picts and Scots by Claudian may be pushed back some years earlier even than 400.* It is, however, unimportant to make any endeavour by way of fixing any precise year. We find it proved for us that help was actually sent to Britain by the Empire during the very time it was possible so to send it. Gildas is in this way vindicated as to the genuineness of his facts, though his mode of describing them may certainly be still open to suspicion. He has been accused of confusion, because historians have sought in his narrative what it could not have entered his thought to narrate. For instance, it was supposed that in c. 17 he was describing the successes of Theodosius (Senior), which took place in 368; but because Gildas places the events of that chapter subsequent

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* It is interesting to remember, once more, that the xxth legion, Valeria Victrix, established hitherto at Chester, was recalled to the continent by Stilicho about 402; but Claudian's poem, *De Bello Getico*, proves that it had, before its withdrawal, done service against the Picts and Scots, as formerly, under Hadrian and Pius, as well as in the expeditions of Severus, it had taken part in the same work (see Mommsen's *Das Romische Heer in Britannien*, s. 27).

to the usurpation of Maximus (383-388), his work was thrown aside with some amount of contempt.

5. The third appeal to Rome was made, according to him, at the time when Aetius was consul, in 446, but was of necessity fruitless. The Empire was sinking. If, however, the views advanced in this note be correct, or approximately correct, they will help us further to understand his elation that, at last, victory over the old enemies came to the Britons "for the first time *after many*

(15) Third devastation by Picts and Scots. Tertiaque vastatione.

Itaque illis ad sua remeantibus emergunt certatim de curucis,[1] quibus sunt trans tithicam[2] vallem evecti,[a] quasi in alto Titane incalescenteque caumate de artissimis foraminum caverniculis fusci vermiculorum cunei, tetri Scottorum Pictorumque greges, moribus ex parte dissidentes, sed una eademque sanguinis fundendi aviditate concordes furciferosque magis vultus pilis quam corporum pudenda pudendisque proxima vestibus tegentes cognitaque condebitorum[3] reversione et reditus denegatione solito confidentiores omnem aquilonalem extremamque terrae partem pro indigenis muro tenus capessunt. Statuitur ad haec in edito arcis acies, segnis ad pugnam, inhabilis ad fugam, trementibus praecordiis inepta, quae diebus ac noctibus stupido sedili marcebat. Interea non cessant uncinata 19

(16) The famine. De fame.

[1] *Curucus*, or *curuca*. Irish, *curach;* Welsh, *corwc;* Modern Welsh, *corwg*, *corwgl*, *cwrwgl*, whence English *coracle*. In Adamnan's *Life of Columba*, we read that timber for building was to be conveyed over sea in boats (scaphis) and *cwrwgs* (curucis). The term, though originally denoting, as now in Wales, a skiff made of osier twigs covered with ox-hide, must be taken as denoting also the rude Celtic ship. The *Martyr. Dungall. Aa. Ss. Mart.*, iii, p. 268 B, says: "in those parts there was at that time (sixth century) a mode of navigating by the use of osier twigs covered with ox-hide, which was called in the Irish tongue (Scotica lingua) *currach*." But the curaci, used by Columba and his friends, were provided with sail-yards (antennae), sails (vela), and rigging (rudentes). Adamnan's *Vita Columbae*, ii, 45, Reeves' ed., pp. 176, 177.

[2] *Tithicam vallem*, an adjective formed from *Tethys* or *Tithis:* "et infesto spumavit remige Tethys," Claudian. Celtic writers seem to have had a liking for this word, so frequently used by Claudian for "the sea." We find Gildas' adjective in the Vita S. Winwaloei, *Anal. Boll.*, vii: *Muro utrimque circumdatus tethico.* Nennius, *Hist. Britonum*, c. 37, reads: *et legati transfretaverunt trans tithicam vallem.* The Irish *Liber Hymnorum*, printed by the Henry

[a] Ac yna kychwyn a wnaeth gwyr Ruuein ymeith megys ar vedyr na delynt yr ynys drachefyn. Ac ar hynny nachaf y rac dywededigyon elynyon uchot Gwinwas a Melwas yn dineu or llogeu yr tir. A llawer o niuer ganthunt or Gwydyl ar Yfcottyeit ar Fichteit ar Llychlynwyr a gwyr Denmarc a phob kenedyl or a ollyssant y gaffel y gyt ac wynt. A goresgyn yr Alban yn diannot o vywn yr mur. A gwedy gwybot o honunt ry vynet gwyr Ruuein ymeith heb obeith oe hymchoylut drachefyn ehofnach noc y gnotteynt yd ymrannassant

*years: primum per multos annos.*" These "many years," as we have seen, would date at latest from Constantine's elevation in 407. The last help rendered by Rome was the empty letter of Honorius, sent about 410 to the Britons, "that the cities must take care of themselves." Ὀνωρίου δὲ γράμμασι πρὸς τάς ἐν Βρεττανίᾳ χρησαμένου πόλεις φυλάττεσθαι (*Zosimus*, vi, 10, 2).

The next and final disaster came by the deliberate admission of the Saxons into the island.

19 As they were returning home, the terrible hordes of Scots and Picts eagerly come forth out of the tiny craft (*cwrwgs*) in which they sailed across the sea-valley, as on Ocean's deep, just as, when the sun is high and the heat increasing, dark swarms of worms emerge from the narrow crevices of their holes. Differing partly in their habits, yet alike in one and the same thirst for bloodshed—in a preference also for covering their villainous faces with hair rather than their nakedness of body with decent clothing—these nations, on learning the departure of our helpers and their refusal to return, became more audacious than ever, and seized the whole northern part of the land as far as the wall, to the exclusion of the inhabitants.

To oppose their attacks, there was stationed on the height of the stronghold, an army, slow to fight, unwieldy for flight, incompetent by reason of its cowardice of heart, which languished day and night in its foolish watch. In the meantime the barbed

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Bradshaw Society (1898), gives the Hymnus S. Columbae, Altus Prosator, of which v. 118 runs:

"*per metas tithis ignoti orientalis circuli*"

"through the bounds of Ocean, the unknown eastern horizon."

The *Life of Teilo*, in Gwenogfryn Evans' edition, p. 111, has the same word = *sea: Et continuo illud in medio tethis ad magnum scopulum in nomine Domini irretivit.* Reeves, in his *Adamnan's Vita Columbae*, says that *tithicam* (or *tethicam*) *vallem* is "evidently a poetic expression denoting a marine valley, *i.e.*, a strait or firth;" but this hardly tallies with the next words *in alto Titane* = "on the ocean deep." Can it imply any more than that a person in a boat or ship on the open sea feels as if he were in a valley—a sea valley?

[3] *Condebitorum reversione*:—This word is peculiar to Gildas. Beda, in the immediate context, quoting Gildas almost verbatim, yet omitting this phrase, seems to have supplied its equivalent in the word *socii.* *H. E.* i. 12.

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y distryw y mur. Ac yna y gossodet y hamdiffyn wynteu y bileinllu diaruot agkyfrwys ar ymlad, parawt y ffo pei as llyuassynt. Ac ny orfowyssynt eu gelynyon o vwrw agheuolyon ergytyeu yn eu plith ac o vwrw bacheu gwrth wynebawc wrth linynneu. Ac velly y trymyon vileinllu or kestyll ac or kaeroed a tynnynt hyt y llawr. Ac yna drwy amryw boeneu y gorfennynt eu hageu.

Namyn yna yd edewit y dinassoed ar kaeroed yn wac ac yn diffeith gwedy daruot yr gelynyon llad eu kiwdawtwyr.—*Brut*, p. 123.

nudorum tela, quibus miserrimi cives de muris tracti solo allidebantur. Hoc scilicet eis proficiebat immaturae mortis supplicium, qui tali funere rapiebantur, quo fratrum pignorumque suorum miserandas imminentes poenas cito exitu devitabant.

Quid plura? relictis civitatibus muroque celso iterum civibus fugae, iterum dispersiones solito desperabiliores, iterum ab hoste insectationes, iterum strages accelerantur crudeliores; et sicut agni a lanionibus, ita deflendi cives ab inimicis discerpuntur, ut commoratio eorum ferarum assimilaretur agrestium. Nam et ipsos mutuo, perexigui victus brevi sustentaculo miserrimorum civium latrocinando, temperabant: et augebantur externae clades domesticis motibus, quod huiuscemodi tam crebris direptionibus vacuaretur omnis regio totius cibi baculo, excepto venatoriae artis solacio.

(17) Letter to Agitius (Aetius). A.D. 446. De epistolis ad Agitium.

Igitur rursum miserae mittentes epistolas[a] reliquiae ad Agitium[1] Romanae potestatis virum, hoc modo loquentes: *Agitio ter consuli gemitus Britannorum;* et post pauca querentes: *repellunt barbari ad mare, repellit mare ad barbaros; inter haec duo genera funerum aut iugulamur aut mergimur;* nec pro eis quicquam adiutorii habent. Interea famis dira ac famosissima vagis ac nutabundis haeret, quae multos eorum cruentis compulit praedonibus sine dilatione victas dare manus, ut pauxillum ad refocillandam animam cibi caperent, alios vero nusquam: quin potius de ipsis montibus, speluncis ac saltibus, dumis concertis continue rebellabant. Et

(18) The victory over Picts and Scots. De victoria.

tum primum inimicis per multos annos praedas in terra agentibus strages dabant, nod fidentes in homine, sed in Deo, secundum illud Philonis: *necesse est adesse divinum, ubi humanum cessat auxilium.*[2]

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[1] *Agitius.* Gildas seems to have had access to a copy of the actual letter sent, but either he or the Britons made a mistake in the Consul's name. This is generally regarded as Aetius; and some continental editions of Gildas, *e.g.*, the *Bibl. P.P.* Paris, read Aetium, and Aetio here. Aetius was Consul for the third time, along with Symmachus, in A.D. 466; his other consulships fell in 432 and 437. From 433 to 450, he exercised supreme control over the affairs of the Western Empire, under Placidia and Valentinian. The abject tone of the letter to him is in keeping with the times: its florid wording is not strange.

[2] Dr. Wendland, the co-editor with Dr. Leopold Cohn of the edition of *Philo* that is now being published in Berlin, regards the following as the

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[a] Ac wrth hynny y kafas gwedillon y bobyl druan yn eu kyghor anuo llythyreu ar hynt hyt yn Ruuein att Agatius y gwr oed amherawdyr yn y mod hwnnyman. "Kwynuan ac ucheneideu y Brytanyeit yn eu dangos y Agatius amherawdyr Ruuein." Ac yn menegi "bot y mor yn eu kymell yr tir ar dorr eu gelynyon y eu llad, a bot eu gelynyon yn eu kymell yr mor y eu bodi." Ac uelly

weapons of the naked enemies are not idle: by them the wretched citizens are dragged from the walls and dashed to the ground. This punishment of untimely death was an advantage, forsooth, to them that were cut off by such an end, in so far as it saved them, by its suddenness, from the wretched torments which threatened their brethren and relatives.

Why should I tell more? They abandon their cities and lofty wall: there ensues a repetition of flight on the part of the citizens; again there are scatterings with less hope than ever, pursuit again by the enemy, and again still more cruel massacres. As lambs by butchers, so the unhappy citizens are torn in pieces by the enemy, insomuch that their life might be compared to that of wild animals. For they even began to restrain one another by the thieving of the small means of sustenance for scanty living, to tide over a short time, which the wretched citizens possessed. Calamities from without were aggravated by tumults at home, because the whole country by pillagings, so frequent of this kind, was being stripped of every kind of food supply, with the exception of the relief that came from their skill in hunting.

The miserable remnant therefore send a letter to Agitius, a man holding high office at Rome; they speak as follows:—*To Agitius, in his third consulship, come the groans of the Britons;* a little further in their request: *the barbarians drive us to the sea, the sea drives us upon the barbarians; by one or other of these two modes of death we are either killed or drowned;* and for these they have no aid. In the meantime, the severe and well-known famine presses the wandering and vacillating people, which compels many of them without delay to yield themselves as conquered to the bloodthirsty robbers, in order to have a morsel of food for the renewal of life. Others were never so compelled: rather issuing from the very mountains, from caves and defiles and from dense thickets, they carried on the war unceasingly. Then for the first time, they inflicted upon the enemy, which for many years was pillaging in the land, a severe slaughter: their trust was not in man but in God, as

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nearest approach to Gildas' quotation from *Philo*, but adds that no Latin version is known of the *Vita Mosis* (Letter to Dr. Mommsen. See his edition, p. 6). *Philo vita Mosis* 1, 31, p. 108; *Mangey:* οὐχ ὁμοίως ἄνθρωπος ἀμύνεται καὶ θεός . . . . παρασκευῆς οὐδεμίας ἐστι χρεῖος ὁ θεὸς βοηθός· ἐν ἀπόροις πόρον εὑρεῖν ἴδιον θεοῦ.

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menegi "nat oed udunt namyn vn o deu peth, ae eu bodi ar y mor ae eu llad ar y tir." Ac ymchoelut awnaeth y kennadeu yn drist heb gaffel eu gwarandaw. A menegi hynny y eu kiwdawtwyr.—*Brut*, pp. 123, 124.

Quievit parumper inimicorum audacia, nec tamen nostrorum malitia; recesserunt hostes a civibus nec cives a suis sceleribus.

Moris namque continui erat genti, sicut et nunc est, ut infirma 21 esset ad retundenda hostium tela et fortis esset ad civilia bella et peccatorum onera sustinenda, infirma, inquam, ad exequenda pacis ac veritatis insignia et fortis ad scelera et mendacia. Revertuntur ergo impudentes grassatores Hiberni domos, post non longum temporis reversuri. Picti in extrema parte insulae[1] tunc primum et deinceps requieverunt, praedas et contritiones nonnumquam facientes.

(19) Growth of crimes among the Britons. De sceleribus.

In talibus itaque indutiis desolato populo saeva cicatrix obducitur. Fame alia virulentiore tacitus pullulante, quiescente autem vastitate tantis abundantiarum copiis insula affluebat, ut nulla habere tales retro aetas meminisset, cum quibus omnimodis et luxuria crescit.[2] Crevit etenim germine praepollenti, ita ut competenter eodem tempore diceretur: *omnino talis auditur fornicatio, qualis nec inter gentes*.[a] Non solum vero hoc vitium, sed et omnia, quae humanae naturae accidere solent, et praecipue, quod et nunc quoque in ea totius boni evertit statum, odium veritatis cum assertoribus amorque mendacii cum suis fabricatoribus, susceptio mali pro bono, veneratio nequitiae pro benignitate, cupido tenebrarum pro sole, exceptio Satanae pro angelo lucis. Ungebantur reges

1 *Cor.* v, i.

[1] *Insulae.* The word has been taken as meaning Anglesey, and so furnishing evidence for a late date to this part of the *De Excidio.* This view connects the *Picti* of the present passage with the *Gwyddyl Ffichti* and *Picti* of late Welsh legends; see *Academy*, September 28th and November 16th, 1895. The sense seems fixed by c. 19, where we find almost the same words as here: "Omnem aquilonalem *extremamque terrae partem pro indegenis muro tenus* capessunt." *Extrema pars insulae* must have the same meaning as *extrema terrae pars*, and the emphasis cannot but be on *extrema*, which is quite inappropriate as applied to Anglesey. Moreover, *insula*, everywhere else in Gildas, has no meaning except Britain. The Picts acquired, in the extreme part of Britain, settled possession of lands that were more south, *i.e.*, nearer the Wall of Hadrian, than heretofore. Paulus Diaconus adds, concerning this

[a] A gwedy dechreu o honunt kaffel kyfoeth a theilygdawt y rei bonhedic, ymdyrchafel a wnaethant yn ry otres a fyberwyt yn vwy noc y deissyfei eu hanyan udunt. Ac ymrodi y odineb y ryw ny chlywit ymplith y pobloed. Ac megys y dyweit Gildas, traethawdyr yr yftorya, bot yn vwy y pechawt hwnnw nor holl pechodeu ereill oll yr hwn a diwreida ansawd yr holl da. Sef yw hynny, kassau gwirioned ac hamdeffynwyr, a charu kelwyd a thwyll a brat; talu drwc dros da; enrydedu enwired a chamweithredoed dros hegarwch a hynawster, aruolledigaeth y diawl dros egyl goleuat. Y brenhined a detholynt

that saying of Philo goes: *we must have recourse to divine aid where human fails.* The boldness of the enemy quieted for a time, but not the wickedness of our people; the enemy withdrew from our countrymen, but our countrymen withdrew not from their sins.

21 It was the invariable habit of the race, as it is also now, to be weak in repelling the missiles of enemies, though strong to bear civil strifes and the burdens of sins; weak, I say, to follow ensigns of peace and truth, yet strong for crimes and falsehood. The shameless Irish assassins, therefore, went back to their homes, to return again before long. It was then, for the first time, in the furthermost part of the island, that the Picts commenced their successive settlements, with frequent pillaging and devastation.

During such truces, consequently, the ugly scar is healed for the deserted people. While another more poisonous hunger was silently growing on the other hand, and the devastation quieting down, the island was becoming rich with so many resources of affluence that no age remembered the possession of such afterwards: along with these resources of every kind, luxury also grew. It grew, in fact, with strong root, so that it might fitly be said at that same time: *such fornication is actually reported as is not even among the* I *Cor.* v, 1. *gentiles.* But it was not this vice alone that grew, but also all to which human nature is generally liable: especially the vice which to-day also overthrows the place that appertains to all good in the island, that is to say, hatred of truth together with those who defend it, love of falsehood together with its fabricators, undertaking evil for good, respect for wickedness rather than for kindness, desire of darkness in preference to the sun, the welcoming of Satan as *an angel of light.* Kings were anointed, not in the II *Cor.* xi, 14.

settlement: *nec ultra exinde hactenus valuerunt expelli. Historia Romana*, xii, 17 (Droysen, *M. Ger. H.*).

[2] It is impossible to tell what amount of definite fact there may be in this description of prosperity and moral decay. Though the style makes us suspicious, yet as the years of plenty were subsequent to 446, the old men of Gildas' childhood and youth must have moved in the living tradition of them.

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nyt yn herwyd Duw namyn yr hwnn a welynt yn greulonaf. Ac yn y lle, y rei a detholynt a ledynt, gan ethol ereill a vei greulonach. A phwy bynhac a vei arafach ac ychydic nes y garu gwiryoned, hwnnw megys gelyn ynys Prydein adistrywynt. Ac or diwed pob peth or a garei Duw o gahafal vrawt yn wrthwyneb y Duw y gwneynt onyt bot yn garedigach gantunt yr hynn a gassaei Duw. Ac uelly y gwneynt poppeth or a uei wrthwyneb y iechyt, a heb geissaw dim y gan uedyc yr holl iechyt. A hyt nat mwy y gwnaei y dynyon byt, namyn kenuein Duw e hun ae uugelyd heb dosparth a wneynt uelly.—*Brut*, p. 244.

non per Deum, sed qui ceteris crudeliores exstarent, et paulo post ab unctoribus non pro veri examinatione trucidabantur, aliis electis trucioribus. Si quis vero eorum mitior et veritati aliquatenus propior videretur, in hunc quasi Britanniae subversorem omnium odia telaque sine respectu contorquebantur, et omnia quae displicuerunt Deo et quae placuerunt, aequali saltem lance pendebantur, si non gratiora fuissent displicentia ; ita ut merito patriae illud propheticum, quod veterno illi populo denuntiatum est,
*Esai.* i, 5, 6. potuerit aptari. *Filii*, inquiens, *sine lege*[1] *dereliquistis Deum, et ad iracundiam provocastis sanctum Israel. Quid adhuc percutiemini apponentes iniquitatem? Omne caput languidum et omne cor maerens: a planta pedis usque ad verticem non est in eo sanitas.*

Sicque agebant cuncta, quae saluti contraria fuerint, ac si nihil mundo medicinae a vero omnium medico largiretur. Et non solum haec saeculares viri, sed et ipse grex Domini eiusque pastores, qui exemplo esse omni plebi debuerint, ebrietate quam plurimi quasi vino madidi torpebant resoluti et animositatum tumore, iurgiorum contentione, invidiae rapacibus ungulis, indiscreto boni malique iudicio carpebantur, ita ut perspicue, sicut et
*Psalm.* cvi, 40. nunc est, *Effundi* videretur *contemptio super principes, seduci* vanis eorum et errore, *in invio et non in via.*

20) The coming of the enemy suddenly made known. De nuntiatis subito hostibus.

Interea volente Deo purgare familiam suam et tanta malorum 22 labe infectam auditu tantum tribulationis emendare, non ignoti rumoris penniger ceu volatus arrectas omnium penetrat aures iamiamque adventus veterum volentium penitus delere et inhabitare solito more a fine usque ad terminum regionem. Nequaquam[a] tamen ob hoc proficiunt, sed comparati iumentis insipientibus
*Psalm.* xxxi, 9. strictis, ut dicitur, morsibus rationis frenum offirmantes, per latam

[1] The LXX version has υἱοὶ ἄνομοι, for which we find in Lucifer of Cagliari *filii sine lege* as here ; Cyprian's version, given in Sabatier's *Antiqua Versio*, is *filii scelesti ;* he has also *filii iniqui*, and the Vulgate translates *filii scelerati*. We have in these a good instance of the divergent forms to be found before Jerome. When Gildas quotes Isaiah consecutively, his extracts are from the Vulgate version, but such well-known words as these are, probably, written down from memory. For that cause we have here a piece of the Old Latin that was used, no doubt, in the monastery of Illtud. Cf. c. 33.

[a] Ar ffrwythlawn wlat a diftrywaffant oc eu teruysc. Ac ygyt a hynny drycdamwein arall hefyt a deuth udunt. Kanys a ball newyn a drycuyt a lynwys wrth y bobyl. Megys nat oed o holl ymgynhal dim y neb eithyr yr

name of God, but such as surpassed others in cruelty, and shortly afterwards were put to death by the men who anointed them, without any enquiry as to truth, because others more cruel had been elected. If, however, any one among them appeared to be of a milder disposition, and to some extent more attached to truth, against him were turned without respect the hatred and darts of all, as if he were the subverter of Britain; all things, those which were displeasing to God and those which pleased him, had at least equal weight in the balance, if, indeed, the things displeasing to him were not the more acceptable. In this way that saying of the prophet which was uttered against that ancient people might be applied with justice to our country: *Ye lawless sons*, he says, *have forsaken God and provoked the Holy One of Israel to anger. Why will ye be stricken any more when ye add iniquity? Every head is weak and every heart grieving; from the sole of the foot to the crown there is no soundness in it.* *Isaiah* i, 5, 6. LXX. πᾶσα κεφαλή, πᾶσα καρδία.

In this way they did all things that were contrary to salvation, as if there were no remedy to be supplied for the world by the true Healer of all men. It was not only men of the world who did this, but the Lord's flock itself also and its pastors, who ought to have been an example to the whole people; they, in great numbers, as if soaked in wine through drunkenness, became stupified and enervated, and by the swelling of animosities, by the jar of strifes, by the grasping talons of envy, by confused judgement of good and evil, were so enfeebled that it was plainly seen, as in the present case, that *contempt was being poured out upon princes*, and *that they were led astray* by their vanities and error *in a trackless place, and not on the way.* *Psalm* cvii, 40.

22 Meanwhile, when God was desirous to cleanse his family, and, though defiled by such a strain of evil things, to better it by their hearing only of distress, there came like the winged flight of a rumour not unfamiliar to them, into the listening ears of all—that their old enemies had already arrived, bent upon thorough destruction, and upon dwelling in the country, as had become their wont, from one end to the other. Nevertheless they in no way profited by this news; rather like foolish beasts, with clenched teeth, as the saying is, they bite the bit of reason, and began to run along the broad way of many sins, which leads down to death, quitting *Psalm* xxxii, 9.

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neb a allei hela y mywn y diffeith. Ar girat newyn hwnnw a erlynwys tymhestlus agheu, ac yn ennyt bychan a dreulwys y bobyl hyt na allei y rei buw gladu y rei meirw.

diversorum vitiorum morti proclive ducentem, relicto salutari licet arto itinere, discurrebant viam. Dum ergo, ut Salomon ait,

*Prov.* xxix, 19.

*Servus durus non emendatur verbis,*

21) The noted plague. De famosa peste.

flagellatur stultus et non sentit, pestifera namque lues feraliter insipienti populo incumbit, quae in brevi tantam eius multitudinem remoto mucrone sternit, quantam ne possint vivi humare. Sed ne hac quidem emendantur, ut illud Esaiae prophetae in eo quoque impleretur dicentis: *et vocavit Deus ad planctum et ad calvitium et ad cingulum sacci: ecce vitulos occidere et iugulare arietes, ecce manducare et bibere et dicere: manducemus et bibamus, cras enim moriamur.*

*Esai.* xxii, 12, 13.

22) Deliberation how to oppose the Picts and Scots. The Saxons invited to aid in their repulsion. De consilio.

Appropinquabat siquidem tempus, quo eius iniquitates, ut olim Amorrhaeorum, complerentur. Initur namque consilium, quid optimum quidve saluberrimum ad repellendas tam ferales et tam crebras supra dictarum gentium irruptiones praedasque decerni deberet.

Tum omnes consiliarii una cum superbo tyranno[1] caecantur, 23

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[1] *Superbo tyranno.* The native king is called *tyrannus*, because the sole legitimate authority, that of Rome, was absent. Procopius, who was a younger contemporary of Gildas, relates that after the death of the tyrant Constantine (A.D. 411), "the Romans were no longer able to save Britain, but it remained from his time continuously under tyrants" (ἀλλ' οὖσα ὑπὸ τυράννοις ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἔμενεν). Codex A reads *tyranno Uortigerno*, and X *tyranno Gurthigerno Britannorum duce* (giving thus its later form to the name, in the same way as Guenedotia takes the place of Venedotia), and the words of course appear in Gale's edition based on the latter MS. The name may have slipped into MSS. of Gildas from the *Historia Britonum* of Nennius, or perhaps from Beda (*H. E.*, i, 14), who writes, *placuitque omnibus cum rege suo Uortigerno*, and in the *Chronicle*, *Vertigerno*. Nearly all the MSS. of Nennius have the late form, Guorthigernus, which in Welsh becomes *Gwrtheyrn*. That Gildas is not ignorant of the former predatory visits of the Saxons (as attested by Ammianus Marcellinus, and by the early title "Count of the Saxon shore"), is evident from the words, "whom in their absence they feared more than death." Men are not feared in their absence except through previous unhappy acquaintance, so that the Britons must have had experience of the hated Saxons at times anterior to this compact struck with them. The same conclusion may also be drawn from the closing sentence of c. 18: "They build towers on the south coast where ships were usually anchored because *from that quarter also* wild beasts of barbarians were to be feared." These could be no other than the Saxons. Zimmer appears to me entirely wrong in concluding that British tradition, *c.* 540, knew nothing of a previous presence of the Saxons in Britain: "von einer früheren anwesenheit derselben in Brittanien weiss sie absolut nichts" (*Nennius Vindic.*, 190).

There is nothing direct in the narrative of Gildas to fix the date of this

the narrow way though it was the path of salvation. Whilst then, according to the words of Solomon, *The stubborn servant is not corrected by words*, the foolish nation is scourged and feels it not: for a deadly pestilence came upon the unwise people which, in a short time, without any sword, brought down such a number of them that the living were unable to bury the dead. Prov. xxix, 19.

But they were not corrected even by this pestilence, so that the word of Isaiah the prophet was fulfilled in them: *And God has called to lamentation and to baldness and the girdle of sack-cloth: behold they kill calves, and slay rams, behold they eat and drink and say, 'Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow let us die.'* Isaiah xxii, 12, 13.

In this way the time was drawing nigh when the iniquities of the country, as those of the Amorites of old, would be fulfilled. A council is held, to deliberate what means ought to be determined upon, as the best and safest to repel such fatal and frequent irruptions and plunderings by the nations mentioned above.

23 At that time all members of the assembly, along with the proud tyrant, are blinded; such is the protection they find for their

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coming of the Saxons at the invitation of the Britons. It cannot, however, be very long after the time clearly furnished by the third consulship of Aetius (*Agitio ter consuli*, c. 20). This being in A.D. 446, the approximate dates given by Beda seem to be derived from it, though he connects the time of the settlement of the Saxons with certain imperial events. A full note by the Editor of *M. H. B.*, p. 120, collects the different dates assigned by Beda. They are, 452 in the *Chronica*, 449 in the *Historia* (i, 15; v. 24), 447 implied in i, 23, and v. 23; other parts suggest 448. The Chronicle, however, does not fix the date to any given year, and the adverb *circiter* is added in the other places. We learn from Gildas all that Beda knew. About 446 the Britons gain the victory which causes the *grassatores Hiberni* to flee homewards, but only to return at no long interval (*post non longum temporis reversuri*); to meet *that* return the Saxons are invited to come, and we may be well satisfied that no nearer date can be found than *c.* 447. The Gallic Chronicle of the year 511 (printed in *M. Germaniæ Hist.*, vol. ix, p. 660), opposite A.D. 441-442, gives: *Brittaniæ usque ad hoc tempus variis cladibus eventibusque latae in dicionem Saxonum rediguntur.* (Mommsen conjectures *late vexatae*). It is difficult to reconcile this difference of five years, unless a Saxon invasion of that time be regarded as one (perhaps the worst) of those which had made the Britons fear the Saxons "more than death."

The *Historia Britonum* follows a different tradition: it is to the effect that the three ships which brought Horsa and Hengist came as the ships of exiles (*expulsae in exilio*).

*Cyulis* or *ciulis*, as the word is in X, must be the same as the English *keel.* Geoffrey of Monmouth changes it into *tres celoces, quas longas naues dicimus;* in the Welsh, *deir llog hirion.*

*Prolixiorem catastam*, cf. c. 109: *rectius erat ut ad carcerem vel catastam*

adinvenientes tale praesidium, immo excidium patriae, ut ferocissimi illi nefandi nominis Saxones Deo hominibusque invisi, quasi in caulas lupi, in insulam ad retundendas aquilonales gentes intromitterentur. Quo utique nihil ei usquam perniciosius nihilque amarius factum est. O altissimam sensus caliginem! O desperabilem crudamque mentis hebetudinem! Quos propensius morte, cum abessent, tremebant, sponte, ut ita dicam, sub unius tecti culmine invitabant. *Stulti principes*, ut dictum est,[1] *Taneos dantes Pharaoni consilium insipiens.* Tum erumpens grex catulorum de cubili leaenae barbarae, tribus, ut lingua eius exprimitur, cyulis, nostra longis navibus, secundis velis, omine auguriisque, quibus vaticinabatur, certo apud eum praesagio, quod ter centum annis patriam, cui proras librabat, insideret, centum vero quinquaginta, hoc est dimidio temporis, saepius vastaret, evectus, primum in orientali parte insulae iubente infausto tyranno terribiles infixit ungues, quasi pro patria pugnaturus, sed eam certius impugnaturus. Cui supradicta genetrix, comperiens primo agmini fuisse prosperatum, item mittit satellitum canumque prolixiorem catastam, quae ratibus advecta adunatur cum manipularibus spuriis. Inde germen iniquitatis, radix amaritudinis, virulenta plantatio nostris condigna meritis, in nostro cespite, ferocibus palmitibus pampinisque pullulat. Igitur intromissi in insulam barbari, veluti militibus et magna, ut mentiebantur, discrimina pro bonis hospitibus subituris, impetrant sibi annonas dari: quae multo tempore impertitae clauserunt, ut dicitur, canis faucem. Item queruntur non affluenter sibi epimenia contribui, occasiones de industria colorantes, et ni profusior eis munificentia cumularetur, testantur se cuncta insulae rupto foedere depopulaturos. Nec mora minas effectibus prosequuntur.

*ai.* xix, 11, 3.

) The saxons prove ar more ruel than he former nemies. De saeviore multo primis hoste.

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*poenalem quam ad sacerdotium traheremini*, where *catasta* must mean a scaffold as used for the punishment of criminals. In this passage the word *classis*, i.e., fleet, is substituted for it by Beda: *mittitur confestim classis prolixior.* One instance from an unpublished MS. treatise on military tactics is furnished by Du Cange, where the word is used for a heap of *felled* wood: *Faciat lignaria incidere de quibus fiant in diversis locis foci in die suae discessionis, et accensis catastis lignorum statim discedat cum suo exercitu.* Such a meaning would easily give the signification of a *raft*, in which sense Gildas employs the word here as a contemptuous expression with *ratibus*. Dr. Davies, in his *Latin-Welsh Dictionary*, gives the Welsh *carchardy*=prison-house, for *catasta.* The only other meaning given by Du Cange is that of an instrument of torture, a wooden rack, made in the shape of a horse, *equuleus*, or a "bed of iron" on which martyrs were placed, fire being kindled beneath. *Scala, vel genus poenae equuleo similis* is quoted from a gloss in *Mai*,

country (it was, in fact, its destruction) that those wild Saxons, of accursed name, hated by God and men, should be admitted into the island, like wolves into folds, in order to repel the northern nations. Nothing more hurtful, certainly, nothing more bitter, happened to the island than this. What utter depth of darkness of soul! What hopeless and cruel dulness of mind! The men whom, when absent, they feared more than death, were invited by them of their own accord, so to say, under the cover of one roof: *Foolish princes of Zoan*, as is said, *giving unwise counsel to Pharaoh* (*Isaiah* xix, 11, 13.) Then there breaks forth a brood of whelps from the lair of the savage lioness, in three cyulae (keels), as it is expressed in their language, but in ours, in ships of war under full sail, with omens and divinations. In these it was foretold, there being a prophecy firmly relied upon among them, that they should occupy the country to which the bows of their ships were turned, for three hundred years; for one hundred and fifty—that is for half the time—they should make frequent devastations. They sailed out, and at the directions of the unlucky tyrant, first fixed their dreadful talons in the eastern part of the island, as men intending to fight for the country, but more truly to assail it. To these the mother of the brood, finding that success had attended the first contingent, sends out also a larger raft-full of accomplices and curs, which sails over and joins itself to their bastard comrades. From that source, the seed of iniquity, the root of bitterness, grows as a poisonous plant, worthy of our deserts, in our own soil, furnished with rugged branches and leaves. Thus the barbarians, admitted into the island, succeed in having provisions supplied them, as if they were soldiers and about to encounter, as they falsely averred, great hardships for their kind entertainers. These provisions, acquired for a length of time, closed, as the saying is, the dog's maw. They complain, again, that their monthly supplies were not copiously contributed to them, intentionally colouring their opportunities, and declare that, if larger munificence were not piled upon them, they would break the treaty and lay waste the whole of the island. They made no delay to follow up their threats with deeds.

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Tom. vii, p. 554, and from *Aug.* in Psalm 96: *Habebant gaudia in catasta, qui Christum prædicabant inter tormenta.* Several *Acta* furnish examples: for instance, *Acta* Perpetuae et Felicitatis: *Ascendimus in catasta*=scaffold.

[1] *Taneos* is the Greek genitive Τάνεως. Zoan was called *Tanis* by the Greeks. οἱ ἄρχοντες Τάνεως = *princes of Zoan.* Jerome did not revert to the Hebrew name in revising the Latin here.

24) Destruction of cities. De urbium subversione.

Confovebatur namque ultionis iustae praecedentium scelerum 24 causa de mari usque ad mare ignis orientali sacrilegorum manu exaggeratus, et finitimas quasque civitates agrosque populans non quievit accensus, donec cunctam paene exurens insulae superficiem rubra occidentalem trucique oceanum lingua delamberet.[1] In hoc ergo impetu, Assyrio olim in Iudaeam comparando, completur quoque in nobis secundum historiam, quod propheta deplorans ait:

*Incenderunt igni sanctuarium tuum;*
*in terra polluerunt tabernaculum nominis tui.* — *Psalm.* lxxiii, 7.

Et iterum,

*Deus, venerunt gentes in hereditatem tuam;*
*coinquinarunt templum sanctum tuum;*[2] — *Psalm.* lxxviii, 1.

et cetera. Ita ut cunctae coloniae crebris arietibus omnesque coloni cum praepositis[3] ecclesiae, cum sacerdotibus ac populo, mucronibus undique micantibus ac flammis crepitantibus, simul solo sternerentur et miserabili visu in medio platearum ima turrium edito cardine evulsarum murorumque celsorum saxa, sacra altaria, cadaverum frusta, crustis ac si gelantibus purperei cruoris tecta, velut in quodam horrendo torculari mixta viderentur, et nulla esset omnimodis praeter domorum ruinas, bestiarum volucrumque ventres in medio sepultura, salva sanctarum animarum reverentia, si tamen multae inventae sint, quae arduis caeli id temporis a sanctis angelis veherentur. Ita enim degeneraverat tunc vinea illa olim bona in amaritudinem, uti raro, secundum prophetam, videretur quasi post tergum vindemiatorum aut messorum racemus vel spica. — *Esai.* xxiv, 13.

25) The remnant of the population. Success of Ambrosius Aurelianus. De reliquis.

Itaque nonnulli[4] miserarum reliquiarum in montibus deprehensi 25

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[1] The meaning we attach to this description of the Saxon invasion, especially the words "from sea to sea," "the western ocean," has an important bearing on the date of the *De Excidio*. See Introduction.

[2] Jerome's first revision of the Old Latin Psalter, made A.D. 383, and called *Psalterium Romanum*, reads, as Gildas here, *coinquinarunt* (ἐμίαναν in LXX). But the second, the *Psalterium Gallicum* of A.D. 392, preserved in the Vulgate, has *polluerunt*, which is the rendering of ἐβεβήλωσαν in the previous quotation. In chapters 30, 104, we have further indications that Gildas used an old Psalter, probably older than either revision of the old Latin made by Jerome.

[3] *Praepositis ecclesiae.* "The four terms, *episcopus*, *sacerdos*, *antistes*, *praepositus*, are used for bishop. The first three have only this one sense . . . Propositus normally means a bishop, . . . but in 514.18 praepositi are the clergy in the absence of the bishop: in 475.15 praepositi et diaconi are synonymous" (E. W. Watson, "The Style and Language of St. Cyprian," in *Studia Biblica*, vol. iv, p. 257). What is said here of Cyprian's use of these four terms holds true, for the most part, of Gildas about two hundred years later.

[4] *Nonnulli . . . . alii . . . . alii . . . alii.* Gildas describes the fate of his

24 For the fire of righteous vengeance, caused by former crimes, blazed from sea to sea, heaped up by the eastern band of impious men ; and as it devastated all the neighbouring cities and lands, did not cease after it had been kindled, until it burnt nearly the whole surface of the island, and licked the western ocean with its red and savage tongue. In this assault, which might be compared to the Assyrian attack upon Iudaea of old, there is fulfilled in us also, according to the account, that which the prophet in his lament says :—

*They have burnt with fire thy sanctuary in the land,* *Psalm* lxxiv, 7.
*They have defiled the tabernacle of thy name ;*

and again,

*O God, the gentiles have come into thine inheritance,* *Psalm* lxxix, 1.
*They have defiled thy holy temple,*

and so forth. In this way were all the settlements brought low with the frequent shocks of the battering rams ; the inhabitants, along with the bishops of the church, both priests and people, whilst swords gleamed on every side and flames crackled, were together mown down to the ground, and, sad sight ! there were seen in the midst of streets, the bottom stones of towers with tall beam[5] cast down, and of high walls, sacred altars, fragments of bodies covered with clots, as if coagulated, of red blood, in confusion as in a kind of horrible wine press: there was no sepulture of any kind save the ruins of houses, or the entrails of wild beasts and birds in the open, I say it with reverence to their holy souls (if in fact there were many to be found holy), that would be carried by holy angels to the heights of heaven. For the vineyard, at one time good, had then so far degenerated to bitter fruit, that rarely could be seen, according to the prophet, any cluster of *Isaiah* xxiv, 13. grapes or ear of corn, as it were, behind the back of the vintagers or reapers.

25 Some of the wretched remnant were consequently captured on

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countrymen in this struggle. (1) Many were killed outright ; (2) others were reduced to life-long slavery ; (3) others took refuge in parts beyond sea ; (4) others betook themselves to hilly districts and the rugged sea-coasts. These last are the *reliquiae*, the remnant, who before Gildas' own time had, with the assistance of their British fellow-countrymen (cives) succeeded in wresting back several cities and districts from the terrible enemy. Two remarkable successes came at a time when a considerable part of the Saxons

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[5] Or, with lofty door.

acervatim iugulabantur: alii fame confecti accedentes manus hostibus dabant in aevum servituri, si tamen non continuo trucidarentur, quod altissimae gratiae stabat loco: alii transmarinas petebant regiones[1] cum ululatu magno ceu celeumatis vice[2] hoc modo sub velorum sinibus cantantes,

Psalm. xliii, 12.

> *Dedisti nos tamquam oves escarum,*
> *et in gentibus dispersisti nos:* [a]

alii montanis collibus minacibus praeruptis vallatis et densissimis saltibus marinisque rupibus vitam suspecta semper mente credentes,

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had returned to their own settlement. The first occurred under the leadership of Ambrosius Aurelianus; the second came by the siege of Badon Hill; both exceeded all expectation or hope on the part of the British. At the time when Gildas wrote, there were many alive who had been eye-witnesses of the two events, who could not, he remarks, refrain from frequent mentioning of them. He himself was born in the very year of the later victory, forty-three years and one month from his time of writing; but the success to which the generalship of Ambrosius Aurelianus led was acquired at no considerable time before that, as it must fall within the memory of one life. If we take the year of Gildas' birth as *c.* A.D. 500, then the battle of Badon Hill took place *c.* 456-7, and the successes of Ambrosius Aurelius may be put not far from A.D. 450.

[1] *Transmarinas petebant regiones.* Gildas in these words certainly implies that there was an emigration of a considerable part of the Britons of this island to the continent. He has already intimated the same in c. 4, where he tells us that his information is derived not from native sources but from continental ones. What *might* have existed of the former had, he says, either been burnt by the enemy, or carried far away by that fleet which conveyed his countrymen into exile. This was the beginning of Britanny, or Armorica, but the emigration continued far on into the seventh century. Another view, maintained by many, may be stated in the words of Dr. Freeman: "Here the ante-Roman population still kept its Celtic language, and it was further strengthened by colonies from Britain, from which the land took its later name of the *Lesser Britain*, or *Britany*" (*Hist. Geogr. of Europe*, p. 93). French writers, especially French Celtic scholars, hold a very different opinion. M. Loth, for instance, in his exhaustive *History of the British Emigration in Armorica*, thus sums up the conclusions of M. de Courson: "In every place where the insular Britons are not established, the names of places are Gallo-Roman; men's names are Latin or German. The territory of Rennes and that of Nantes .... are of this kind. The old Vannetais, even, towards the end of the fifth century, presents the same character. The tyrant of Vannes, in the *Life of St. Melanius*, is named *Eusebius*, his daughter *Aspasia*, and the "villa" in which he resides *Prima Villa*. Everywhere, on the contrary, where the Britons are established, the names of men and of places present a Celtic character. Men's names are the same as in Wales and Cornwall; the names of places are generally preceded by a British prefix, as in the island; *tref* (hamlet), *ploi*, *plou*, *pleu*, *plo* (*plebs* = Welsh *plwyf*, meaning at first a *congregation*, then *the district* inhabited by the congregation

the mountains and killed in heaps. Others, overcome by hunger, came and yielded themselves to the enemies, to be their slaves for ever, if they were not instantly slain, which was equivalent to the highest service. Others repaired to parts beyond the sea, with strong lamentation, as if, instead of the oarsman's call, singing thus beneath the swelling sails:

*Thou hast given us like sheep appointed for eating,*
*And among the gentiles hast thou scattered us.* *Psalm* xliv, 12.

Others, trusting their lives, always with apprehension of mind, to high hills, overhanging, precipitous, and fortified, and to dense

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of any given church); *caer* (a fortified place, and, simply, a village); *llan* (a monastery, generally, then a church), etc. The terminations are equally distinct. The Britons do not derive names of places in *-acum* (*-ac*) from names of persons, a formation very frequent in a Gallo-Roman country. In a word, throughout the zone occupied by the immigrants, all is transformed, all is Celtic (Brito-Celtic): we are in Britannia; at Rennes and at Nantes we are in Romania" (p. 84). This account of the fact that a Brito-Celtic people are found settled on the peninsula which forms the extremity of the "tractus Armoricanus," about the middle of the sixth century, is amplified by M. Loth. He notices at length the special characteristics of different Celtic languages, which make it impossible for us to regard the people of Britanny as a portion of the old Celtic inhabitants of Gaul surviving there: reference is made to the use of *Britannia*, etc., by Gregory of Tours in the *Historia Francorum*, to ancient Lives of Saints, which describe their crossing over from Britain to Lesser Britain (Britannia Minor) with crowds of companions, and to a large bulk of historic matter in ancient annalists and poetry. Taking all things together, a host of lines converge upon one fact: that from about A.D. 500 to 590 there was a strong stream of emigration to the continent. It had, probably, begun earlier, and it continued later, but during the whole lifetime of Gildas there were periods of emigration. Two of his old fellow-disciples, Samson and Paul Aurelian, left their native land and settled in Britany. (Vide *L'Emigration bretonne en Armorique*, *par J. Loth.* 1883.)

[2] *Celeumatis vice.* In a copious note on κέλευσμα (or κέλευμα, a later form) by Blomfield, *Glossarium in Persas* (Aesch.), p. 151, v. 403, which gives apt illustrative passages as to the meaning of the Greek word, Isidore is quoted: *Aliter; celeuma est carmen quod navigantes canere solent, vel clamor nauticus, id est, vox nautarum. Celeuma* in this passage of Gildas has a similar meaning, implying the sailors' joyous song when at work, or in nearing port. Jerome, *Epp.* 14, 10, shows this meaning well: *expandenda vela sunt ventis, et quaestionum scopulis transvadatis lactantium more nautarum epilogi celeuma cantandum est.*

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[a] Ac wrth hynny y rei truan a dihegis yn vydinoed y foynt dros y moroed gan gwynuan a drycyruerth y dan arfett yr hwyleu gan dywedut yn y megys hynn. *Duw, ti an rodeist ni megys deueit a yssit, ac an gwasgereisst ymplith y kenedloed* (Ps. xliv, 12).—*Brut*, p. 252.

in patria licet trepidi perstabant. Tempore igitur interveniente aliquanto, cum recessissent domum[1] crudelissimi praedones, roborante Deo reliquiae, quibus confugiunt undique de diversis locis miserrimi cives, tam avide quam apes alvearii procella imminente, simul deprecantes eum toto corde et, ut dicitur,

*Verg. Aen.* ix, 24.

*Innumeris onerantes aethera votis*,

ne ad internicionem usque delerentur, duce Ambrosio Aureliano[2] viro modesto, qui[3] solus forte Romanae gentis tantae tempestatis collisione, occisis in eadem parentibus purpura nimirum indutis, superfuerat, cuius nunc temporibus nostris suboles magnopere avita bonitate degeneravit, vires capessunt, victores provocantes ad proelium: quis victoria domino annuente cessit.

(26) The final victory over the Saxons. Siege of Mons Badonicus. De postrema patriae victoria quae temporibus nostris Dei nutu donata est.

Ex eo tempore nunc cives, nunc hostes, vincebant, ut in ista 26
gente experiretur dominus solito more praesentem Israelem, utrum diligat eum an non; usque ad annum obsessionis Badonici montis,[4]

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[1] *Domum:* this can only mean the place assigned to them by treaty in Britain, not their original home on the Continent. The sentence, therefore, implies an ebb in the flood of Saxon conquest.

[2] *Ambrosio Aureliano.* Ambrosius Aurelian has become known in Welsh literature as Emrys Wledig, or, as the *Historia Britonum* gives the name, Embreis Guletic. According to Gildas, he is (1) a *Romanus*, a member of one of the few old aristocratic families then remaining in Britain; (2) his ancestors had worn the imperial purple: he may have been a descendant of some tyrannus that had assumed the title of Augustus in Britain; (3) he was a *vir modestus*, which implies kindness of disposition with unassuming manners: the mention of this quality goes far to prove that the information had come to Gildas from some one personally acquainted with the victorious leader; (4) his descendants, grandchildren probably, were intimately known to Gildas. Ussher (*Antiquities*, vol. v, c. xiii, p. 513) has drawn attention to the false reading *indutus* for *indutis*, which the first edition of Polydore Vergil introduced. In this way Ambrosius Aurelian himself assumed imperial power "for the struggle" (*collisioni* for *collisione*) against the Saxons. But, though one codex, A, reads *indutus*, the way in which Beda paraphrases Gildas shows plainly that he must have read *indutis: occisis in eadem parentibus regium nomen et insigne ferentibus. H. E.*, i, 16. With Beda agrees the *Historia Britonum* of Nennius, which makes Ambrosius say that his father was of consular rank (c. 42). The Irish version of Nennius adds an interpretation of *Guletic*, in Latin, as meaning *king of the Britons* (*rex Britonum*). Maximus is also styled Maxim Guletic (*Archiv für Celt. Lexicogr.*, i., s. 206), but, in the case of both, its implication appears to be that of a commander. Geoffrey of Monmouth absurdly makes him the son of the tyrannus Constantine, whom he represents as king of Britain, along with Constans the monk and Uthur ben dragon: "Ac or wreic honno y bu idaw tri meib. Sef oed y rei hynny, Constans ac Emrys Wledic ac Uthur ben dragon" (*Brut.*, p. 126). We seem to have here a reminiscence of both Gildas

forests and rocks of the sea, remained in their native land, though with fear.

After a certain length of time the cruel robbers returned to their home. A remnant, to whom wretched citizens flock from different places on every side, as eagerly as a hive of bees when a storm is threatening, praying at the same time unto Him with their whole heart, and, as is said,

*Burdening the air with unnumbered prayers*,

that they should not be utterly destroyed, take up arms and challenge their victors to battle under Ambrosius Aurelianus. He was a man of unassuming character, who, alone of the Roman race chanced to survive in the shock of such a storm (as his parents, people undoubtedly clad in the purple, had been killed in it), whose offspring in our days have greatly degenerated from their ancestral nobleness. To these men, by the Lord's favour, there came victory.

26 From that time, the citizens were sometimes victorious, sometimes the enemy, in order that the Lord, according to His wont, might try in this nation the Israel of to-day, whether it loves Him or not. This continued up to the year of the siege of Badon Hill, and

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and Orosius. In Gildas, Geoffrey found that the family of Ambrosius had worn the purple, which may well mean that he was descended from one of the many tyranni who had assumed the title of Augustus in Britain. Orosius, on the other hand, furnishes the romancist with a father for Ambrosius in the person of the tyrannus Constantine. He had a son Constans, that from a monk became a Cæsar, but this son was killed in Spain in A.D. 412, and Constantine himself in the previous year. [*Adversus hos Constantinus Constantem filium suum—pro dolor!—ex monacho Caesarem factum—in Hispanias misit—Oros. Hist.*, vii, 40, 7.] Yet according to Geoffrey's story, Emrys and Uthur must have been men in years long before Constans left his monastery, that is, long before 411, nevertheless, the former lived to conquer the Saxons about the year 450! This is still worse if we fall into the mistake of taking Geoffrey's Constantine, as he himself suggests, to be Constantine the Great.

[3] *Quis.* For quîs or queis (=quibus). Zimmer notices in *Nennius Vindic.*, p. 315, the fondness for this form of the dative in the Latinity of a certain circle of Celtic writers. Q reads *queis* here, A has *quibus*.

[4] *Ad annum obsessionis Badonici montis.* Since the publication of Dr. Guest's papers ("Origines Celticae," 1883), the conclusions at which he arrives respecting the location of Badonicus mons have been very generally accepted. Treating of "The early English Settlements in South Britain," he maintains that Mount Badon or Badon Hill is not Bath, but Badbury, in Dorset. "Its elevated site, its great strength and evident importance, *and its name*, all alike

novissimaeque ferme de furciferis non minimae stragis, quique quadragesimus quartus[1] (ut novi) orditur annus, mense iam uno emenso, qui et meae nativitatis est. Sed ne nunc quidem, ut antea, civitates, patriae inhabitantur; sed desertae dirutaeque hactenus squalent,[2] cessantibus licet externis bellis, sed non civilibus. Haesit etenim tam desperati insulae[3] excidii insperatique mentio auxilii memoriae eorum, qui utriusque miraculi testes extitere: et ob hoc reges, publici, privati, sacerdotes, ecclesiastici, suum quique ordinem servarunt. At illis decedentibus cum successisset aetas tempestatis illius nescia et praesentis tantum serenitatis experta ita cuncta veritatis ac iustitiae moderamina concussa ac subversa sunt, ut earum non dicam vestigium, sed ne monimentum quidem in supra

favour the hypothesis" (vol. ii, p. 189). His hypothesis was accepted by Freeman and Green. But it is one extremely difficult to fall in with, and must, one feels, be put aside for the older view. There was no need of a *very* elevated site to build a fortress, while the neighbourhood of Bath would supply hills for such a purpose. Moreover, the very similarity of sound in *Bad*-bury and *Bad*-on-icus is itself something to rouse suspicion rather than to suggest Dr. Guest's inference. The name *Mons Badonis* is found in Nennius's *Historia Britonum* as the place where the "twelfth battle" was fought under Arthur. The *Annales Cambriae* place *Bellum Badonis* opposite a doubtful date (A.D. 516); a fragment published in the *Brut* of Llyfr Coch o Hergest speaks of the "battle of Badwn" (*gweith Badwn*) p. 404, while other parts of the *Brut* mention *Kaer Vadon*, and once there is mention of *esgob Bad*. In all these places there can be no doubt that the meaning is Bath, as in "capitulum LXVIII" of the *Historia Britonum* (p. 130 Mommsen's edn.); *De stagno calido, in quo balnea sunt Badonis* (baths of Badon) *secundum uniuscuiusque voti desiderium.* Cf. Camden's *Britannia*, *Somersetshire*, p. 70 (edn. of 1645).

[1] *Quique quadragesimus quartus. . . .* There has been much controversy as to the meaning of these words. Beda took them to mean, forty-four years after the coming of the Saxons to Britain: *quadragesimo circiter et quarto anno adventus eorum in Britanniam.* M. de la Borderie, in an article in *Revue Celtique*, vi, 1—13, holds that Beda's rendering is the true one, and in this way arrives at the conclusion that the date assigned to the siege of Badon Hill by the *Annales Cambriae* is incorrect. Certainly A.D. 516 cannot be the date of that battle for several reasons; the entry in the *Annales Cambriae* has all the appearance of an erroneous borrowing from Nennius, c. 56, of matter not found in the Irish translation, and extremely legendary in character. Dismissing the date 516, M. de la Borderie arrives at 493 as the date of the battle, which, he holds, Beda deduced from Gildas, rightly understanding his words to convey the meaning of forty-four years after the settlement of the Saxons. But the French scholar inserts the words *adventus eorum in Britanniam* before *ut novi.* In the note on Ambrosius Aurelian we have had an instance of the way in which Beda mixes literal quotations from Gildas with his own words, interpreting the latter's meaning in better words or phrases. As no MS. authority exists for this insertion of M. de la Borderie's, it seems

of almost the last great slaughter inflicted upon the rascally crew. And this commences, a fact I know, as the forty-fourth year, with one month now elapsed ; it is also the year of my birth. But not even at the present day are the cities of our country inhabited as formerly ; deserted and dismantled, they lie neglected until now, because, although wars with foreigners have ceased, domestic wars continue. The recollection of so hopeless a ruin of the island, and of the unlooked-for help, has been fixed in the memory of those who have survived as witnesses of both marvels. Owing to this (aid) kings, magistrates, private persons, priests, ecclesiastics, severally preserved their own rank. As they died away, when an age had succeeded ignorant of that storm, and having experience only of the present quiet, all the controlling influences of truth and justice were so shaken and overturned that, not to speak of traces, not even the remembrance of them is to be found among the ranks named

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far better to regard the words *adventus eorum in Britanniam* as Beda's own interpretation of Gildas. Ussher (vol. v, p. 544) holds that Beda has misunderstood Gildas's words, and gives himself the following paraphrase of the passage : "*perinde ac si dixisset, a clade Badonica quadragesimum quartum tunc* (*tempore quo scripta ab eo ista sunt*) *numerari cepisse annum ; unico quippe anni illius mense adhuc elapso ; idque ex sua ipsius aetate se novisse.*" "As if he had said that from the loss inflicted at Badon, the forty-fourth year had then (at the time he wrote) begun to be counted ; one month in fact of that year was gone, and this he knew from his own age." Mommsen feels that the passage can hardly give a good meaning, and, though reluctantly, proposes an emendation of it. The difficulty, he feels, lies in the strange *ut novi*, but if the sentence be read : *quique quadragesimus quartus* [*est ab eo qui*] *orditur annus mense iam uno emenso, qui et meae nativitatis est*, then the meaning is perfectly clear. (*Mon. Germ. Hist.*, iii, p. 8.) When we think of the many involved scraggy sentences which Gildas writes elsewhere, we do not wonder at the *ut novi*, which the recollection of his own age forced to an undue prominence before his mind : by inserting it in brackets the sentence is tolerably easier, and can only give the meaning deduced by Ussher, and favoured by Mommsen.

[2] The description given here of the atrocities perpetrated in this invasion is so definite in details that it must have come to Gildas from eye-witnesses. He himself saw the ruined cities, *desertae dirutaeque hactenus squalent* (chapter 26).

[3] A very new and, to many, startling explanation of these words is given by Mr. A. Anscombe in *Academy*, September 8th, 1895. "The phrase *insulae excidii* (*mentio*) has been assumed to refer to the loss of the island of Britain by the Britons : it, of course, refers to the occupation of Mon, or Anglesey, by Edwin of Deira (617-633)." This way of explaining the phrase seems to me to be completely set aside by the last words of chapter 23. "They (the Saxons) declare that they would break the treaty and lay waste all parts of the island (Britain)." *Insula* must have the same meaning in that passage and this.

dictis propemodum ordinibus appareat, exceptis paucis[1] et valde paucis, qui ob amissionem tantae multitudinis, quae cotidie prona ruit ad tartara, tam brevis numerus habentur, ut eos quodammodo venerabilis mater ecclesia[2] in suo sinu recumbentes non videat, quos solos veros filios habet. Quorum ne quis me egregiam vitam omnibus admirabilem Deoque amabilem carpere putet, quibus nostra infirmitas in sacris orationibus ut non penitus conlabatur, quasi columnis quibusdam ac fulcris saluberrimis sustentatur, si qua liberius de his, immo lugubrius, cumulo malorum conpulsus, *Rom.* ix, 15. qui serviunt non solum ventri, sed diabolo potius quam *Christo, qui est benedictus in saecula Deus*, non tam disceptavero, quam deflevero. Quippe quid celabunt cives, quae non solum norunt, sed exprobrant iam in circuitu nationes?

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[1] This passage mentions two generations. *First*, there were the men who had witnessed the disasters suffered from the Saxons and had survived them to enjoy a time of quiet in lives void of reproach. *Secondly*, after they had passed away, there came a generation of men who, like Gildas himself, had experience only of the period of non-molestation by outside enemies. It is the deterioration of these that he laments in the present work. But there are also the few select ones, so few that even the venerable mother, the church, hardly knows them as her only real sons. Who are they? To answer this question fully we must consult cc. 65, 69, 92; yet in the main it would be right to say that he has the monks in his thoughts. We find a reference to this passage in c. 65, and therein also, it may be mentioned in passing, strong evidence that this work of Gildas never really consisted of two different parts—*Historia* and *Epistola*—much less that they were written at different times. "I ask pardon of these men, as I have said in a previous part," so writes Gildas in the chapter named, "whose life I not only praise, but also esteem above all the wealth of the world, and of which, if possible, I long for a share, sometime, before I die." For Gildas, and, apparently, for his contemporaries also, in both the Irish and British churches, the original idea of monasticism had undergone a great change. It had ceased to be a purely contemplative life, or one of secluded discipline of the individual soul unto holiness, as Eucher's beautiful *De Contemptu Mundi* describes it. Gildas, though a monk, is mixing in the battle of public life, and the present work is part of the task which he fearlessly carried out. "There was a prophet of the people in the time of the Britons called Gildas. He wrote about their misdeeds: how they so angered God, that at last He

above. I make exception of a few—a very few—who owing to the loss of the vast multitude that rushes daily to hell, are counted at so small a number that our revered mother, the church, in a manner does not observe them as they rest in her bosom. They are the only real children she has. Let no man think that I am slandering the noble life of these men, admired by all and beloved of God, by whom my weakness is supported so as not to fall into entire ruin, by holy prayers, as by columns and serviceable supports. Let no one think so, if in a somewhat excessively free-spoken, yea, doleful manner, driven by a crowd of evils, I shall not so much treat of, as weep concerning those who serve not only their belly, but the devil rather than Christ, *who is God blessed for ever.* For why will fellow-citizens hide what the nations around already not only know, but reproach us with ? *Romans* ix, 15.

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caused the army of the English to conquer their land, and utterly destroy the strength of the Britons. And that came about through the irregularity of the clergy, and the lawlessness of the laity" (Wulfstan, *Anglo-Saxon Homilies*). Notwithstanding the position in which Gildas finds himself, the place of honour in his mind belongs to those who lived in the cloisters : they are the saints, the only real sons of mother church : *sancti Dei*, *id est*, *monachi*, as said by Salvian, would express his idea also. The Welsh language itself still bears evidence how such words as *sanctus* (sant), *religiosi* (crefyddwyr), took a special meaning, at first no doubt a fuller meaning than hitherto, when men regarded their adoption of the cloistered life as their "conversion." But it is very significant that Gildas nowhere presses this life upon anyone, cleric or layman, as a cure for the excesses which he denounces. Wherefore we find him, in this, to be out of the fashion of his age, though we may see in it also the keen moderation that is so evident in the "Fragments," and which the correspondence of such men as Finnan, a *sanctorum Hiberniae magister*, shows to have been valued in distant places (Columb., Ep. I, in *M. Germ. H.*, iii, 159). His words, however, imply—strange though it seems—that monasticism had not spread largely in Britain by c. 540. See Introduction.

[2] *Mater ecclesia* is of constant occurrence in ecclesiastical Latin as early as Cyprian ; *matris sinus* also in the same connection.

# PART II.

## *General Denunciation of Princes and Judges.*

REGES habet Britannia, sed tyrannos ; iudices habet, sed impios ; 27
saepe praedantes et concutientes, sed innocentes ; vindicantes et patrocinantes, sed reos et latrones ; quam plurimas coniuges habentes, sed scortas et adulterantes ; crebro iurantes, sed periurantes ; voventes, sed continuo propemodum mentientes ; belligerantes, sed civilia et iniusta bella agentes ; per patriam quidem fures magnopere insectantes et eos, qui secum ad mensam sedent, non solum amantes, sed et munerantes, eleemosynas largiter dantes, sed e regione inmensum montem scelerum exaggerantes ; in sede arbitraturi sedentes, sed raro recti iudicii regulam quaerentes ; innoxios humilesque despicientes, sanguinarios superbos parricidas commanipulares et adulteros Dei inimicos, si sors, ut dicitur, tulerit, qui cum ipso nomine certatim delendi erant, ad sidera, prout possunt, efferentes ; vinctos plures in carceribus habentes, quos dolo sui potius quam merito proterunt catenis onerantes; inter altaria[1] iurando demorantes et haec eadem ac si lutulenta paulo post saxa despicientes.

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[1] *Altaria. . . . . saxa.* We *seem* to find here some evidence that the custom of having the eucharistic table in the form of a stone altar had spread into Britain. At first it was the ordinary table of a private house, and even when the names *ara, altare, altarium* (*vide* Rönsch, p. 259) came into use, and stone was substituted for wood, the original idea of a table was still preserved in the four columns, round or angular, which supported the horizontal table-like part of it. The term "table" (*mensa*) also continued side by side with *altare.* It is significant that in Gildas this (*altare*) is the only word used. *Ara* was generally avoided, having heathen affinities ; as, for instance, when Cyprian, in *Ep.* 65, writes *quasi post aras diaboli accedere ad altare Dei fas sit.* Illustrations of ancient altars, from the fifth and sixth centuries, are common. Schultze (*Archäologie der Altchr. Kunst,* 1895) says : "As to material, there is evidence of both wood and stone, without anything to decide which material had the preference, in the fourth century. The wooden altar possessed without doubt the sacredness of tradition, but, on the other hand, the stone altar corresponded to the tendency there was in the Church towards the monumental and artistic. For this reason, in the fifth century, the newly-built altars must have been of stone. When, at the beginning of the sixth century, a Gallic Synod decides that only stone altars should be consecrated, this is not evidence of a new tendency, but rather that the old order had already changed. In

# PART II.

## *General Denunciation of Princes and Judges.*

27 KINGS Britain has, but they are as her tyrants: she has judges, but they are ungodly men: engaged in frequent plunder and disturbance, but of harmless men: avenging and defending, yea for the benefit of criminals and robbers. They have numerous wives, though harlots and adulterous women: they swear but by way of forswearing, making vows yet almost immediately use falsehood. They make wars, but the wars they undertake are civil and unjust ones. They certainly pursue thieves industriously throughout the country, whilst those thieves who sit with them at table, they not only esteem but even remunerate. Alms they give profusely, but over against this they heap up a huge mountain of crimes. They take their seat to pronounce sentence, yet seldom seek the rule of right judgment. Despising the innocent and lowly, they to their utmost extol to the stars the bloody-minded, the proud, the murderous men, their own companions and the adulterous enemies of God, if chance so offers, who ought, together with their very name, to be assiduously destroyed. Many have they bound in their prisons, whom they ill-use with weight of chains, more by their own fraud than by reason of desert: they linger among the altars in the oaths they make, and shortly afterwards look with disdain on these same altars as if they were dirty stones.

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Syria, on the other hand, there were wooden and stone altars in use even in the seventh century."

"Of greater significance was the change of form which came in during the fifth century, that is, the substitution for the table-altar of the closed altar. This last form is not found before the fifth century, and it appears that it was not the prevailing form in Christian antiquity. The Eastern Church has generally kept to the table form. On the other hand, there can be no doubt that the change had its motive in the cult or adoration of martyrs. We can go further, and say that the origin of this form of altar is to be sought in the martyr chapels, from whence, in a time disposed to the adoration of martyrs, they found their way easily into the churches." (§ 12, pp. 117-119.) These martyr chapels were common in Britain before 540, but a still more significant change is implied in the words *inter altaria jurando demorantes*, "they linger among the altars." Not until the end of the sixth century is there clear undisputed evidence of more than one altar in the same church. (Erst am Ende des sechsten Jahrhunderts vollzug sich unter der Wirkung des Reliquenkultus eine Vermehrung. Schultze, p. 123.) Gregory the Great (died 604), in *Ep.* 49, 6.

*Denunciation of the Five Princes.*

(1) Constantius of Damnonia.

Cuius tam nefandi piaculi non ignarus est immundae leaenae Damnoniae[1] tyrannicus catulus[2] Constantinus. Hoc anno, post horribile sacramentum iuramenti, quo se devinxit nequaquam dolos civibus, Deo primum iureque iurando, sanctorum demum choris et genetrice comitantibus fretis, facturum, in duarum venerandis matrum sinibus, ecclesiae carnalisque, sub sancti abbatis amphibalo,[3] latera regiorum tenerrima puerorum vel praecordia crudeliter duum totidemque nutritorum[4]—quorum brachia nequaquam armis, quae nullus paene hominum fortius hoc eis tempore tractabat, sed Deo altarique protenta in die iudicii ad tuae civitatis portas, Christe, veneranda patientiae ac fidei suae vexilla suspendent—inter ipsa, ut dixi, sacrosancta altaria nefando ense hastaque pro dentibus laceravit ita ut sacrificii caelestis sedem purpurea ac si coagulati cruoris pallia attingerent. 28

Et hoc ne post laudanda quidem merita egit, nam multis ante annis crebris alternatisque factoribus adulteriorum victus legitima uxore, contra Christi magistrique gentium interdictum, depulsa, dicentium : *quod Deus coniunxit, homo non separet*, et : *viri, diligite uxores vestras.* Amarissima enim quoddam *de vite Sodomorum* in cordis sui infructuosa bono semini gleba surculamen incredulitatis et insipientiae plantaverat, quod vulgatis domesticisque impietatibus velut quibusdam venenatis imbribus irrigatum, et ad Dei offensam avidius se erigens parricidii sacrilegiique crimen produxit in

*Matth.* xix, 6. *Marc.* x, 9. *Coloss.* iii, 19. *Deut.* xxxii, 32.

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mentions thirteen altars in one church. But the present passage seems to imply that the custom of having several altars had reached Britain before the middle of the sixth century. The same may be concluded from the description in the next section of the murder perpetrated *inter ipsa sacrosancta altaria.* It may, however, be better not to regard British altars as made of stone.

An early Irish Tract in the Lebor Breac, describing the mode of consecrating a church, proves plainly that the altar then was of wood, because the bishop carves crosses on the altar and church (also of wood). In 1187 a Synod, held at Dublin, prohibits the celebration of the *missa* on a wooden altar. *Vide* also *Ussher*, iv, 500. I am indebted for this reference to Dr. Kuno Meyer.

[1] Damnonia in the sixth century would correspond roughly to the present county of Devon. Aldhelm, between 675 and 705, addresses his letter of admonition to "Geruntius King and the priests (*i.e.*, bishops) of Damnonia." A poem addressed to Aldhelm about the same date reads—

"quando profectus fueram
Usque diram Domnoniam per carentem Cornubiam."

Cornubia (Cornwall) seems to have been a separate kingdom.

*Denunciation of the Five Princes.*

28 Of this so execrable a wickedness Constantine, the tyrannical whelp of the unclean lioness of Damnonia, is not ignorant. In this year, after a dreadful form of oath, by which he bound himself that he would use no deceit against his subjects, making his oath first to God, and secondly to the choirs of saints and those who follow them, in reliance upon the mother (the church), he nevertheless, in the garb of a holy abbot, cruelly tore the tender sides of two royal children, while in the bosoms of two revered mothers —viz., the church and the mother after the flesh—together with their two guardians. And their arms, stretched forth, in no way to armour, which no man was in the habit of using more bravely than they at this time, but towards God and His altar, will hang in the day of judgment at thy gates, Oh Christ, as revered trophies of their patience and faith. He did this among the holy altars, as I said, with accursed sword and spear instead of teeth, so that the cloaks, red as if with clotted blood, touched the place of the heavenly sacrifice.

This deed he committed, after no meritorious acts worthy of praise; for, many years previously he was overcome by frequent successive deeds of adultery, having put away his legitimate wife, contrary to the prohibition of Christ and the Teacher of the gentiles, who say: *What God hath joined let man not separate*, and: *Husbands love your wives.* *Matt.* xix, 6. *Mark* x, 9. *Coloss.* iii, 19. For he planted, of *the bitter vine of Sodom* *Deut.* xxxii, 32. in the soil of his heart, unfruitful for good seed, a shoot of unbelief and unwisdom, which, watered by public and domestic impieties as if by poisonous showers, and springing forth more quickly to the displeasure of God, brought forth the guilt of murder and sacrilege. But as one

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[2] See *grex catulorum* = the Saxons (c. 23); *catule leonine*, of Caninus (c. 30); *vultus catulorum leonis* (c. 33).

[3] *Amphibalo:* a cloak or outer garment worn by clerics and monks. Ussher, vi, 59. Cf. *Birrum suum quem Graeci amfibalum vocant deponere voluit refrigerandi gratia.* Vincentius de Deicola, disciple of Columbanus. Adamnan's *Vita Col.*, i, 3; ii, 6. Sulp. Sev., *Dial.*, ii, 1: *intra amphibalum sibi tunicam latenter eduxit.* Also Greg. Turon., *De Gloria Confess.*, 59. It is probable that the original form was *amphimallum*, which, according to a Scholiast of Juvenal, was the ancient name for the mantle worn by flamens and persons of distinction.

[4] *Nutritorum:* ut nutricius paedagogus, rector pueri. Greg. Turon., *Hist. Fr.*, viii, 22: *Waudelinus nutritor Childeberti regis obiit, sed in locum eius nullus est subrogatus, eo quod regina mater curam velit propriam habere de filio.* Du Cange.

medium. Sed nec adhuc priorum retibus malorum expeditus priscis recentia auget malis.

Age iam (quasi praesentem arguo, quem adhuc superesse non 29
nescio) quid stupes, animae carnifex propriae? Quid tibi flammas inferni voluntarie accendis nequaquam defecturas? Quid inimicorum vice propriis te confodis sponte ensibus hastis? an ne ipsa quidem virulenta scelerum ac si pocula pectus tuum satiare quiverunt?
*Matth.* xi, 28. Respice, quaeso, et veni ad Christum, siquidem *laboras* et inmenso pondere curvaris, et ipse te, ut dixit, *requiescere faciet;*
*Ezech.* xxxiii, 11. veni ad eum, qui *non vult peccatoris mortem, sed ut convertatur*
*Esai.* lii, 2. *et vivat*; *dissolve* secundum prophetam *vincula colli tui, fili Sion*; redi, rogo, e longinquis licet peccatorum recessibus ad piissimum patrem, qui despicienti porcorum sordidos cibos ac pertimescenti
*Luc.* xv, 15-23. dirae famis mortem, et *revertenti sibi* laetus *occidere* consuevit *vitulum* filio *saginatum* et *proferre primam* erranti *stolam* et regium *anulum*, et tum spei caelestis ac si saporem praegustans
*Psalm.* xxxiii, 8. senties, quam *suavis est Dominus.* Nam si haec contempseris, scias te inextricabilibus tenebrosisque ignium torrentibus iam iamque inferni rotandum urendumque.

(2) Aurelius Caninus.

Quid tu quoque, ut propheta ait, *catule leonine*, Aureli Canine,[1] 30
*Gen.* xlix, 9. agis? Nonne eodem, quo supra dictus, si non exitiabiliore parricidiorum fornicationum adulteriorumque caeno, velut quibusdam marinis irruentibus tibi voraris feraliter undis? Nonne pacem patriae mortiferum ceu serpentem odiens civiliaque bella et crebras iniuste praedas sitiens animae tuae caelestis portas pacis ac refrigerii praecludis? Relictus, quaeso, iam solus ac si arbor in medio campo arescens recordare patrum fratrumque tuorum supervacuam fantasiam,[2] iuvenilem inmaturamque mortem. Num centennis tu ob religiosa merita vel coaevus Mathusalae exceptus
*Psalm.* vii, 13. paene omni prole servaberis? Nequaquam. Sed *nisi citius* ut psalmista ait, *conversus fueris* ad Dominum, *ensem in te vibrabit in*
*Deut.* xxxii, 39. *brevi suum* rex ille, qui per prophetam *ego*, inquit, *occidam et ego vivere faciam; percutiam et ego sanabo, et non est, qui de manu mea*
*Esai.* lii, 2. *possit eruere.* Quam ob rem *excutere de foetido pulvere tuo* et conver-

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[1] *Aurelius Caninus:* We have no place mentioned as forming the kingdom of this prince. It seems natural, with Zimmer (*Nenn. Vind.*, p. 307), to regard it as lying between Damnonia and the next named Demetia. His kingdom might well include parts of the present counties of Somerset, Gloucester, Monmouth, Glamorgan, and Caermarthen, perhaps, with Caerlleon (*Legionum urbs*) as capital. Geoffrey of Monmouth reads Conane. Dr. Guest is inclined to conclude that Constantine and Aurelius Conan were the degenerated

not yet free from the nets of prior sins he heaps new crimes upon old ones.

29 Come now! (I reprove, as if present, one whom I know to be yet surviving). Why art thou confounded, thou murderer of thine own soul? Why kindlest thou, of thine own accord, the ceaseless flames of hell against thyself? Why, taking the place of thine enemies, piercest thou thyself, under no compulsion, with thine own sword and spear? Were not those very cups, poisonous with crimes, able to satisfy thy heart? Look back, I beseech thee, and come to Christ, since *thou labourest* and art bent down *Matt.* xi, 28. with thy huge burden, and He, as He has said, *will give thee rest.* *Ezek.* xxxiii, 11. Come to Him *who willeth not the death of a sinner, but that he* *Isaiah* lii, 2. *should be converted and live: break*, according to the prophet, *the chains of thy neck, thou son of Sion.* Return, I pray, though from the far-off secret haunts of sins, to the tender father who—for the son that despises the unclean food of swine, and fears the death of hard famine, and *returns to himself*—has been accustomed in *Luke* xv, 15-23. gladness *to kill the fatted calf* and *to bring forward the first garment and royal ring* for the erring one, and with a foretaste of heavenly hope thou shalt feel how *the Lord is kind.* For if thou *Psalm* xxxiv, 8. despisest these admonitions, know that thou shalt even soon be whirled round and burnt in hell's indescribable dark floods of fire.

30 Thou also, *lion whelp*, as the prophet says, what doest thou, *Gen.* xlix, 9. Aurelius Caninus? Art thou not swallowed up in the same, if not more destructive, filth, as the man previously mentioned, the filth of murders, fornications, adulteries, like sea-waves rushing fatally upon thee? Hast thou not by thy hatred of thy country's peace, as if it were a deadly serpent, or by thy iniquitous thirst for civil wars and repeated spoils, closed the doors of heavenly peace and repose for thy soul? Left alone now, like a dry tree in the midst of a field, remember, I pray thee, the pride of thy fathers and brothers, with their early and untimely death. Wilt thou, because of pious deserts, an exception to almost all thy family, survive for a hundred years, or be of the years of Methuselah? No. But unless, as the Psalmist says, thou *be very speedily converted to the* *Psalm* viii, 13. *Lord, that King will soon brandish his sword against thee*; who says by the prophet: *I will kill and I will make alive: I shall* *Deut.* xxxii, 39 *wound and I shall heal, and there is none that can deliver out of my*

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descendants of Ambrosius Aurelianus, mentioned in c. 25. This is not a conclusion that one can well rest in.

[2] *Fantasia* in ecclesiastical Latin = *superbia*. Cf. cc. 11, 34, 67.

*Psalm.* ii, 13. tere ad eum toto corde, qui creavit te, ut *cum exarserit in brevi ira eius, beatus sis sperans in eum*, sin alias, aeternae te manebunt poenae conterendum saeva continue et nequaquam absumendum tartari fauce.

(3) Vortiporius, prince of the Demetae (Dyfed). Quid tu quoque, pardo similis moribus et nequitiis discolor, 31
canescente iam capite, in throno dolis pleno et ab imis vertice tenus diversis parricidiis et adulteriis constuprato, boni regis nequam fili, ut Ezechiae Manasses, Demetarum tyranne Vortipori, stupide riges?[1] Quid te tam violenti peccatorum gurgites, quos ut vinum optimum sorbes, immo tu ab eis voraris, appropinquante sensim vitae limite, non satiant? Quid quasi culminis malorum omnium stupro, propria tua amota coniuge eiusdemque honesta morte, impudentis filiae quodam ineluctabili pondere miseram animam oneras?

II *Cor.* vi, 2. *Matth.* xxiv, 20. Ne consumas, quaeso, dierum quod reliquum est in Dei offensam, quia *nunc tempus acceptabile et dies salutis* vultibus paenitentium lucet, in quo bene operari potes, *ne fiat fuga tua hieme vel sabbato:*

*Psalm.* xxxiii, 15-18.
*Diverte*, secundum psalmistam, *a malo et fac bonum,*
*inquire pacem bonam et sequere eam,*
*quia oculi Domini super te bona agentem*
*et aures eius erunt in preces tuas,*
*et non perdet de terra viventium memoriam tuam.*
*Clamabis et exaudiet te,*
*et ex omnibus tribulationibus tuis eruet te.*[2]

*Psalm.* l, 19. *Marc.* ix, 48. Cor siquidem contritum et humiliatum timore eius nusquam Christus spernit. Alioquin *vermis* tortionis *tuae non morietur et ignis* ustionis tuae *non extinguetur.*

(4) Cuneglasus. Ut quid[3] in nequitiae tuae volveris vetusta faece et tu ab ado- 32
lescentiae annis, urse multorum sessor aurigaque currus receptaculi ursi, Dei contemptor sortisque eius depressor, Cuneglase,[4] Romana

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[1] *Vortipori.* Vortiporius is King of Demetia (Dyfed), which roughly corresponded to the present county of Pembroke. The Welsh form of the name appears as Guortepir map Aircol map Triphun in the Genealogies from *Harleian MSS.*, edited by Mr. E. Phillimore in *Y Cymmrodor*, vol. ix, p. 171. "Aircol must be the Welsh reduction of the Latin *Agricola.*" Rhys' *Celtic Britain*, p. 253.

[2] *Te* and *tuas*, etc., an intentional variation for *eos, eorum.*

[3] *Ut quid:* for *quid.* Ecclesiastical Latin has often *ut quid*, borrowed from the Latin version of the Bible, where it very frequently represents ἵνα τί; of the LXX and New Testament.

[4] *Cuneglase.* This name and the whole passage, present many difficulties. *Cune-glasus* may have had an older form, *Cuno-glasus*, found in many names,

*hand.* Wherefore shake thyself from thy filthy dust, and turn unto *Isaiah* lii, 2.
Him with thy whole heart, unto Him who created thee, so that
*when His anger quickly kindles, thou mayest be blest, hoping in* *Psalm* iii, 13.
*Him.* But if not so, eternal pains await thee, who shalt be always
tormented, without being consumed, in the dread jaws of hell.

31 Why also art thou, Vortipor, tyrant of the Demetae, foolishly
stubborn? Like the pard art thou, in manners and wickedness of
various colour, though thy head is now becoming grey, upon a
throne full of guile, and from top to bottom defiled by various
murders and adulteries, thou worthless son of a good king, as
Manasseh of Hezekiah. What! do not such wide whirlpools of sins,
which thou suckest in like good wine, nay, art thyself swallowed
by them, though the end of life is gradually drawing near—do
these not satisfy thee? Why, to crown all thy sins, dost thou,
when thine own wife had been removed and her death had been
virtuous, by the violation of a shameless daughter, burden thy
soul as with a weight impossible to remove?

Spend not, I beseech thee, the remainder of thy days in
offending God, because *now is the acceptable time* and *the day* II *Cor.* vi, 2.
*of salvation* shines upon the faces of the penitent, during which *Matt.* xxiv, 20.
thou canst well bring to pass that *thy flight be not in winter or on*
*the Sabbath. Turn* (according to the Psalmist) *away from evil* *Psalm* xxxiv,
*and do good, seek good peace and follow it; because the eyes of the* 14-17.
*Lord will be upon thee when thou doest good, and his ears unto*
*thy prayers, and he will not destroy thy memory from the land*
*of the living. Thou shalt cry and he will hear thee, and save thee*
*from all thy tribulations.* For Christ never despises the heart that *Psalm* li, 7.
is contrite and humbled by the fear of Him. Otherwise *the worm*
of thy agony *shall not die*, and *the fire* of thy burning *shall not be* *Mark* ix, 48.
*quenched.*

32 Why dost thou, also, wallow in the old filth of thy wickedness,
from the years of thy youth, thou bear, rider of many, and driver
of a chariot belonging to a bear's den, despiser of God and contemner
of His decree, thou Cuneglas (meaning in the Roman

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e.g., *Cuno-maglus* (= Cynfael), *Cuno-valus* (Cynwal), *Cuno-belinus* (Cynfelyn), etc. The first element of the compound is connected either with *cuno-* in the sense of high or noble, as *cun*, a top, or summit, *cynnu*, to raise, or with *cu*, gen. *cunos*, a dog. *Maglo-cunus* may have the same root, with the meaning of "great lord." (See Holder, *Alt-Celtisches Sprachschatz*, Rhys' *Celtic Britain*, p. 286, *The Academy*, October 12th and 19th, 1895). The meaning *dog* would connect itself better with *butcher*, but *glas* is an odd addition in the sense

lingua, lanio fulve? Quare tantum certamen tam hominibus quam Deo praestas? Hominibus, civibus scilicet, armis specialibus, Deo infinitis sceleribus? Quid praeter innumerabiles casus, propria uxore pulsa, furciferam germanam eius, perpetuam Deo viduitatis castimoniam promittentem, ut poeta ait, summam ceu teneritudinem caelicolarum, tota animi veneratione, vel potius hebetudine nympharum contra interdictum apostoli denegantis posse adulteros [*Gal.* v, 19.] regni caelestis esse municipes, suspicis? Quid gemitus atque suspiria sanctorum propter te corporaliter versantium, vice immanis leaenae dentium ossa tua quandoque fracturae, crebris instigas [*Psalm.* xxxvi, 8.] iniuriis? *Desine*, quaeso, ut propheta ait, *ab ira, et derelinque* exitiabilem ac temetipsum maceraturum, quem caelo ac terrae, hoc est Deo gregique eius, spiras, *furorem*. Fac eos potius mutatis pro te orare moribus, quibus suppetit supra mundum alligandi, cum in mundo reos alligaverint, et solvendi, cum paenitentes solverint, [I *Timoth.* vi, 17.] potestas.[1] *Noli*, ut ait apostolus, *superbe sapere vel sperare in incerto divitiarum, sed in Deo, qui praestat tibi multa abunde*, ut per emendationem morum *thesaurizes tibi fundamentum bonum in futurum* et habeas veram vitam, perennem profecto, non [*Ier.* ii, 19.] deciduam; alioquin scies et videbis etiam in hoc saeculo, *quam malum et amarum est reliquisse te Dominum Deum tuum et non esse timorem eius apud te* et in futuro taetro ignium globo aeternorum

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of *fulvus* = deep reddish-yellow, or tawny; the *green* grass, the *blue* sea, the *gray* mare, are each termed *glâs* in modern Welsh, but we find it impossible to connect the adjective with a colour that comprises red and yellow. It has been proposed to take *cunus* as *fulvus*, i.e., honey-coloured, and *glas* as *lanio*: this hardly removes the difficulty, while the order is decidedly unfavourable to it. I feel that Gildas must have fallen into a mistake, in the heat of his desire to fasten an ugly nickname upon Cuneglasus.

Later, the name took the form *Cun-glas* or *Conglas*: in the Genealogies it appears as *Cinglas*, and may perhaps be found in *Cynlas* (*Y Cymmrodor*, ix, 172). "Cinglas map Eugein dant gwin, map Enniaun girt, map Cuneda," may be compared with "Mailcun map Catgolan lauhir, map Ennian girt, map Cuneda;" so that we find Cinlas and Mailcun (Maglocunus of next section) to be both descended from Cunedda, and both grandsons of Enniaun. With this suggestion it seems fair to conclude that the kingdoms of the two were contiguous. Zimmer places that of Cinglas in the district between the Teifi and the Dee, where descendants of Cunnedda are known to have ruled.

I have ventured to print *urse* and *ursi*, instead of *Urse*, *Ursi*, as other editions do. The word appears to me to be employed by Gildas as an epithet, parallel with the animal names—*catulus* for the king of Damnonia, *catulus leoninus* for Aurelius Caninus, *pardo* for Vortiporius, and *draco* for Maglocunus. An attempt has been made to connect Ursus with *arth* in the Welsh name

tongue, thou tawny butcher)? Why dost thou maintain such strife against both men and God? Against men, thine own countrymen, to wit, by arms special to thyself; against God, by crimes without number? Why, in addition to innumerable lapses, dost thou, having driven away thy wife, cast thine eyes upon her dastardly sister, who is under a vow to God of the perpetual chastity of widowhood, that is as the poet says, of the highest tenderness of heavenly nymphs, with the full reverence, or rather bluntness, of her mind, against the apostle's prohibition when he says that adulterers can- *Gal.* v, 19. not be citizens of the kingdom of heaven? Why dost thou provoke, by thy repeated injuries, the groans and sighs of saints, who on thy account are living in the body, as if they were the teeth of a huge lioness that shall some day break thy bones? *Cease*, I pray, *from anger*, as the prophet says, *and forsake* the deadly wrath that *Psalm* xxxvii, 8. shall torment thyself, which thou breathest against heaven and earth, that is, against God and His flock. Rather change thy life and cause them to pray for thee, to whom is given the power to bind above the world, when they have bound guilty men in the world, and to loose, when they have absolved the penitent. Be not, as the apostle says, *high-minded*, *nor have thy hope set on the uncer-* I *Timothy*, vi, 17. *tainty of riches*, *but in God who giveth thee many things richly*, that by an amendment of life, *thou mayest lay in store for thyself a good foundation against the time to come*, and mayest have the true life; that is, of course, the eternal life, not that which passeth away. Otherwise thou shalt know and see, even in this world, how evil and bitter it is to have abandoned the Lord thy God, and that His *Jer.* ii, 19. fear is not with thee, and that in the world to come thou shalt be burnt in the hideous mass of eternal fires, without, however, in any

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Arthur, which is Welsh for Arturius (Arcturius). (*Academy*, October 12th, 1895.)

Were we to adopt the reading *cesor* of A, we should find a meaning closely allied with *lanio*, i.e., hewer of many, one who mangles or tears in pieces. *Auriga currus receptaculi ursi* describes, probably, well-known habits of this prince; he drives a chariot, but in the eyes of Gildas, that chariot is but the mean appanage of a bear's ugly den, his place of *retreat*: hence the singular term, *receptaculum*.

[1] The "authority to bind and loose" is, we see, a settled part of British ideas respecting Church discipline and life in the sixth century. According to c. 109, it is given to "Peter and his successors," *i.e.*, the bishops, but Gildas draws a definite distinction; the priest must be a *holy* priest: the promise is made omni *sancto* sacerdoti. Such men as he is writing against, though ordained bishops, have by their unholy lives, he adds (c. 109), forfeited this authority. They are barely Christians (c. 92).

te exuri nec tamen ullo modo mori. Siquidem tam sceleratorum sint perpeti immortales igni animae quam sanctorum laetitiae.

(5) Maglocunus insularis draco.

Maelgwn of Anglesey (?).

*Deut.* xxxii, 32.

Quid tu enim, insularis draco, multorum tyrannorum depulsor 33 tam regno quam etiam vita supra dictorum, novissime stilo, prime in malo, maior multis potentia simulque malitia, largior in dando, profusior in peccato, robuste armis, sed animae fortior excidiis, Maglocune,[1] in tam vetusto scelerum atramento, veluti madidus *vino de Sodomitana vite*[2] *expresso*, stolide volutaris? Quare tantas peccaminum regiae cervici sponte, ut ita dicam, ineluctabiles, celsorum ceu montium, innectis moles? Quid te non ei regum omnium Regi, qui te cunctis paene Brittanniae ducibus tam regno fecit quam status liniamento editiorem, exhibes ceteris moribus meliorem, sed versa vice deteriorem? Quorum indubitatam aequanimiter conviciorum auscultato parumper adstipulationem, omissis domesticis levioribusque, si tamen aliqua sunt levia, palata solum longe lateque per auras admissa testaturam. Nonne in primis adolescentiae tuae annis avunclum regem cum fortissimis propemodum militibus, quorum vultus non catulorum leonis in acie magnopere dispares visebantur, acerrime ense hasta igni oppres-

[1] *Maglocune.* Maglocunus is the Mailcun of the previous note, great-grandson of Cunedda Wledig. The name appears as Maelgwn in modern Welsh, generally Maelgwn Gwynedd, designating him as king of that portion of North Wales which was called Venedotia, and later Gwenedotia. The ancient Gwynedd extended from the river Clwyd (according to some, from the river Conway) westward, and to the south as far as the Mawddach or Dyfi. Maelgwn had as teacher the celebrated Illtud, and may or may not have been at his monastery at the same time as Gildas himself. The vow to take upon himself the secluded discipline of a monk came after having a taste of the stormy life of a king: the monastery, however, was abandoned, and Maelgwn seems—partly through his own brilliant qualities, partly as a family right—to have attained a position of pre-eminence over the other princes, or, as Gildas puts it, "te cunctis paene Britanniae ducibus tam regno fecit (Deus) quam status liniamento editiorem. . . . . ." On the legend, which gives at least an echo of this fact, see *Welsh Laws* (1841), ii, 49-51. According to the *Annales Cambriae*, he died of the great plague in the year 547: "An. [547] mortalitas magna in qua pausat Mailcun rex Guenedotiae." The date, 547, can only be an approximate one. Petrie, in the first edition, which appeared in the *Monum. Hist. Brit.*, supplied 444 as the year of the Christian reckoning corresponding to ANNUS I of the Annalist, though, as he confesses, there is no certainty with respect to the era adopted by him (De aera vero, unde in annalibus condendis exorsus sit chronographus, minime constat). Some well-known dates of events are a few years wrong; others, especially the later ones, correct, as given in the *Annales*. Dr. Stokes does not add the corresponding years for the Irish Annals of Tigernach, which

way dying. For the souls of sinners are as immortal for never-ending fire as those of the saints are for joy.

33 And thou, the island dragon, who hast driven many of the tyrants mentioned previously, as well from life as from kingdom, thou last in my writing, first in wickedness, exceeding many in power and at the same time in malice, more liberal in giving, more excessive in sin, strong in arms, but stronger in what destroys thy soul—thou Maclocunus, why dost thou obtusely wallow in such an old black pool of crimes, as if sodden with *the wine that is pressed* *Deut.* xxxii, 32. *from the vine of Sodom?* Why dost thou tie to thy royal neck (of thine own accord, as I may say), such heaps, impossible to remove, of crimes, as of high mountains? Why showest thou thyself to Him, the King of all kings, who made thee superior to almost all the kings of Britain, both in kingdom and in the form of thy stature, not better than the rest in morality, but on the contrary worse? Give a patient hearing for awhile to an undoubted record of those charges which, passing by domestic and lighter offences—if, indeed, any are light—shall testify only the things which have been proclaimed far and wide, in broad daylight, as admitted crimes. In the first years of thy youth, accompanied by soldiers of the bravest, whose countenance in battle appeared not very unlike that of young lions, didst thou not most bitterly crush thy uncle the king with sword, and spear, and fire? Not regarding the prophet's word when it says: *Men of blood and deceit shall* *Psalm* lv, 24. *not live out half their days.* What wouldst thou expect of retribution for this deed alone from the righteous judge, even if such consequences as have followed were not to occur, when He likewise

he edits in the *Revue Celtique* (1896), but gives in brackets those of other Annals. Now the Tigernachian Annals say: *K.* VII. *Mortalitas magna*, which means that it occurred during a year in which the Kalends, or 1st of January, was a Saturday. The Annals of Ulster place it in 551, those of Inisfallen in 541 (*Rev. Celt.*, p. 140). Not one of the three Irish documents agrees quite with the Welsh, but the errors cannot be important in any. We therefore adopt 547 as the approximate date of Maelgwn's death. But, as he was alive when Gildas wrote, it has been rightly concluded that the *De Excidio* must have been written before 547. On the whole question of date, see Introduction.

*Insularis draco* is explained in *Celtic Britain* as implying that "island" is Britain itself, not Mona. When we reflect that "dragon" is the last of the opprobrious epithets—cur, whelp, leopard, bear, dragon—applied to the five kings, one is drawn to the belief that even the *insularis* is also intended to wound. If so, the reference must be to Maelgwn in his island home, Mona.

[2] See c. 28.

*Psalm.* liv, 24. sisti? Parum cogitans propheticum dictum *viri*, inquiens, *sanguinum et doli non dimidiabunt dies suos.* Quid pro hoc solo retributionis a iusto iudice sperares, etsi non talia sequerentur, quae secuta sunt, itidem dicente per prophetam: *Esai.* xxxiii, 1. *Vae tibi, qui praedaris, nonne et ipse praedaberis? Et qui occidis, nonne et ipse occideris? Et cum desiveris praedari, tunc cades.*[1]

Nonne postquam tibi ex voto violenti regni fantasia cessit, 34 cupiditate inlectus ad viam revertendi rectam, diebus ac noctibus id temporis, conscientia forte peccaminum remordente, de deifico tenore monachorumque decretis sub dente primum multa ruminans, dein popularis aurae cognitioni proferens, monachum sine ullo infidelitatis, ut aiebas, respectu coram omnipotente Deo, angelicis vultibus humanisque, ruptis, ut putabatur, capacissimis illis, quibus praecipitanter involvi solent pingues tauri moduli tui, retibus, omnis regni, auri, argenti et quod his maius est, propriae voluntatis distentionibus ruptis, perpetuo vovisti et tete, ac si stridulo cavum lapsu aerem valide secantem saevosque rapidi harpagones accipitris sinuosis flexibus vitantem ad sanctorum tibi magnopere fidas speluncas[2] refrigeriaque salubriter rapuisti ex corvo columbam? O quanta ecclesiae matri laetitia, si non te cunctorum mortalium hostis de sinu quodammodo eius lugubriter abstraxisset, foret! O quam profusus spei caelestis fomes desperatorum cordibus, te in bonis permanente, inardesceret! O qualia quantaque animam tuam regni Christi praemia in die iudicii manerent, si non lupus callidus ille agnum ex lupo factum te ab ovili dominico, non vehementer invitum, facturus lupum ex agno sibi similem, rapuisset! O quantam exultationem pio[3] omnium Patri Deo sanctorum tua salus servanda praestaret, si non te cunctorum perditorum infaustus pater, veluti magnarum aquila alarum unguiumque daemon, infelici filiorum suorum agmini contra ius fasque rapuisset!

Ne multa, tantum gaudii ac suavitatis tum caelo terraeque tua ad bonam frugem conversio,[4] quantum nunc maeroris ac luctus ministravit ad horribilem, more molossi aegri, vomitum nefanda

[1] Not the text of Vulgate, which reads: *Et qui spernis, nonne et ipse sperneris? cum consummaveris depraedationem, depraedaberis.*

[2] It is interesting to find how the old accustomed phraseology repeats itself in Gildas' language. *Sanctorum speluncae refrigeriaque*—the caves and places of refreshment of the saints—is a monk's affectionate way of naming the monasteries. But *speluncae* and σπήλαια had long taken this special meaning, as *insulae* did in Wales (*in hac insula* being found for *in hoc monasterio*).—

says by the prophet: *Woe unto thee that spoilest; shalt thou not be spoiled? and thou that killest, shalt not thou thyself be killed? and when thou hast made an end of thy spoiling, then shalt thou fall.* *Isaiah* xxxiii, 1.

34 When the dream of thy oppressive reign turned out according to thy wish, didst thou not, drawn by the desire to return unto the right way, with the consciousness of thy sins probably biting days and nights during that period, first, largely meditating with thyself on the godly walk and the rules of monks, then, bringing them forward to the knowledge of open publicity, didst thou not vow thyself for ever a monk? Without any thought of unfaithfulness was it done, according to thy declaration, in the sight of God Almighty, before the face of angels and men. Thou hadst broken, as was thought, those big nets, by which fat bulls of thy class are wont to be entangled headlong, that is, thou hadst broken the nets of every kind of royalty, of gold and of silver, and what is mightier than these, of thine own imperious will. And thyself didst thou profitably snatch like a dove, from the raven, strongly cleaving the thin air in rustling flight, escaping the cruel claws of the speedy hawk with sinuous windings, to the caves of the saints, sure retreats for thee, and places of refreshment. What gladness would there be for thy mother, the church, if the enemy of all mankind had not disastrously dragged thee off, in a way, from her bosom! What plentiful touchwood for heavenly hope would blaze in the hearts of men without hope, if thou didst persevere in good! What and how many rewards of the kingdom of Christ would wait thy soul in the day of judgment, if that crafty wolf, when from a wolf thou hadst become a lamb, had not snatched thee from the Lord's fold (not greatly against thy will), to make thee a wolf from a lamb, like unto himself! What joy thy salvation, if secured, had furnished to the gracious Father and God of all saints, had not the wretched father of all the lost, like an eagle of mighty wings and claws—the devil, I mean—against every right, snatched thee away to the unhappy troop of his children!

Not to be tedious—thy conversion unto good fruit brought as much joy and pleasantness, both to heaven and earth, as now thy accursed reversion to thy fearful vomit like a sick dog, has caused

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*Vide* Bornemann's *In Invest. Monachatus origine*, p. 9 (1885), and Bingham's *Origenes Eccl.*, iii.

[3] *Pio:* in the Vulgate *pius* is applied to God in the sense of *gracious* or *compassionate: quoniam pius et misericors est Deus.*—Ecclus., ii, 13.

[4] *Conversio:* the term is the technical one for becoming a monk.

*Proverb.* xxvi, 11. reversio. Qua peracta *exhibentur membra arma iniquitatis peccato*
II *Petr.* ii, 22. ac diabolo, quae oportuerat salvo sensu avide *exhibere arma iustitiae*
*Rom.* vi, 13. *Deo.* Arrecto aurium auscultantur captu non Dei laudes canora Christi tironum voce suaviter modulante neumaque ecclesiasticae melodiae,[1] sed propriae, quae nihil sunt furciferorum referto mendaciis simulque spumanti flegmate proximos quosque roscidaturo, praeconum ore ritu bacchantium concrepante, ita ut vas, Dei quondam in ministerio praeparatum vertatur in zabuli[2] organum, quodque honore caelesti putabatur dignum, merito proiciatur[3] in tartari barathrum.

Nec tamen tantis malorum offendiculis tuus hebetatus insipien- 35
tiae cumulo sensus velut quodam obice tardatur, sed fervidus ac si pullus, amoena quaeque inperagrata putans, per extensos scelerum campos inrevocabili furore raptatur, augendo priscis[3] nova piaculis. Spernuntur namque primae post monachi votum inritum inlicitae licet, tamen propriae coniugis praesumptivae nuptiae, aliae expetuntur non cuiuslibet relictae, sed viri viventis, non externi, sed fratris filii adamatae. Ob quod dura cervix illa, multis iam peccaminum fascibus onerata, bino parricidali ausu, occidendo supra dictum uxoremque tuam aliquamdiu a te habitam, velut summo sacrilegii tui culmine de imis ad inferiora curvatur. Dehinc illam, cuius dudum colludio ac suggestione tantae sunt peccatorum subitae moles, publico et, ut fallaces parasitorum linguae tuorum conclamant, summis tamen labiis, non ex intimo cordis,

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[1] *Neuma ecclesiasticae melodiae.* *Neuma* is a word of unknown origin, supposed to be a form of *pneuma*, which like many other nouns in -a came to be treated as feminine. When regarded as = πνεῦμα, it meant originally the note or mark which suggested to the singer that he was to take his breath; then it was used for any musical note relating to modulation of voice, and finally for a set tune. "Die von Gregor gesammelten Gesänge wurden in Neumen notirt" (nota romana). Köstlin, *Gesch. des chr. Gottesdienstes*, 129. "At a very remote time, and which is undoubtedly that of the reconstitution of the antiphonary by St. Gregory the Great, the last Halleluja of the Gradual was followed by a series of joyous vocal notes (*jubilee* or *neumae*), which were sung without words on the last syllable *a* of the word *Halleluja*" (Gaudet, *Oevres Poetique d'Adam de S. Victor*, cxxvii). Words were subsequently written for these musical notes which bore the name *numae*, *sequentiae*, *prosae* —*Vide* Daniel, *Thes. Hymn.*, v, 3, where we have an account of the rise of *Sequences* by Dr. Neale: "'Jam inde ex antiquissimis temporibus id in usu Ecclesiae Latinae erat ut inter Epistolam et Evangelium, extra jejunia, Graduale cum Alleluia diceretur . . . . .' Rubric Missalis Sarisburiensis. 'Dum Alleluia canitur . . . . Dicto vero Graduali . . . . sequatur Alleluia. Chorus idem repetat et prosequatur cum pneumate.'" Gildas is older than Gregory the Great, and his words imply a fixed place for psalmody in the public service.

of sorrow and lamentation. When this reversion had come to pass thy members *are presented as weapons of unrighteousness unto sin* and the devil, which ought to have been eagerly *presented*, with proper regard to good sense, *as weapons of righteousness unto God.* When the attention of thy ears has been caught, it is not the praises of God, in the tuneful voice of Christ's followers, with its sweet rhythm, and the song of church melody, that are heard, but thine own praises (which are nothing); the voice of the rascally crew yelling forth, like Bacchanalian revellers, full of lies and foaming phlegm, so as to besmear everyone near them. In this way the vessel, once prepared for the service of God, is changed into an instrument of Satan, and that which was deemed worthy of heavenly honour is, according to its desert, cast into the abyss of hell.

*Proverbs* xxvi, 11. II *Peter* ii, 22; *Romans* vi, 13.

35 Yet not by such stumbling-blocks of evils, as if by a kind of barrier, is thy mind, dulled through a load of unwisdom, retarded; but impetuous like a young colt, which, imagining every pleasant place as not traversed, rushes along, with unbridled fury, over wide fields of crimes, heaping new sins upon old. For contempt is thrown upon thy first marriage, though after thy violated vow as a monk it was illicit, yet was to be assumed as the marriage of thine own proper wife; another marriage is sought after, not with anybody's widow, but with the beloved wife of a living man; and he not a stranger, but thy brother's son. On this account, that stiff neck, already weighted with many burdens of sins (to wit, a double daring murder, the killing of the husband above named, and the wife that was for a time regarded by thee as thine), is bent down through the extreme excess of thy sacrilegious deed, from lowest crimes to still lower. Afterwards thou didst wed her, by whose collusion and intimation, the huge mass of the crimes grew suddenly so big,

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[2] *Zabuli.* This form, *zabulus* for *diabolus*, is frequently found even as early as the Pseudo-Cyprian, *De Aleator.* 5-7. Instances are given in Rönsch's *Itala und Vulgata*, and in Koffmanne's *Gesch. des Kirchenlateins*, from Commodian, Lactantius, and Ambrose. But the form is specially characteristic of Irish and Welsh writers, occurring even in Biblical texts, e.g., *Versio Ante-Hieronymiana*, edited by Dr. Abbot, cf. *Praefatio*, p. xxi. St. Sechnall's Hymn, v, 84 has it—

"quos redemit hominum
innumeros de zabuli obsoluet dominio."

Even zacones = diaconi, occurs in Commodian, *Instr.*, ii, 26, 1, and in inscriptions, Zesus = Jesus.

[3] *Proiciatur.* This form belongs to the vulgar Latin of the old version, and

legitimo, utpote viduatam, nostrae vero sceleratissimo adscivsti conubio.

Cuius igitur sancti viscera tali stimulata historia non statim in fletus singultusque prorumpant? Quis sacerdos, cuius cor rectum Deo patet, non statim haec audiens magno cum ululatu illud
*Jerem.* ix, 1. propheticum dicat: *Quis dabit capiti meo aquam et oculis meis fontem lacrimarum? et plorabo in die et nocte interfectos populi mei*
*Eccles.* xli, 11. Heu! siquidem param auribus captasti propheticam obiurgationem ita dicentem:

*Vae vobis viri impii,*
*qui dereliquistis legem Dei altissimi:*
*et si nati fueritis, in maledictionem nascemini,*
*et si mortui fueritis, in maledictionem erit pars vestra.*
*Omnia quae de terra sunt, in terram ibunt:*
*sic impii a maledictione in perditionem.*

Subauditur, si non revertantur ad Deum exaudita saltim tali admonitione:

*Eccles.* xxi, 1. *Fili, peccasti. Ne adicias ultra,*
*Eccles.* v, 8. *sed et de pristinis tuis deprecare.*

Et iterum:

*Non tardes converti ad Dominum,*
*neque differas de die in diem.*
*Subito enim venit ira eius,*

quia, ut scriptura ait,

*Prov.* xxix, 12. *Rege audiente verbum iniquum,*
*omnes qui sub illo sunt, scelesti sunt.*

*Nimirum rex*, ut propheta dixit *iustus suscitat regionem.*

Sed monita tibi profecto non desunt, tum habueris praeceptorem paene totius Britanniae magistrum elegantem.[1] Caveto igitur, ne tibi, quod a Salomone notatur, accidat:

*Eccles.* xxii, 8, 9. *quasi qui excitat dormitantem de gravi somno,*
*sic qui enarrat stulto sapientiam:*
*in fine enim narrationis dicet: quid primum dixeras?* [2]
*Jerem.* iv, 14. *Lava a malitia cor tuum*, sicut dictum est, *Hierusalem, ut salvus sis.*

Ne contemnas, quaeso, ineffabilem misericordiam Dei, hoc modo
*Jerem.* xviii, 7. per prophetam a peccatis impios provocantis: *Repente loquar ad gentem et ad regnum, ut evellam et dissipem et destruam et disperdam.*

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is found in the language of ecclesiastical writers influenced by such Biblical Latin. Cf. *proice abs te*, Matth. v, 29, 30, in the new Oxford edition of the

in public, and (as the false tongues of thy flatterers assert, at the top of their voice, though not from the depth of their heart), in a legitimate marriage, regarding her as a widow ; but our tongues say, in desecrated wedlock.

What saint is there whose bowels, moved by such a tale, do not at once break forth into weeping and sobbing ? What priest, whose righteous heart is open before God, on hearing of these things, would not, with great wailing, instantly say that word of the prophet : *Who will give water unto my head, and a fountain* *Jerem.* ix, 1.
*of tears unto my eyes ? And I shall weep day and night the slain of my people.* Alas ! little didst thou, with thy ears, listen to the prophet's reproof when it thus speaks : *Woe unto you, ye impious* *Eccles.* xli, 11.
*men, who have abandoned the law of the Most High God : and if ye be born, ye shall be born for a curse ; and if ye die, your portion shall be for a curse. All things that are of the earth shall go to the earth, so shall the wicked from curse unto perdition.* It is understood *if they return not unto the Lord,* at least, when such an admonition, as the following, has been heard : *My son thou hast sinned ; add no more* *Eccles.* xxi, 1.
*thereto but rather pray to be relieved of thy old sins.* And again : *Be not slow to be converted unto the Lord, nor defer it from day to day, for His anger shall come suddenly ;* because, as the Scripture says : *When the king hearkens to an unrighteous word, all* *Eccles.* v, 8.
*that are under him are wicked.* Surely, as the prophet has said : *A just king elevates the land.* *Prov.* xxix, 12.

36 But warnings are certainly not wanting to thee, since thou hast had as instructor the refined teacher of almost the whole of Britain. Beware, therefore, lest what is noted by Solomon happens unto *Eccles.* xxii, 8, 9.
thee : *As one who rouses a sleeper from deep sleep, is he who speaks wisdom to a fool ; for in the end of his speaking he will say, 'What saidst thou first ?'* *Wash thine heart, O Jerusalem,* as is *Jerem.* iv, 14.
said, *from wickedness, that thou mayest be saved.*

Despise not, I pray thee, the unspeakable mercy of God, when, through the prophet, he calls the wicked from their sins, as follows : *Instantly shall I speak to the nation and to the kingdom,* *Jerem.* xviii, 7.
*so that I may pluck up, and scatter, and destroy, and ruin.* He

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Vulgate. Rönsch quotes : *inicerit*, Num. xxii, 38 (Ashb.), "where the Perf. stem preserves the form of the Present" (*Collectanea phil.*, p. 228).

[1] This teacher is generally regarded to be Illtud, who is not named owing to his pre-eminence, and from a feeling of reverence on the part of the writer (see Introduction).

[2] M. Douais' fragment has : *Quid est* = LXX, Τί ἐστιν ; Vulg. reads, *Quis est hic.* See note cc. 63, 64.

*Jerem.* xviii, 8. Peccatorem hoc vehementer ad paenitentiam hortatur : *Et si paenitentiam egerit gens illa a peccato suo, paenitentiam et ego agam super*
*Jerem.* xxxii, 39. *malo, quod locutus sum, ut facerem ei.* Et iterum : *Quis dabit eis tale cor, ut audiant me et custodiant praecepta mea et bene sit eis omnibus*
*Deut.* xxxii, 28-30. *diebus vitae suae.* Itemque in cantico Deuteronomii : *populus,* inquit, *absque consilio et prudentia: utinam saperent et intellegerent ac novissima providerent, quomodo persequatur unus mille et duo fugent*
*Matth.* xi, 28-29. *decem milia.* Et iterum in euangelio Dominus : *Venite ad me omnes, qui laboratis et onerati estis, et ego vos requiescere faciam.*[1] *Tollite iugum meum super vos et discite a me, quia mitis sum et humilis corde, et invenietis requiem animabus vestris.*

Nam si haec surdis auribus audias, prophetas contemnas, Christum despicias nosque,[2] licet vilissimae qualitatis simus, nullius momenti ducas, propheticum illud sincera animi pietate
*Mich.* iii, 8. servantes utcumque : *Si non ego implevero fortitudinem in spiritu et virtute Domini, ut enuntiem domui Iacob peccata eorum et domui*
*Esai.* lviii, 1 ; lvi, 10. *Israhel scelera eorum,* ne simus *canes muti non valentes latrare.* Et illud Salomonis ita dicentis :

*Prov.* xxiv, 24.
*Qui dicit impium iustum esse*
*maledictus erit populis et odibilis gentibus :*
*nam qui arguunt, meliora sperabunt.*

Et iterum :

*Eccles.* iv, 27.
*Non verearis proximum in casum suum,*
*nec retineas verbum in tempore salutis.*

Itemque :

*Prov.* xxiv, 11.
*Erue eos, qui ducuntur ad mortem,*
*et redimere eos qui interficiuntur ne parcas,*

*Prov.* xi, 4. quia *non proderunt,* ut idem propheta ait, *divitiae in die irae :*
I *Petr.* iv, 18. *iustitia a morte liberat. Si iustus quidem vix salvus sit, impius et peccator ubi parebit ?* Ille profecto te tenebrosus tartari[3] torrens

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[1] Gildas, when quoting elsewhere consecutively from the Gospels, has a text almost identical with that of the Vulgate ; but here, quoting probably from memory, his text is the same as the partially revised Old Latin *Codex Brixianus* (f), *et ego vos requiescere faciam,* instead of the Vulgate *et ego reficiam vos.* Such is the case also in his adaptation of these very words in c. 29, *et ipse te, ut dixit, requiscere faciet.* Vide Additional Note, p. 92.

[2] Gildas of himself. See cc. 1, 36, 37, 62, 64, 93, 108.

[3] Although Gildas mingles his denunciatory message to the five princes with affectionate appeals for reform, yet he ends each message with lavish threatening of the torments of hell. The appellations used by him for the place of torment are *inferno,* or *infernum,* and *tartarus.* The Latin versions had made the former word familiar everywhere as the name for "the grave," or Hades, the abode of the dead. In this sense it is the equivalent of the plural *inferi,* as

earnestly exhorts the sinner to repentance in this passage: *And* *Jerem.* xviii, 8.
*if that nation repent of its sin, I also shall repent respecting the evil*
*which I spake to do unto it.* Again: *Who will give them such a* *Jerem.* xxxii, 39.
*heart that they may hear me, and keep my precepts, and it may*
*be well unto them all the days of their life.* Again, in the song of
Deuteronomy, he says: *They are a people void of counsel and* *Deut.* xxxii, 28-30.
*understanding. O that they were wise, that they understood and*
*foresaw their last end! how one shall chase a thousand and two*
*put ten thousand to flight.* Again, in the gospel, the Lord says: *Matt.* xi, 28-29.
*Come unto me all ye that labour and are heavy laden and I shall*
*cause you to rest. Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me; because I*
*am meek and lowly of heart: and ye shall find rest unto your souls.*

For if thou hear these things with deaf ears, thou contemnest
the prophets, thou despisest Christ, and me, though a man of the
lowest estate I grant, thou regardest as of no weight, though at
any rate I keep that word of the prophet with sincere godliness
of mind: *I shall surely fill my strength with the spirit and power of* *Mic.* iii, 8.
*the Lord, so as to make known unto the house of Jacob their sins, and to* *Isaiah* lviii, 1.
*the house of Israel their offences,* lest I be *as dumb dogs that cannot* *Isaiah* lvi, 10.
*bark.* Also that word of Solomon, who says thus: *He that saith* *Prov.* xxiv, 24.
*that the wicked is just, shall be accursed of the people, and hated of the*
*nations: for they who convict him shall hope better things.* Again:
*Thou shalt not respect thy neighour to his own ruin, nor hold back* *Eccles.* iv, 27.
*word in the time of salvation.* Also: *Pluck out those that are drawn* *Prov.* xxiv, 11.
*unto death, and redeem those that are slain, spare not,* because,
as the same prophet says, *riches shall not profit in the day of wrath;* *Prov.* xi, 4.
*righteousness delivereth from death. If the righteous scarcely be* I *Peter* iv, 18.
*saved where shall the ungodly and the sinner appear?* That dark
flood of hell shall roll round thee with its deadly whirl and fierce

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*exaudivit me de ventre inferni* (Jonah, ii, 3), in the Latin version of Irenæus: *descendam . . . . in infernum* (εἰς ᾅδου), Gen. xxxvii, 35. Its Welsh derivative, *uffern,* is employed with the same meaning in most places of the authorised Old and New Testament. But it was used also as a name for a place of punishment (*locus suppliciorum atque cruciatorum,* Jerome in Is. xiv, 7-11), and Jerome understood the words of the creed, *descendit ad inferna,* in this sense. Cyprian seems to have used *inferi* only, while *inferus* appears a few times in the Latin Bible, *e.g.,* Rev. vi, 8, *et inferus* (ὁ ᾅδης) *sequebatur eum,* where the Welsh version has *uffern,* the English *hell. Tartarus,* though not so frequently found, is employed for "hell" as early as Tertullian, and in the letter of Roman presbyters to Cyprian: *parauit caelum sed parauit et tartarum, Ep.,* xxx, 7. It is evident that neither *inferi* nor *tartarus* were in common use, because *infernus* has given *enfer* to the French language and *uffern,* or *yffern,* to Welsh. Cornish and Armorican have allied forms, *ifarn, yffarn; iffern, ivern.*

ferali rotatu undisque ac si acerrimis involvet semper cruciaturus et numquam consumpturus, cui tunc erit sera inutilisque poenae oculata cognitio ac mali paenitudo, a quo in hoc tempore accepto et die salutis ad rectum vitae iter differtur conversio.

### *Reasons for Introducing Words of the Holy Prophets (sancti vates).*

Hic sane vel antea concludenda erat, uti ne amplius loqueretur 37
os nostrum opera hominum, tam flebilis haec querulaque malorum
aevi huius historia.[1] Sed ne formidolosos nos aut lassos putent,
*Esai.* v, 20. quominus illud Isaianum infatigabiliter caveamus: *Vae*, inquiens,
*qui dicit bonum malum et malum bonum*, *ponentes tenebras in lucem*
*Matth.* xiii, 13. *et lucem in tenebras*, *amarum in dulce et dulce in amarum. Qui*
*Matth.* xiii, 15. *videntes non vident et audientes non audiunt*, *quorum cor crassa*
*obtegitur* quadam vitiorum nube, libet quid quantumque his supra-
dictis lascivientibus insanisque satellitum Faraonis (quibus eius
periturus mari provocatur exercitus strenue rubro, eorumque
II *Reg.* vii, 13. similibus), quinque equis[2] minarum prophetica inclamitent, strictim
edicere oracula, quibus veluti pulchro tegmine opusculi nostri
molimen, ita ut ne certatim irruituris invidorum imbribus extet
penetrabile, fidissime contegatur.

Respondeant itaque pro nobis sancti vates nunc ut ante, qui os quodam modo Dei organumque Spiritus Sancti, mortalibus prohibentes mala, bonis faventes extitere, contumacibus superbisque huius aetatis principibus, ne dicant nos propria adinventione et

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[1] This "tearful narrative of complaint" (*flebilis querulaque historia*) includes the part beginning, in c. 26, where the older men die and are succeeded by an age ignorant of the earlier struggles with the Saxons, with experience only of the present time of quiet. The story ends with c. 36. Bede's well-known words about Gildas, that he wrote "with tears in his language" (*flebili sermone*, i, 22), may have been borrowed from this passage, as also the name *liber querulus*, so frequently applied to this work. The phrase *querula historia* means a narrative setting forth definite charges or complaints. In Col. iv, 13, we have probably the Latin *querela* reproduced by the Authorised Versions, Welsh and English, in the (now) archaic *cweryl* and *quarrel*. "If any man have a quarrel (= complaint) against any."

[2] *quinque equis*. These words are best understood if connected thus: *his supra dictis lascivientibus insanisque satellitum Faraonis quinque equis*, placing a bracket after *similibus*: "these above-named lascivious and foolish horses of Pharaoh's following." The *Mon. Germ. Hist.* edition explains "five horses," by the five horses mentioned in 2 Kings, vii, 13. "Let some take, I pray thee, five of the horses that remain, which are left in the city." But the story of

waves ; it shall always torture and never consume thee, to whom, at that time too late and profitless, shall be the real knowledge of pain and repentance for sin, from which the conversion to the righteous way of life, is delayed by thee.

### *Reasons for Introducing Words of the Holy Prophets (sancti vates).*

37 Here indeed, or even before, was to be concluded this tearful and complaining story of the evils of this age, so that my mouth should no further relate the deeds of men. But let them not suppose that I am timid or wearied, so as not to be carefully on my guard against that saying of Isaiah : *Woe unto him who calleth* *Isaiah* v, 20. *evil good, and good evil, putting darkness for light, and light for darkness, bitter for sweet, and sweet for bitter. Who seeing do not* *Matt.* xiii, 13. *see, and hearing do not hear, whose heart is covered with a thick* *Matt.* xiii, 15. *cloud of vices.* Rather, I wish succinctly to relate what threatenings, and how great, the oracles of the prophets exclaim against the above-named lascivious and mad five horses of the retinue of Pharaoh, by whom his army is actively incited to its ruin in the Red sea, and those like unto them. By these oracles, as if by a noble roof, the undertaking of my little work is safely covered, so that it may not stand open to the rain-storms of envious men, which shall rush upon it, vieing with one another.

Let, therefore, the holy prophets speak for me now, as they did formerly—they who stood forth as the mouth, so to speak, of God, the instrument of the Holy Spirit with prohibition of sins unto men, befriending the good—against the stubborn and proud princes of this age, lest they say, that out of my own invention and mere wordy rashness, I am hurling against them such threatenings, and

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famine-stricken Samaria hardly suits this reference to Pharaoh. In the eyes of Gildas, the five British princes of the previous chapters are to be compared to the *omnis equitatus Pharaonis*, as the Vulgate translates, or *πᾶς ἵππος* of the LXX, which led the Egyptian host into the destruction of the Red Sea, Exod. xiv, 23. Compare the still more apposite words of xv, 19. The Hebrew may mean "Pharaoh's horses" in both places. Gildas is certainly guilty of mixing figure and reality. Owing, probably, to this difficulty, the copyist of Codex A has omitted all reference to "horses" and Pharaoh. It reads : libet itaque edicere quid quantumque minarum inclamitent prophetica oracula *his supra dictis quinque regibus* lasciuientibusque eorum insanis intellectibus quibus oraculis ueluti quodam pulcro tegmini fidissime contegatur opusculi nostri molimen ut ne certatim . . .

loquaci tantum temeritate tales minas eis tantosque terrores incutere. Nulli namque sapientium dubium est, in quantis graviora *Heb.* x, 28, 29. sunt peccata huius temporis quam primi, apostolo dicente : *Legem quis transgrediens duobus mediis vel tribus*[1] *testibus moritur : quanto putatis deteriora mereri supplicia, qui filium dei conculcaverit ?*

The words used in this section have an important bearing upon the whole contents of the book from the beginning as far as c. 63. Though the author appears to hurl forth his denunciations broadcast, yet we must gather that he has all along the five men already mentioned by name, chiefly in view. The prophetic oracles, he says expressly, in the threats they contain, are to be straightly spoken "against the afore-named five horses of Pharaoh's retinue and their like." After waiting ten long years, his patience came to an end in the enormities witnessed "this year," when the Prince of Domnonia, disguised as an abbot, murdered two royal youths in church. British law and custom, as we know from the laws of Howell the Good, allowed divorce under conditions which the Christian church had no choice except to condemn. Every one of these five had been guilty of forcible divorce, accompanied by other crimes, and the old cry of Jerome against Roman imperial law repeats itself in this work of a Briton : "The laws of the Caesars are different from those of Christ ; Papinianus (a Jurist) prescribes one thing, Paul another" (Aliae sunt leges Caesarum, aliae Christi. Aliud Papinianus, aliud Paulus praecipit, *Ep.*, 77). There is here no empty declamation, but a truthful man with instances of real criminality before his mind, bearing witness, like one of the Hebrew prophets, and availing himself of their words, for righteousness and good living. We have before us, in fact, a page in the large volume of the history of morals.

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## ADDITIONAL NOTE.

*Character of the Scriptural quotations made by Gildas.*

Gildas gives three reasons for the long extracts of Scriptural passages which follow. (1) He does not wish to be regarded as timid or incapable of proper discrimination. (2) By quoting the sayings of the prophets, he renders his work safe against the attacks of the envious. (3) Such extracts will prove that there is something more than *his own* ideas in his pleadings and denunciations.

Severe comments, or depreciatory ones, have often been passed on Gildas for filling his tractate with mere quotations. It is certainly not the method of a modern writer, but greater men than Gildas had, before his time, made this an established fashion in Christian literature. Cyprian, in his *Testimonia ad Quirinum* and the tractate *Ad Fortunatum* (*de exhortatione Martyrii*), writes of questions bearing on doctrine and morality, by means of far more numerous and extensive quotations of Scripture passages strung together, than Gildas.

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[1] *duobus mediis vel tribus.* There seems to be here an echo of an older version than the Vulgate, which is as follows : *irritam quis faciens legem Uosi . . . . duobus vel tribus testibus moritur : quanto magis putatis . . . .*

terrors of such magnitude. For to no wise man is it doubtful how much more grievous are the sins of this time, than those of the primitive time, when the apostle says : *He that transgresses the law, is put to death on the word of two or three witnesses; of how much sorer punishments, think ye, is he worthy who hath trodden under foot the Son of God.* *Heb.* x, 28, 29.

A mere glance at Hartell's edition will make this plain. Basil wrote his 'Ηθικά, and Cyril of Alexandria his Βίβλος τῶν θησαυρῶν after the same manner. The same may be said of a work not unlike Gildas', the *De Regibus Apostaticis* by Lucifer of Cagliari, addressed to the Emperor Constantius ; not to mention the *Speculum*, long supposed to be the work of Augustine. Gildas, thus, has many and great names as fellows in this mode of writing, and those who are students of the Textual Criticism of Scriptural Books know of the peculiar interest attaching to such continuous extracts as are found in the works named, as well as in this of Gildas.

I.

1. The present is, perhaps, the most appropriate place for attempting a somewhat more continuous study, than would be possible in separate notes, of the quotations that begin with the next chapter. A brief summary of the history of the Latin versions of the Bible will not be out of place for some readers, as introductory to the detached points of interest which meet us in a survey of Gildas' quotations. It was during the unrest of Maximus' five years' reign (383-388), that Jerome prepared his first partial revision of the Latin Bible. This comprised the Gospels and Psalms, and in that year, 383, the Bishop of Rome introduced the revised text into the Service-book at St. Peter's Church. For this reason the Psalter has been called the *Roman Psalter*. The *Praefatio ad Damasum* of this work may be read in every edition of the Latin Bible. But by 392, Jerome had prepared a new revision of the Psalms, again in accordance with the Greek version of the "Seventy," from which the older Latin version had been made at first ; but of this the only parts that have been preserved are the Book of Job and the Psalter, which found a special reception in Gaul, and was consequently styled the *Gallic Psalter*. It is the text now found in all editions of the Vulgate Latin. This is, therefore, over fifteen hundred years old, a notable instance of the firm conservatism inherent in the Christian Church, because the remainder of the Bible, as read in Latin, is a new and more perfect work of Jerome. In it we have a new translation, attempted for the first time, from the original Hebrew of the Old Testament, together with a revision of the New Testament from the Greek. This great work was carried on and finished during the years 390-405, when Jerome was living the life of a monk at Bethlehem. The book of Psalms in this new version is called the *Hebrew Psalter*. We find that the use of it in the Church was literary rather than liturgic. It may be read in Tischendorf's edition of the Vulgate, the text being that of the celebrated Codex Amiatinus, written, as is now well known, in Britain ; but there is a special interest in the fact that Ricemarcus, the Bishop of St. David's who wrote the Life of Dewi Sant, used this Hebrew Psalter. His own copy—a most beautiful MS. written by his

brother—is still preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. It took, however, two centuries or more for the new translation to win general acceptance as also the name, hitherto borne by the old, of *Vulgata versio*, or, as generally termed, the Vulgate. Now we find, notwithstanding the terrible sufferings of those years in Britain, from 407 to 447, and from the Saxon invasion in the last-named year, or thereabout, to *c.* 540, when Gildas wrote the present work, that the new version of the Latin Bible had been silently making its way into somewhat general use here. This, however, is only partially true, and the fact leads us to speak briefly of the old version that was gradually being supplanted. We shall use the name now generally accepted, in England at least, and call it *Old Latin.*

The Old Latin version of the Old and New Testament was made some time during the second century; but, after all the inquiries of modern times, surprising in their newness and extent, there is still a cloud of darkness overlying the origin of this version. Probability inclines towards the opinion that it was first made in Proconsular Africa, and Gregory holds that if we assume such a primitive African version, there is no need to seek a double or treble origin. "It arose," he says, "slowly, not suddenly, or by the command of any bishop."

Others would say that the version was made in *different* places, above all in Africa, and by *different* men, but almost all are agreed that it must have been in use early in the second half of the second century. Nestle quotes the saying of Augustin (*c.* 400): "Those who translated the Scriptures from Hebrew into Greek can be counted (the LXX), but the Latin translators can in no wise be numbered." One leading point for our notice here, however, is that this translation was made from the Greek version of the LXX, in the Old Testament.* But we must remember that the Greek of the LXX was not exactly that which we now read as the Septuagint. This, even in its best form, is an emended text. Origen (died 254), in his *Hexapla*, produced a text into which he introduced many emendations, and it is his text mainly that we have in our oldest MSS. Thus the LXX Greek, from which the Old Latin was first translated, is not before us in any edition: what we possess is a "revised and composite text" which in time became again the basis of a mixed Old Latin. Let us take the Book of Job, for example, where we know, from Origen's own testimony, taken with that of Jerome, there were about seven hundred lines wanting in the old LXX; these Origen supplied from another version, that of Theodotion, adding asterisks to mark the lines so supplemented. The asterisks were reproduced by Jerome in the revision which he made by the help of the LXX, and the lines so marked may be distinguished in the italicized lines of Sabatier's *Bibl. Sacr. Latinae Versiones Antiquae*, reprinted from Martianay's edition of Jerome, or in the reprint of Martianay's edition given in *Migne* (Tom. xxix, 61), with *obeli* and asterisks appended. Three groups of authorities that have preserved these asterisks, are mentioned by Dr. Hatch in ch. vi,

* Here, I need hardly say, I am endeavouring to follow others, especially Nestle, *Ein Jubiläum der Lateinische Bibel* (1892), and his article "Bibelübersetzungen" in Herzog's *Realencyclopädie* (Third Edition), as well as Gregory, *Proleg.* to Tischendorf's New Testament, p. 948, ff.; Hort's Introd.; Scrivener's Introduction; Texts and Studies; Old Latin Biblical Texts.

"On Origen's Revision of the LXX Text of Job" (*Essays in Biblical Greek*, p. 214). The oldest Latin version was made from the defective ante-Hexaplar text of the LXX, and, therefore, did not contain the lines added by Origen from Theodotion: "It is met with in the quotations of Cyprian and Lucifer of Cagliari; in Spain it survived to the fifth (eighth?) century, as is shown by the *Speculum* and Priscillian" (*Texts and Studies*, iv, 3). *This work of Gildas shows that in Britain it survived to the sixth century*, that is, we have in the *De Excidio* Latin fragments of the Book of Job, and probably of Ezekiel and the Minor Prophets, which represent a text older than Origen, or, roughly speaking, anterior to A.D. 250.

2. Putting aside this particular case of Job and the Minor Prophets, one may mark what seems to be made plain by Nestle in the article in Herzog's third edition, that for the Old Testament the many variations of text existing, lead us to the assumption of a more numerous classification of groups than is the case with the New Testament.* The opinion advanced by Dr. Hort regarding the New Testament—"that the African was the parent of the European text, having undergone revision when it travelled northwards, and been in some measure adapted to the needs of a more highly-cultivated population" (vol. ii, p. 79)—this view seems in the main adopted by all. I cannot pretend to the special training and qualification necessary to distinguish these in the text of Gildas. My sole point is the interest which attaches to the fact, that Britain by its isolation from the Empire, preserved, as to the Old Testament particularly, a form of text that can be pronounced to be very ancient, and yet entered so far into the common life of the Church, that the *Vulgate of Jerome* circulated in it, apparently to a wider extent than was the case in Gaul. The results of minute inquiry into the form of text used by Avitus and Gregory of Tours in Gaul, by M. Samuel Berger in his *Histoire de la Vulgate*, seem to prove this conclusively.

It seems to be generally accepted that after the middle of the fourth century a third type of text is met with, due to various revisions of the European text. Instances of it are found in the "Codex Brixianus and a small group of Latin authorities." The pages of Gildas show us that this also was current in Britain. Further, the circulation of the old and new versions, side by side, too often led to the production of what is called a mixed text, both versions frequently borrowing and corrupting the text of the other, of which, again, evidence is not wanting in the present book. To sum up, we may re-state that, amid the terrible sufferings, which on the Continent led to the tragic events of 410 and 476; at a time when, in Britain, Picts and Scots were committing untold ravages, and the Saxons carrying on a more awful war of extermination and enslavement, a new Latin Bible steadily made its way to general acceptance.

3. In this island the revised New Testament, and certain parts of the Old, had secured a general recognition. Yet the different parts of Scripture

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* Neben der afrikanischen Grundlage glauben aber neuere Forscher vor allem beim NT., aber auch beim AT., ein entschieden europäisches element in diesen Texten erkennen zu sollen, und es ist Sitte geworden, eine afrikanische und europäische Textgestalt zu unterscheiden. Zumal für das AT. müssen aber noch viel mehr Texte zugänglich sein, ehe an eine definitive Klassifikation gedacht werden kann. (Herzog, *Realencycl.*, iii, 28.)

read in the Christian communities and the monasteries, present to us a very strange sight. Whole books show the rude, over-literal rendering of the oldest type of version ; others give indications of the early revision which this had undergone, and others were read in the new form that eventually became the common property of all western Churches. But the pages before us seem to me to suggest another fact of no common interest. I gather that in his youth, let us say during his stay at the Monastery of Illtud, some years before and after A.D. 520, Gildas was not acquainted with Jerome's version. If so, the introduction of it into Britain was contemporary with his own growth in life and experience. From this arises another significant conclusion, viz., that the spread of the Vulgate was due to the spread of monasticism, and especially to the influence of such men as Illtud, whom one may regard as the first Teacher, in the best sense, of our nation. Here are a few instances out of many that carry our thoughts in this direction. The two books of Isaiah and Jeremiah, in the continuous quotations, copied, no doubt, by the writer with a codex before him, are from the Vulgate version ; but in c. 40 Gildas quotes the well-known words of Isaiah lvii, 21, apparently from memory : *There is no peace, saith my God, to the wicked :* Vg. *Non est pax impiis, dicit Dominus Deus.* Now Gildas had learnt the words as follows : *Non est gaudere inpiis, dicit Dominus*, a rude, literal rendering of οὐκ ἔστιν χαίρειν τοῖς ἀσεβέσιν = *There is no being joyful for the wicked.* Again, in c. 21, from the same prophet, we have i, 4 : *Children that are corrupters ! they have forsaken the Lord, they have provoked the Holy One of Israel unto anger :* Vulgate : *Vae . . . . filiis sceleratis ; dereliquerunt Dominum, blasphemaverunt sanctum Israel.* Here again Gildas has a very different text : *Filii sine lege, dereliquistis Deum, et ad iracundiam prouocastis sanctum Israel*, which is a ruder rendering, if anything, than the former instance, of the LXX : υἱοὶ ἄνομοι, ἐγκατελίπατε τὸν κύριον καὶ παρωργίσατε τὸν ἅγιον τοῦ Ἰσραήλ.* Passages of the same character might be adduced from Jeremiah, as, for instance, Jer. xxxii, 39 in c. 40, or Genesis 5, 24, as a mixed form. The New Testament was mainly read in the Vulgate version, with Old Latin readings interspersed, more numerous in some books than others. For many of these there is independent MS. evidence. However, when Gildas, in c. 36, writes such well-known words as, "Come unto me all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest," the last words read : *et ego vos requiescere faciam*, which is the reading of the Old Latin Codex Brixianus (f). In cc. 106-109 quotations are given from four *lectiones*, which were read at ordination out of an ancient formulary. These are portions of Acts, I Timothy, I Peter, and Matthew xvi, 16-19, and the version is Old Latin. Of the same type is the extract from II Timothy in Fragment A, iii.

Certain qualifications are, indeed, necessary with respect to the parts last-mentioned, but there seems to be on the whole, and especially when we look at the first examples, a clear indication that Gildas, at that time of life when words of Scripture impress themselves for ever upon the memory, knew the Old Latin version, and the Old Latin only. Our aim, just now, is for a perspective view, and we find it instructive : we gather that a writer who had just

* Confusion between *Deus*, *Deum*, and *Dominus*, *Dominum*, is common, both, probably, being expressed by the same abbreviations in the older MSS., D̅S̅. DM.

completed his forty-third year, about A.D. 540, had seen a time when the version of Jerome was little, if at all, used in Britain. Then during something like twenty or thirty years, the New Testament and certain parts of the Old, had become familiar to the churches in this very version. Might not this have been, though unrecorded by him, a leading result of the victory at Badon Hill and the *serenitas* which followed it?

4. One other point may be mentioned here. This process of the substitution of one text of the Bible for another would be facilitated by the unpleasant experience of rival texts existing at the same time. The words of Jerome, in his Letter to Damasus, as well as those, uttered by him and Augustine, describing the multiplicity of texts and the confusion that arose out of it, are given in books on Textual Criticism. The dissatisfaction felt by such men might well hasten the work of revision, and with many, the reception of the new version. Gildas suggests to us that Britain had not one, but many, forms of the same parts of Scripture. The following instances are interesting. Micah iii, 8, is found in two forms, as follows :—

| C. 36. | C. 86. |
|---|---|
| (a) Si non ego implevero fortitudinem in spiritu et virtute Domini, ut enuntiem domui Jacob peccata eorum et domui Israhel scelera eorum. | (b) Si non ego implevero fortitudinem in spiritu Domini et judicio et potestate, ut annuntiem domui Jacob impietates suas et Israel peccata sua. |

The Vulgate reads : Verumtamen ego repletus sum fortititudine spiritus Domini, iudicio et virtute, ut annunciem Jacob scelus suum et Israel peccatum suum. Now extract (a) seems to stand midway between (b) and the Vulgate, but the closer similarity of (b) to the text of the LXX proves it to be the older. *ἐὰν μὴ ἐγὼ ἐμπλήσω ἰσχὺν ἐν πνεύματι Κυρίου καὶ κρίματος καὶ δυναστείας τοῦ ἀπαγγεῖλαι τῷ Ἰακὼβ ἀσεβείας αὐτοῦ, καὶ τῷ Ἰσραὴλ ἁμαρτίας αὐτοῦ.*

Hosea viii, 4, is likewise found in a double form :

| C. 52. | C. 109. |
|---|---|
| (a) Sibi regnaverunt et non per me. They have reigned for themselves and not by me. | (b) Fecerunt sibi reges et non per me. They have made unto themselves kings and not by me. |

The Vulgate is : *Ipsi regnaverunt et non ex me.* The LXX reads : *ἑαυτοῖς ἐβασίλευσαν καὶ οὐ δι' ἐμοῦ*, which shows that (a) is probably the older of the two, while (b) almost suggests acquaintance with the Hebrew, perhaps, in some connection that had preceded even Jerome. Cf. Haddan and Stubbs, i, p. 195.

The second chapter of I Samuel presents a strange case. Other quotations from this book, ten verses in all, as well as six from II Samuel, follow the Vulgate, but the six verses quoted from I Samuel ii, have a text so dissimilar that it must be regarded as Old Latin. Nay, one verse, which is twice quoted by Gildas, seems to imply differing exemplars even of this. Its double form may be seen at a glance.

| C. 62. | C. 76. |
|---|---|
| eos qui honorant me, honorabo ; et qui me spernunt, erunt ignobiles. | et nunc sic dicit Dominus : quoniam qui honorificant me, honorabo eos ; et qui pro nihilo habent me, ad nihilum redigentur. |

The Vulgate reads: *Nunc autem dicit Dominus: absit hoc a me: sed quicunque glorificaverit me glorificabo eum: qui autem contemnunt me, erunt ignobiles.* When we look at the LXX, we are tempted to regard the significant omission that is found in Gildas' text, as representing the ancient imperfect anti-Origenian LXX. As found in Codex B it is καὶ νῦν φησὶν Κύριος Μηδαμῶς ἐμοί, ὅτι ἀλλ' ἢ τοὺς δοξάζοντάς με δοξάσω, καὶ ὁ ἐξουθενῶν με ἀτιμωθήσεται. Gildas was, apparently, acquainted with three forms of the First book of Samuel.

5. Without entering into details, it may be said that Gildas had copies of the Vulgate for the following books of the Old Testament; The Pentateuch, I and II Samuel, I and II Kings, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Lamentations, and probably Malachi, as well as old Latin copies of several of these books, if not of all. The Old Latin codices used by him contained the following: parts of I Samuel and I Kings, II Chronicles, Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Ezekiel and nine of the Minor Prophets, Wisdom of Solomon, Ecclesiasticus, and IV Esdras (II Esdras in the Apocrypha of the Authorised Version). Counting allusions to the contents of Biblical books, as well as quotations from them, we find all the Old Testament books referred to by Gildas except Ruth, Esther, Daniel, Obadiah and Jonah. I have felt disinclined to mention any works besides this of Gildas, but, at this point, it may be well to observe that Fastidius, who wrote in Britain probably *c.* 420-430, shows no trace of Jerome's version in his Old Testament quotations; the books of Isaiah and Jeremiah, for example, have the same Old Latin character as the minor Prophets in Gildas. Fastid., *De vita Christiana*, Migne, Tom. 50.

The New Testament appears to be on the whole in the Vulgate version, with the exception of I Peter, II Timothy in Fragment A III, and, probably, certain parts of Acts, though, as has been said, with many readings different from the common text. Taking allusions as well as quotations into account, we find that Gildas omits mention of the following: II Thessalonians, Philemon, II Peter, the epistles of John and Jude. See Index I.

II.

1. The fact that the text of the Latin Bible contained in Gildas' *De Excidio* was in many places different from that of the Vulgate, did not escape the observation of the learned Italian, Polydore Vergil, who brought out the first edition of the work in 1525, under the patronage of Dr. Tunstall, bishop of London. But Polydore Vergil, as he partly avows in his preface, changed the Old Latin quotations in conformity with the Vulgate. Five or six editions, printed on the continent, between 1534 and 1569, at Basel and Paris, reproduced this of Polydore Vergil, as was also done in the edition of J. Daye, London, 1563, though apparently, after consulting some MS. or other. But when Josselin, the secretary of Archbishop Parker, brought out in 1568 the second edition, the extracts were duly printed in the form for which his MSS. furnished evidence. After accusing his predecessor of making unjustifiable changes and additions in the text of Gildas, he proceeds: "The Holy testimonies of Scripture, which he (Polydore Vergil) retains, are not all placed in the very words found by him. Instead of these he substitutes certain parts out of that version, which we commonly, but erroneously, call the old. This, in the time of Gildas, had not been accepted for public use in the church for all the books of Scripture. The reader will find in so small a book as this,

five hundred quotations, which agree with the Vulgate reading just in a few words only." These words are of interest, as being about the earliest recognition, by an English writer, of the difference between the Latin Bible before Jerome and after.

As we examine the lengthy continuous extracts made from the Old Testament books, particularly the Minor Prophets, we are struck by the close and literal similarity they show to the Greek of the LXX. If we compare the form in which the same passages are given, for instance, in the *Versio Antiqua* of Sabatier (frequently culled from the exegetical works of Jerome, or from the quotations made by early Latin writers, such as Cyprian, Tertullian, the Latin translator of Irenaeus, and Lucifer of Cagliari), we find that the words, as quoted by Gildas, present a more literal rendering of the Greek original. A passage already referred to, Hosea viii, 4, may serve as an example. In Sabatier's text of the old version we read : *Ex semetipsis regnaverunt et non per me, principes exstiterunt et non indicaverunt mihi* ; the Greek is : ἑαυτοῖς ἐβασίλευσαν, καὶ οὐ δι' ἐμοῦ, ἦρξαν καὶ οὐκ ἐγνώρισαν μοι, for which Gildas has : *Sibi regnaverunt, et non per me ; tenuerunt principatum, nec me agnoverunt.* The Greek original of his exemplar seems to have read ἐγνώρισάν με where we are furnished with an instance of γνωρίζειν in the rare meaning of "to know," as in Phil. i, 22. Cyprian quotes the first part of the same verse twice in the Epp., pp. 672 and 739 (Hartell's edition) as follows : *Sibimet ipsis regem constituerunt et non per me*, which is closely similar to Gildas here and in c. 109 : *fecerunt sibi reges et non per me.* This fact of agreement with Cyprian's quotations, of which a great many instances will be found, strongly confirms the natural conclusion that Gildas had before him codices of a very ancient rude version made from the LXX Greek, and intimating varieties of reading even in that. In the book of Amos, one finds Gildas differing widely from the *Versio Antiqua* of Sabatier ; but here a discovery made by Ranke comes to our aid. Ranke in 1888 published fragments of Amos, Ezekiel and Daniel* from an Old Latin Codex, of which the fragment of Amos agrees almost word for word with the quotation made by Gildas from that prophet. This fact proves that Ranke's fragment and Gildas' codex may have had a common original.

2. We now ask the question, how this, at first sight, unique resemblance of Gildas' quotations to the Greek of the LXX, is to be explained. A theory in explanation of this fact was advanced first of all by Schöll in his *De Eccles. Britonum Scotorumque Historiæ Fontibus*, p. 17. I quote his words : "He (Gildas) translates numerous places both of the Old Testament and the New from the Greek. The Minor Prophets he has rendered from the LXX version *more accurately than others* (the italics are Schöll's, *accuratius quam alii reddidit*). The codex of the LXX used by him agrees for the most part with Codex Vaticanus (B), but frequently comes closer to Codex Alexandrinus (A), and occasionally, he apparently had a text which is extant in neither (cf. Ezekiel, vii, 23 ; 2, 10 ; Hosea, viii, 1 ; Micah iii, ix, 5 ; 7, 1, vii, *et al.*). From which we may gather that the Codex of the LXX which Gildas had, was different from the Alexandrinus and Vaticanus. . . . . .

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* *Studgardiana Vers. ss. Lat. Antetieron Fragmenta.* The *Codex Weingartensis* contains the fragment of Amos, which is printed in four columns, viz., the LXX, *Cod. Wein.*, *Antiqua versio lat.*, *Hier. vulgata nova.*

The conclusion is that *Gildas himself translated* the places named above *from the Greek, whence we know that, for those times, he was well acquainted with the Greek tongue* (*Gildam ipsum locos* supra enumeratos *ex Graeco vertisse, unde illum Graecae linguae ut istis temporibus peritissimum fuisse* cognoscimus)." The same view is given in an English book read and consulted by every student : " His special renderings are commonly made from the LXX (once or twice apparently from the Hebrew), and from a text of the LXX agreeing partly with the MS. Vat., partly with the MS. Alex." " But Gildas uses a form of that version (*i.e.*, the Latin) corrected occasionally from the Greek."* The notes in the careful and exhaustive collation of the text of Gildas with other Latin texts, made in the same work, frequently add : " corrected in accordance with the LXX."

3. Another explanation is possible, and, to me, far more probable. The Greek text which forms the basis of a great part of Gildas' Latin text is *older than that of the* LXX *found in any MS.*, because all these give an emended text as revised by Origen, and therefore his agreement, or disagreement, with the text of Codex Alex., or Codex Vat., counts for very little. This may not be the case for *all* parts of Gildas, for I find, in comparing the old Latin used by Jerome, in his Commentaries on the Prophets, with the quotations of Gildas, that the former is at times more literally near the LXX. Still the principle which will furnish the true explanation and should guide us is this—*that the nearer a text of the Latin version is to the Greek of the* LXX, *the older it is.* I find this principle enunciated by a French writer, M. C. Douais, who, in 1895, published " Une ancienne version latine de l'Ecclesiastique." Led by such a view, our conclusion must be that the texts which are *unlike* that of the LXX, are really the "corrected" ones. While such rude Latin as, *filii sine lege* for υἱοὶ ἄνομοι, or, *lignum sine sanitate* (c. 59) for ξύλον ἀνίατον, or further, *salutare declarationis vestrae non accipiam* (c. 85), in correspondence with the Greek of A, σωτηρίου ἐπιφανείας ὑμῶν οὐκ ἐπιβλέψομαι—these, by their literal agreement with the Greek, are proved to be older and *non*-corrected forms. Whether Gildas himself knew Greek will be considered elsewhere, and on other grounds ; at present, we simply dwell upon facts which certainly seem to warn us against founding any argument whatever as to a supposed study of the Greek tongue, and acquaintance with it in the monasteries of Britain, upon the peculiarities of Old Testament quotations found in this book. Gildas simply wrote his Latin of Job, Ezekiel, or Amos, just as he found it in the codices of his time. The close resemblance of this to the ancient Greek version, as the marked agreement of Ranke's fragment shows, cannot be due to Gildas ; it just proves how extremely old some parts of the Bible used in Britain must have been, but can prove no more. Besides the fragment published by Ranke, the Extracts from the Old Testament, printed in Haddan and Stubbs, i, App. G, p. 195, from a supposed British Old Latin Version, in their partial agreement with Gildas, seem also to support the view given above.

4. The exceedingly close agreement between the Latin of Gildas and the Greek of the LXX has led me to take a very bold step. In some passages, even the scanty documentary evidence existing for determining the text of the *De Excidio* is conflicting, while in one or two places there is evident corruption,

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* Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, i, 191, 175*n*.

no doubt due solely to transcription. Now the Greek Old Testament, especially in Job, Ezekiel, and the minor Prophets, though itself a version, stands in the place of an original to the Latin text from which Gildas copied. On this account, I have ventured, a few times, to change the structure of a sentence, or the case of a noun, in accordance with the Greek from which the Latin was evidently made. The German edition, in its textual notes, refers us to the Vulgate version by way of elucidation in several of these cases, but the extreme literalness of the Old Latin translation seems to justify a reference to the Greek as a safe guide: safer sometimes than that which the limited MS. authority we possess can furnish. The ampler *apparatus criticus* now provided in the Third Volume of Swete's edition of the LXX, containing the Prophets, renders this process still safer.

III.

1. From the very outset of his work Gildas, following a way of writing common since Origen, naturally falls to making long quotations from Scripture. Where these are short or well-known phrases, we may well take for granted that they are made from memory. There are, however, in one part of the work, twenty-four chapters almost devoid of any Scriptural words, though allusions are frequent. These are cc. 3—26, which only contain five or six quotations. But after the *historia flebilis* of the five Welsh princes, that is, from c. 38 to c. 63, the quotations are made consecutively and, in some cases, at great length. These are addressed to judges and princes of the land.

A similar series of quotations from the Old Testament is found in the portion which deals with the clergy of his time, first from c. 76 to c. 91, and then out of the New Testament in cc. 92—105. It will be seen that the first series contains no quotations from the New Testament. But in the two portions, the books named stand in the same order. They are as follows:

*First Series*, I and II Samuel, I Kings, II Chronicles, Isaiah, Jeremiah, (Joel omitted), Habakkuk, Hosea, Amos, Micah, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, Job, IV Esdras (II Esdras in the Apocrypha of the English Bible), Ezekiel, Wisdom of Solomon, Ecclesiasticus (*vide* Note, cc. 62-64).

*Second Series*, I Samuel, I Kings (Chronicles omitted), Isaiah, Jeremiah, Joel, (Habakkuk omitted), Hosea, Amos, Micah, Zephaniah (Haggai omitted), Zechariah, Malachi, (Job and Esdras omitted), Ezekiel, (Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus omitted).

This order, which, being the same in both lists, must be regarded as the accepted one in Britain, differs widely from the order in which the books appear in the Vulgate. Neither does it correspond to that found in the leading MSS. of the LXX.

2. The position of Job and Ezekiel in the two series will most of all draw the attention of a reader. But Gildas is not alone in this. The treatise called *Speculum* (m), an anonymous work, for long ascribed to Augustine, but by some regarded to be as late as the 8th or 9th century,* places Ezekiel along with Daniel

* Edited by Weihrich in C.S.E.L., vol. xii. He makes out a strong case in an article (1893): "Die Bibelexcerpte *de divinis scripturis* und die Itala des heiligen Augustinus," for placing the book in Carolingian times (eighth century).

after the Minor Prophets (*vide* Note, c. 61). Old Latin MSS. place Job as first of a group, "the order of histories," as it is styled, viz., Job, Tobit, Esther, Judith, I and II Esdras, I and II Maccabees, at the end of the Old Testament, after Malachi. (Credner, Kanon, Das *Decretum Gelasii*, p. 288.) Cassiodorus gives two lists of Biblical books, the first as found *secundum sanctum Hieronymum;* the second *according to the Ancient Translation*," in which the same order prevails, that is, the last books of the Old Testament are Job, Tobit, Esther, I and II Esdras, I and II Macc. (Zahn, Kanon, Band ii, 272.) Augustine's older list, in his *De Doctrina Christiana*, ii, 8, 12—14, names Job with the same books. We observe, even from such slight facts as these, how far Gildas is dominated by old traditions. (See note, cc. 59, 61.)

The New Testament quotations in cc. 92—105 are made in the following order of books: The Gospels (Acts not quoted here, nor Catholic Epistles), Romans (*prima epistola*), I and II Corinthians, (Galatians not quoted), Ephesians, (Philippians not quoted), I Thessalonians, Colossians, II Timothy, Titus, I and II Timothy. This very singular position of Colossians, after Thessalonians—(n.b. id quod sequitur (c. 103)—is found also it seems in some MSS. even of the Vulgate. Several old lists are given by Credner, in his *Gesch. des Neutest. Kanon*, p. 289, which place Colossians next to the Pastoral epistles, and in Spain, a country like Britain separated from the Empire, Isidore, who died in 636, and his disciple Ildefons, bishop of

*Quotations from Scripture, made consecutively in the order of books, denouncing wicked Princes.*

38 En primus occurrit nobis Samuel iussu Dei legitimi regni stabilitor, Deo antequam nasceretur dedicatus, a Dan usque Bersabee omni populo Israhel veridicus propheta, signis indubitanter admirandis notus, ex cuius ore Spiritus Sanctus cunctis mundi potestatibus intonuit, denuntiando primo regi apud Hebraeos dumtaxat Sauli pro eo, quod quaedam de mandatis[1] Domini non compleverat, Sam. xiii, 13, 34. dicens: *Stulte egisti nec custodisti mandata Domini Dei tui, quae praecepit tibi. Quod si non fecisses, iam nunc pararet Deus regnum tuum super Israhel in sempiternum: sed nequaquam regnum tuum ultra consurget.* Quid ergo simile huius temporis sceleribus? adulteriumne vel parricidium fecit? nullo modo. Sed iussionis ex parte mutationem, quia, ut bene quidam nostrum[2] ait, *non agitur de qualitate peccati, sed de transgressione mandati.* Itemque illum obiecta, velut putabat, purgantem et apologias, ut generi humano

[1] *De mandatis.* This use of *de* with the ablative for the pure genitive, is found in the Latin Bible and ecclesiastical writers. Rönsch (*Itala und Vulgata*, p. 396) gives several instances, among others—Acts, xvii, 4: et de colentibus, (τῶν σεβομένων) gentilibusque multitudo magna (=Amiat. Fuld.), Ambr. *Serm.* 91, contigit fimbriam de veste martyrum.

Toledo (died 667), give lists which place the book in the same order. One codex, written about the time when Gildas lived, in a list of N.T. books, places it between *ad Titum* and *ad Filimonem:* this is the Codex Claromontanus.

3. It will be noticed that Gildas reckons Solomon as a prophet, but, what is more significant for us, he also ascribes to him four books, that is, *Proverbs*, *Ecclesiastes*, (Song of Songs is not quoted), *Wisdom*, *Ecclesiasticus*. Here again we find the influence of pre-Vulgate traditions, for if he had been acquainted with Jerome's *Praefatio in Libros Salomonis*, as he certainly was with the preface to Jeremiah, he could never have spoken of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus as works of Solomon. *Fertur et Panaeretos Iesu filii Sirach liber, et alius pseudepigraphus, qui Sapientia Salomonis inscribitur. Secundus apud Hebraeos nunquam est. . . . et nonnulli scriptorum veterum hunc esse Iudaei Philonis affirmant.* (See note, cc. 63, 64.)

It is difficult to say how far Gildas would have treated these two books, together with the book of Esdras, as Scripture, had he known anything of Jerome's view respecting the Hebrew Canon; at any rate Esdras and Ecclesiasticus are to him "scripture" of equal authority with any one of the prophetical books. Throughout, we are led to conclude, by every line of observation, that Gildas, though appreciating and sharing in the diffusion of so new an element in church life as a New Version of its Bible, is, nevertheless a man of the "old school."

### *Quotations from Scripture, made consecutively in the order of books, denouncing wicked Princes.*

38 The first to meet us is Samuel, who by the command of God founded a legitimate kingdom, a man dedicated to God before his birth, a true prophet to all the people of Israel from Dan to Beersheba, known by indubitably wonderful signs. From his mouth the Holy Spirit thundered to all the powers of the world, when denouncing Saul, the first king of the Hebrews, for the simple reason that he had not fulfilled certain commands of the Lord. His words are: *Thou hast done foolishly, nor hast thou kept the commandments of the Lord thy God, which He commanded thee. If thou hadst not done this thing, God would now prepare thy kingdom over Israel for ever; but thy kingdom shall arise no further.* (1 *Sam.* xiii, 13, 14.) What then is there like to the crimes of this time? Did he commit adultery or murder? Not at all. He, however, made a partial change of the command, because, as one of ourselves has well said, "the question is not respecting the kind of sin, but respecting the transgression of a command." And when he was attempting to

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[2] *Quidam nostrum.* Cf. c. 62: *ut quidam ante nos ait;* and c. 92, *sicut bene quidam nostrorum ait.* Gildas seems to be quoting from some British writer or writers. It would be extremely interesting to discover what man or men he thus designates as "one of ourselves."

I *Sam.* xv, 20. moris est, sagaciter hoc modo adnectentem: *immo audivi vocem Domini et ambulavi in via, per quam misit me*, tali animadversione
I *Sam.* xv, 22, 23. multavit. *Numquid vult*, inquit, *Dominus holocausta aut victimas et non potius, ut oboediatur voci Domini? melior est enim oboedientia quam victimae, et audire magis quam offerre adipem arietum, quoniam sicut peccatum ariolandi est repugnare et quasi scelus idolatriae*[1] *nolle adquiescere. Pro eo ergo, quod abiecisti sermonem Domini, abiecit et te, ne sis rex.* Et post pauca: *Scidit*, inquit,
I *Sam.* xv, 28, 29. *Deus regnum Israhel a te hodie et dedit illud proximo tuo meliori te. Porro triumphator in Israhel non parcet et paenitudine non flectetur, neque enim homo est, ut agat paenitentiam*[2]; subauditur: super duris malorum praecordiis.

Notandum ergo est, quod dixit scelus idolatriae esse nolle Deo adquiescere. Non sibi scelerati isti, dum non gentium diis perspicue litant, subplaudant, siquidem conculcantes porcorum more pretiosissimas Christi margaritas, idolatrae.[1]

Sed licet hoc unum exemplum, ac si invictus adstipulator,[3] ad 39
corrigendos iniquos abunde sufficeret, tamen, ut in ore multorum testium omne comprobetur Britanniae malum, transeamus ad cetera. Quid David numerando populum evenit? dicente ad eum
II *Sam.* xxiv, 12-17. propheta Gaad. *Haec dicit Dominus: trium tibi optio datur: elige unum quod volueris ex his ut faciam tibi. Aut septem annis veniet tibi fames, aut tribus mensibus fugies adversarios tuos et illi te persequentur, aut certe tribus diebus erit pestilentia in terra tua.* Nam artatus tali condicione et volens magis incidere in manus misericordis Dei quam hominum, LXX milium populi sui strage humiliatur et, ni pro contribulibus apostolicae caritatis affectu ut

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[1] *Idolatria*, *idolatrae*. "Omnino in libris scriptis frequentissimum, pallatim et *sermo vulgaris* recepit et propagavit in linguas recentiores." Tisch. These forms, distinct from the more correct *idololatria*, *idololatra*, are found in the writings of Cyprian, and the Pseudo-Cyprian De Aleatoribus. *Idolatria* occurs twice in Salvian's *Ad Eccles.*, 1 and 60. As a form of common Latin it passed, in English and French, into *idolatry*, *idolatrie*.

[2] *Agat poenitentiam*. Besides this classic phrase, Koffmanne points out the use by church writers of *poenitentiam gerere*, Cypr., *Ep.*, lv, 22, and others: also *poen. inire*, Tert., *De poen.*, 2. Besides these the verb *poeniteo*, or *poeniteor* (as deponent), was used.

[3] *Adstipulator*. The meaning of the word appears to be stronger than the classical, "one who joins another in a stipulation," and trop, "one who assents to or agrees with," *Cic. Ac.*, ii, 21, 67. It occurs again c. 43: *Accipite veracem publicumque adstipulatorum*, and the verb, c. 106: *lectiones illas quae . . . . adstipulentur benedictione.* A passage which conveys a meaning almost identical

disprove the charges, as he thought, and weaving apologies, as is the custom with men, after the following plausible manner: *Verily I have hearkened to the voice of the Lord, and walked in the way by* I *Sam.* xv, 20. *which He sent me*; the prophet punished him with such a censure as the following: *Doth the Lord*, he says, *desire burnt offerings* I *Sam.* xv, 22, 23. *or victims, and not rather to obey the voice of the Lord? For obedience is better than victims, and to hearken is more than to offer the fat of rams, since resistance is as the sin of witchcraft, and as the crime of idolatry is the refusal to obey. Therefore, because thou hast rejected the word of the Lord, He hath also rejected thee from being king.* And a little after: *God hath rent*, he says, *the kingdom* I *Sam.* xv, 28, 29. *of Israel from thee to-day, and hath given it to thy neighbour, better than thou. Truly the Victor in Israel will not spare, and by penitence will He not be bent; for He is not man, that He should repent*, that is to say, *because of the hard hearts of the wicked.*

We must, therefore, observe that he says, the refusal to obey God is the crime of idolatry. Let not those wicked ones applaud themselves, when they do not publicly sacrifice to the gods of the Gentiles, since by treading under foot, like swine, the costliest
39 pearls of Christ, they are idolaters. But although this one example, with its impregnable confirmation, should be fully sufficient to amend the wicked, nevertheless, in order that in the mouth of many witnesses the whole wickedness of Britain may be established, let us pass on to the rest.

What happened to David when he numbered the people, the prophet Gad saying unto him: *Thus saith the Lord: The choice of* II *Sam.* xxiv, 12-17. *three things is given thee; choose the one thou wilt, that I may do it unto thee; either famine shall befall thee seven years, or thou shalt flee from thine enemies three months and they pursue thee, or there shall be a pestilence in thy land three days?* Being hard pressed by such a condition, and willing rather to fall into the hands of God, the merciful, than into the hands of men, he is humbled by the slaughter of 70,000 of his people. Had he not,

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with the present occurs in c. 93: *Hoc unum testimonium ad confutandos impudentes quosque abunde sufficere posset. Sed ut evidentioribus adhuc adstipulationibus . . . . verbis Christi comprobetur. . . .* A phrase of Salvian's may also be quoted: *pax . . . . spe innitur et fide adstipulante firmatur* (*Ad Eccles.*, ii, 59). In all these there runs the idea of warrant or authoritative sanction. In Ducange we have the word as meaning one who holds the position of trustee or guardian. As used by Augustine in the following words, *Nec Cataphryges nec Novatiani nec divertissimus eorum adstipulator Tertullianus* (Aug., *De bono viduit*, 7), it seems to imply "champion" or "supporter."

illos plaga non tangeret mori optasset dicendo: *Ego sum qui peccavi, ego pastor inique egi: isti qui oves sunt quid peccarunt? Vertatur, obsecro, manus tua contra me et contra domum patris mei,* inconsideratam cordis elationem propria morte piaret.

Nam quid scriptura[1] in consequentibus de filio eius narrat?
I *Reg.* xi, 6. *Fecit,* inquiens, *Salomon quod non placuerat coram Domino et non*
I *Reg.* xi, 11. *adimplevit, ut sequeretur Dominum, sicut pater eius. Dixit Dominus ad eum: quia habuisti hoc apud te et non custodisti pactum meum et praecepta mea quae mandavi tibi, disrumpens scindam regnum tuum et dabo illud servo tuo.*

Quid duobus sacrilegis,[2] aeque ut isti sunt, Israhel regibus 40
Hieroboae[3] et Baasae accidit, audite: quibus sententia Domini dirigitur per prophetam ita dicentis: *propter quod magnificavi te*
I *Reg.* xvi, 2, 3, 4. *principem super Israhel, quia exacerbaverunt me in vanis eorum, ecce ego suscito post Baasam et post domum eius et tradam domum eius sicut domum Ieroboae Nabath. Qui mortuus fuerit de suis in civitate, comedent eum canes et mortuum corpus illius in campo comedent volatilia caeli.* Quid illi quoque scelerato regi Israhel istorum conmanipulari, cuius colludio et uxoris dolo Naboth innocens propter paternam vineam oppressus est, sancto ore illius Heliae atque ignifero Domini alloquio instructo minatur, ita dicente:
I *Reg.* xxi, 19. *Occidisti insuper et possedisti. Et post haec addes: haec dicit Dominus: in loco hoc, in quo linxerunt canes sanguinem Naboth, lambent quoque tuum sanguinem.* Quod ita factum fuisse certissima ratione cognitum est. Sed ne forte secundum supra dictum Achab
I *Reg.* xxii, 22. *spiritus mendax loquens vana in ore prophetarum* vestrorum seducat
I *Reg.* xxii, 23. vos, ne sermones Michae prophetae audiatis, *ecce permisit Deus spiritum mendacii in ore omnium prophetarum tuorum qui hic sunt*

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[1] *Quid Scriptura.* The singular is not uncommon as early as the writings of Cyprian = γραφή, though the plural is the form generally used by most writers.

[2] *Sacrilegis. Sacrilegus* is employed by several writers with the meaning of "idolater," a "worshipper of idols." *Sacrilegium,* in the sense of *idololatria,* appears in *Firmic Matern,* xxiv, 9, Optat. iii, 8, and *Sulpitius Severus.* Koffmanne, s. 66. The word would equally befit both Jeroboam and Baasha in this sense.

[3] *Hieroboae.* The two forms *Hieroboas* and *Jeroboas* occur in this chapter, the former of which, as well as Hieremias (c. 1) ought to be regarded as Gildas' *own* form of the names. Jeremias appears in c. 47. We have also three times *Helias* in preference to *Elias*; and it is this same form that the new edition of the Vulgate (Wordsworth and White) adopts, *e.g.*: *et ecce apparuit illis moses et helias,* M. xvii, 3. Tischendorf, in a note on 1 Kings xvii, 1, says: Helias. *De hac certe orthographia, quin legitima et ipsius interpretis sit, nullam dubitationem admittit, descriptoris perseverantia . . . . Hieronymus omnino in iis*

moved by apostolic love, chosen to die for his countrymen, so that
the plague should not touch them, as he said : *It is I that have
sinned, I the shepherd have done unrighteously ; those that are sheep,
what sin have they committed? let thy hand, I pray, be turned against
me and against my father's house :* had he not done this, he would
have made expiation for his heedless pride of heart by his own
death.

For what says the Scripture in a later part respecting his son ?
*Solomon*, it tells us, *did that which was not pleasing in the sight of* 1 *Kings* xi, 6.
*the Lord, and did not fully follow the Lord as his father. . . . . The* 1 *Kings* xi, 11.
*Lord said unto him, forasmuch as thou hast had this with thee, and
hast not kept my covenant and my precepts which I have given thee, I
will break asunder and divide thy kingdom and give it to thy servant.*

40 What befell two sacrilegious kings of Israel, just like those of
ours, Jeroboam and Baasha, hear. The judgment of the Lord
against these men is conveyed through the prophet, saying : 1 *Kings* xvi, 2, 3, 4.
*Forasmuch as I have magnified thee to be prince over Israel,
because they have provoked me by their vanities, behold I stir up
after Baasha and after his house, and I shall render his house
like the house of Jeroboam the son of Nebat. Him that dieth of
his in the city, shall the dogs eat, and his dead body in the
field shall the fowls of heaven consume.* What also against that
wicked king of Israel (fellow of those) by whose collusion,
and by the guile of his wife, innocent Naboth was put to death,
for the sake of his vineyard, inherited from his fathers ? What is
threatened by the holy mouth of that Elijah, by the mouth taught
in the fiery message of the Lord ? Thus he says : *Thou hast even* 1 *Kings* xxi, 19.
*killed and taken possession* ; *and thou shalt add this, saith the Lord :
in this place, in which the dogs have licked the blood of Naboth, they
will also lick thy blood.* That the event did come to pass in this
way is known to us by certain proof. But lest, as in the case of
the aforementioned Ahab, *a lying spirit, speaking vain things in* 1 *Kings* xxii, 22.
*the mouth of your prophets*, seduce you from hearkening to the
words of the prophet Micah, *behold God hath allowed a lying* 1 *Kings* xxii, 23.
*spirit to be in the mouth of all thy prophets that are here, and the*

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*nominibus*, *quae derivantur a voce* אל *ut* Israhel, Helisaeus, *vocalem* e *adspirare consuevit.* It was these aspirated forms that Gildas had learnt. So also *Helisaeus*, *Heli*, *Habraham* (as Cod. Wein in Micah vii, 20, *huic Habrahae*), instead of *Elisaeus*, *Eli*, *Abraham*. Gildas has the rare form *Nabath*, found, according to Tischendorf, in two places only, for the more correct *Nabat.*

*et Dominus locutus est contra te malum.* Nam et nunc certum est aliquos esse doctores contrario spiritu repletos et magis pravam voluptatem quam veritatem adserentes : *quorum verba super oleum molliuntur et ipsa sunt iacula, qui dicunt : pax, pax, et non erit* in peccatis permanentibus *pax*, ut alibi propheta dicit : *non est gaudere inpiis, dicit Dominus.*

*Psalm.* liv, 22. *Ier.* vi, 14 = viii, 11. *Is.* xlviii, 22 = lvii, 27.

41 *II Par.* xv, 2. Azarias quoque filius Obed[1] Asae revertenti de caede decies centenum milium exercitus Aethiopum locutus est dicens : *Dominus vobiscum est, dum estis cum ipso et si exquisieritis eum, invenietur a vobis et si dereliqueritis eum, derelinquet vos.* Nam si Iosaphat ferens praesidium iniquo regi ita ab Ieu propheta Annaniae filio[2] increpatur dicente : *Si peccatorem tu adiuvas aut quem Dominus odit tu diligis, propterea ira Dei est super te*, quid illis, *qui propriis scelerum suorum criniculis*[3] *compediuntur*, fiet? quorum nos necesse est, si in acie dominica volumus dimicare, peccata odire, non animas, dicente psalmista,

*II Par.* xix, 2. *Prov.* v, 22.

*Psalm.* xcvi, 10. *Qui diligitis dominum, odite malum.*

Quid ad supradicti Iosaphat filium currus et auriga Israhel propheta Helias, Ioram scilicet parricidam, qui egregios fratres suos, ut pro ipsis regnaret spurius, trucidavit, effatus est? *Sic dicit,* inquit, *Dominus Deus patris tui David : eo quod non ambulaveris in via Iosaphat patris tui et in viis Asae regis Iuda et ambulasti in viis regum Israel et stuprose, ut gessit domus Achab, et fratres tuos filios Iosaphat meliores te interfecisti, ecce Dominus percutiet plaga magna te et filios tuos.* Et post pauca : *et tu eris in magna valitudine in languore ventris tui, donec exeat venter tuus cum ipsa infirmitate de die ex die.* Et ad Ioam regem Israhel ut vos derelinquentem Dominum quid Zacharias filius Ioiadae vatis minatus sit, adtendite,

*II Par.* xxi, 12-14. *II Par.* xxi, 15.

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[1] *Azarias filius Obed.* There seems to be no variation of reading, which induces us to conclude a slight lapse of memory on the part of Gildas. The LXX, in 2 Chron. xv, 2, have Ὠδὴδ or Ἀδάδ, the Vulgate and English, *filius Oded, son of Oded*, as the prophet's name. There is an Azariah, son of Obed, in xxiii, 1, a "captain of hundred."

[2] *Ieu Annaniae filio.* In the Vulgate and English versions the prophet's name is Jehu, son of Hanani (*Jehu filius Hanani*), but Tischendorf gives *Jeu filius Anani*, as another reading. *Annanias* is probably a mistake. The words of Jehu appear in a very different form, as quoted by Lucifer of Cagliari : *Si peccatorem illum adjuvas et eorum qui oderunt Dominum amicus es, in hoc super te irae a facie Domini.* Augustine quotes the verse, but in a form differing from both Gildas and Lucifer.

[3] *Criniculis.* This word occurs in *Aug. Enarr.* in Ps. cxxxix, where

*Lord hath spoken evil against thee.* For even now, it is certain, there are some teachers filled with an opposing spirit, declaring for depraved lust rather than for truth, whose words are made [*Psalm* lv, 21.] softer than oil and yet are very javelins, who say, "peace, peace," [*Jer.* vi, 14 = viii, 11.] and there shall not be peace for those who persist in sins, as the prophet elsewhere says: "*there is no joy for the wicked, saith the Lord.*" [*Isaiah* xlviii, 22=lvii, 27.]

41 Azarias, also the son of Obed, spoke unto Asa, when he was returning from the slaughter of ten hundred thousand of the Ethiopian army, saying: *The Lord is with you, whilst ye are with Him; and if ye seek Him, He will be found of you; and if ye leave Him, He will leave you.* [II *Chron.* xv, 2.] For if Jehoshaphat, while aiding an unjust king, is thus reproved by the prophet Jehu, son of Annanias, saying: *If thou helpest a sinner or lovest him whom the Lord hateth, the anger of God on that account is upon thee,* [II *Chron.* xix, 2.] what shall be unto them who are bound in the fetters of their own crimes? The sins of these men, if we wish to fight in the Lord's battle, we must hate, not their souls, as the Psalmist says: *Ye who love the Lord, hate evil.* [*Psalm* xcvi, 10.]

What did the afore-named Elijah, the chariot of Israel and horseman thereof, utter unto the son of Jehoshaphat, even Jehoram the murderer, who butchered his noble brothers, that he, a bastard, might reign in their stead. *Thus saith the Lord God of thy father David: Because thou hast not walked in the way of Jehoshaphat thy father, and in the ways of Asa, King of Judah, and hast adulterously walked in the ways of the kings of Israel, as did the house of Ahab, and hast killed thy brothers, the sons of Jehoshaphat, better than thou, behold the Lord shall strike thee and thy sons with a great plague.* [II *Chron.* xxi, 12-14.] A little later: *And thou shalt have great sickness by weakness of thy bowels, until thy bowels fall out with very infirmity, from day to day.* [II *Chron.* xxi 15.] And hear ye also how Zecharias, the son of Jehoiadah, the prophet, menaced Joash, King of Israel, when he abandoned the Lord, as ye do. He rose and said unto the people: *Thus saith the Lord: Why* [II *Chron.* xxiv, 20.]

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the present verse is quoted. It is also quoted below, c. 109, but the words show a remarkable variation, unless we regard the present passage as an adaptation. We may place them side by side and apart from their context.

| C. 109. | C. 41. |
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| Criniculis peccatorum suorum unusquisque constringitur. | Propriis scelerum suorum criniculis (unusquisque) compeditur. |

LXX. σειραῖς δὲ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἁμαρτιῶν ἕκαστος σφίγγεται. Vulg., et funibus peccatorum suorum (homo) constringitur.

II *Par.* xxiv, 20. qui surgens populo dixit: *haec dicit Dominus: quare praeteritis
praecepta Domini et non prosperamini? quia dereliquistis Dominum,
et derelinquet vos.*

Quid de auctore prophetarum Esaia[1] dicam? qui prooemium 42
*Is.* i, 2, 3. profetiae suae vel visionem ita exorsus est dicens: *audite, caeli, et
auribus percipite, terra, quoniam Dominus locutus est. Filios enutrivi
et exaltavi, ipsi autem spreverunt me. Cognovit bos possessorem suum
et asinus praesepe domini sui, Israhel autem me non cognovit et
populus meus non intellexit.* Et post pauca minas meritas tantae
*Is.* i, 8. insipientiae aptans: *derelinquetur,* inquit, *filia Sion ut tabernaculum
in vinea et sicut tugurium in cucumerario, sicut civitas quae vastatur.*
*Is.* i, 10. Et principes specialiter conveniens ait: *Audite verbum Domini,
principes Sodomorum; percipite legem Domini, populus Gomorrhae.*
Notandum sane, quod iniqui reges principes Sodomorum vocentur.
Prohibens namque Dominus sacrificia et dona sibi a talibus offerri,
(et nos inhiantes suscipimus[2] quae Deo ab omni natione sunt non
placita, eademque egenis et paene nihil habentibus distribui in
perniciem nostram non sinimus) cum latis divitiis oneratis, sordibus
*Is.* i, 13. peccatorum intentis ait: *ne afferatis ultra sacrificium frustra: incen-*
*Is.* i, 15. *sum abominatio est mihi.* Itemque denuntiat: *et cum extenderitis
manus vestras, avertam oculos meos a vobis, et cum multiplicaveritis
orationem, non exaudiam.* Et hoc quare facit ostendit: *manus,*
inquiens, *vestrae sanguine plenae sunt.*

*Is.* i, 16, 17. Simulque ostendens, quomodo placaretur, ait: *Lavamini, mundi
estote, auferte malum cogitationum vestrarum ab oculis meis, quiescite
agere perverse, discite benefacere, quaerite iudicium, subvenite oppresso,*
*Is.* i, 18-20. *iudicate pupillo.* Quasi placoris vicissitudinem adiungens ait: *Si
fuerint peccata vestra ut coccinum, quasi nix dealbabuntur: et si
fuerint rubra quasi vermiculus, velut lana alba erunt. Si volueritis
et audieritis me, bona terrae manducabitis.*[3] *Quod si nolueritis et
me provocaveritis ad iracundiam, gladius devorabit vos.*

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[1] *Esaia.* The extensive quotations that follow from Isaiah and Jeremiah are according to the Vulgate version. Four times the form *Esaias*, reproduced in the old Welsh and English *Esay*, occurs in this work, though the codices A and D vary between *Ysaias* and *Isaias.* The familiar *Isaias* of the Sixtine and Clementine Vulgate is abandoned for *Esaias* in the new Oxford edition of the New Testament Vulgate.

*Auctor prophetarum* is a curious epithet. It may mean that in the new codices of the Vulgate, which were coming into fashion, the book of Isaiah stood first of all the prophetical books, instead of after the twelve minor Prophets. This fact itself may have deepened the conviction which all felt, that in him we have the prince of prophets.

[2] *Nos inhiantes suscipimus:* we with cupidity receive. It is difficult to

*do ye transgress the precepts of the Lord, and prosper not? Because ye have left the Lord, He will also leave you.*

42 What shall I say of Isaiah, the first of the prophets? He began his prophecy or his vision by saying: *Hear, ye heavens, and* [*Isaiah* i, 2, 3.] *understand with your ears, O! earth, since the Lord hath spoken; I have nourished and brought up children, but they have despised me. The ox knoweth its owner, and the ass its master's crib: but Israel knoweth me not, and my people hath not understood.* A little further, adding fit threatenings for such a folly, he says: *The daughter of* [*Isaiah* i, 8.] *Sion shall be left like a tent in a vineyard, and as a booth in a garden of cucumbers, like a city that is racked.* And when he particularly summons the princes, he says: *Hear the word of the Lord,* [*Isaiah* i, 10.] *ye princes of Sodom; know the law of the Lord, ye people of Gomorrah.* It is certainly worthy of observation that unjust kings are called princes of Sodom. For, by way of forbidding the offering of sacrifices and gifts to him by such men (whilst we greedily accept things that from every nation are displeasing to God, and to our own destruction prevent the distribution of those same things to the needy and penniless), so does the Lord speak unto men burdened with immense riches, and yet having the mean purposes of sinners. *Bring no more a sacrifice in vain; incense is* [*Isaiah* i, 13.] *an abomination unto me.* Again he declares: *And when ye stretch* [*Isaiah* i, 15.] *forth your hand, I will turn away from you; and when ye multiply prayer, I will not hear.* Why He does this is set forth: *Your hands are full of blood.*

Showing at the same time how he might be appeased, he says: *Wash ye, be ye clean; put away the evil of your thoughts from before* [*Isaiah* i, 16, 17.] *mine eyes; cease from perverse doing; learn to do good; seek judgment, relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless.* As if assuming in addition the part of reconciler, he says: *If your sins be as scarlet, they* [*Isaiah* i, 18-20.] *shall be made white as snow; and if they be red like a worm, they shall be white as wool. If ye be willing and hear me, ye shall eat the good of the land. Because if ye refuse and provoke me to anger, the sword shall devour you.*

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decide who is meant by this *we*. The reference may be to the clergy, of whom Gildas himself was one, in their love of gifts, which, by being selfishly withheld from the needy, will bring about the deserved reprobation and ruin. The use of the words *sacrificia et dona* in the previous sentence supports such a view: *et* may, in this way, take the meaning *although*.

[3] *Manducabitis*. The present work, or the text of Scripture from which its quotations are made, seems generally to show preference for the verb *manducare* over *comedere*. Codex A, as usual, has here the ordinary Vulgate reading

Accipite veracem publicumque adstipulatorem, boni malique 43
vestri retributionem absque ullo adulationis fuco, non ut parasitorum venerata vestrorum venena in aures sibilant ora, testantem.
*Is.* i, 23, 24. Itemque ad rapaces iudices sententiam dirigens ita effatur: *Principes tui infideles, socii furum, omnes diligunt munera, sectantur retributiones, pupillo non iudicant, causa viduae non ingreditur ad eos. Propter hoc ait Dominus exercituum, fortis Israhel: heu con-*
*Is.* i, 28. *solabor super hostibus meis et vindicabor de inimicis meis: et conterentur scelerati et peccatores simul et omnes, qui dereliquerunt*
*Is.* ii, 11. *Dominum, consumentur.* Et infra: *Oculi sublimis hominis humilia-*
*Is.* iii, 11. *buntur et incurvabit altitudo virorum.* Et iterum: *Vae impio in*
*Is.* v, 11-14. *malum, retributio enim manuum eius fiet ei.* Et post pauca: *Vae qui consurgitis mane ad ebrietatem sectandam et ad potandum usque ad vesperam, ut vino aestuetis. Cithara et lyra et tympanum et tibia et vinum in conviviis vestris, et opus Domini non respicitis et opera manuum eius non consideratis. Propterea captivus ductus est populus meus, quia non habuit scientiam et nobiles eius interierunt fame et multitudo eius siti exaruit. Propterea dilatavit infernus animam suam et aperuit os suum absque ullo termino et descendent fortes eius et populi eius et sublimes gloriosique eius ad eum.* Et
*Is.* v, 22-25. infra: *vae qui potentes estis ad bibendum vinum et viri fortes ad miscendam ebrietatem, qui iustificatis impium pro muneribus et iustitiam iusti aufertis ab eo. Propter hoc sicut devorat stipulam ignis et ligna calor flammae exurit, sic radix eorum quasi favilla erit et germen eorum ut pulvis ascendet. Abiecerunt enim legem domini exercituum et eloquium sancti Israhel despexerunt. In omnibus his non est aversus furor Domini, sed adhuc manus eius extenta.*

Et post aliquanta de die iudicii[1] et peccatorum ineffabili metu 44
*Is.* xiii, 6-11. disceptans ait: *Ululate, quia prope est dies Domini*—si tunc prope erat, quid nunc putabitur?—*quia vastitas a Deo veniet. Propter hoc omnes manus dissolventur et omne cor hominis tabescet et conteretur, tortiones et dolores tenebunt, quasi parturiens dolebunt. Unusquisque ad proximum suum stupebit; facies combustae vultus illorum. Ecce dies Domini veniet crudelis et indignationis plenus et irae*

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*comeditis.* "Unter den *Intensiven* tritt besonders *manducare* hervor, weil es das schriftmässige *edere* fast ganz verdrängt hat (= ital. *mangiare*, franz. *manger*). Ein abermaliger Beweis dafür, wie sehr die Vulgärsprache materiellere und vollere Formen liebte." Rönsch, *Ital. u. Vulg.*, s. 474.

[1] *De die iudicii.* The previous part of the quotations is directed (1) against princes, *principes specialiter;* (2) against grasping judges, *ad rapaces iudices;* now there follows (3) a reference to the day of judgment. This Gildas seems to expect as not distant.

43 Receive one who truly and publicly assents to these words, when he declares the recompense of your good and evil, with no disguise of flattery; not as the mouths of your flatterers whisper respectable poisonous things into your ears.

Also, directing his judgment against rapacious judges, he speaks thus: *Thy princes are unfaithful companions of thieves; they all* [*Isaiah* i, 23, 24.] *love gifts and follow after rewards; they judge not the fatherless, and the cause of the widow cometh not unto them. Therefore saith the Lord of hosts, the Mighty One of Israel: Ah! I shall be cheered with respect to my enemies, and be avenged of my adversaries; and* [*Isaiah* i, 28.] *the heinous transgressors and the sinners shall be crushed together and destroyed, and all who have abandoned the Lord* [*Isaiah* ii, 11.] *shall be consumed.* Also below: *The eyes of the lofty man* [*Isaiah* iii, 11.] *shall be humbled, and the haughtiness of men shall be bowed down.* Again: *Woe unto the wicked for evil, for the reward of his hands shall be unto him.* A little after: *Woe unto you that rise up early* [*Isaiah* v, 11-14.] *to follow after drunkenness, and to drink until the evening, until ye are inflamed with wine. The harp, the lyre, the tabret, the pipe and wine are in your feasts; and the work of the Lord ye regard not, and the work of His hands ye consider not. Therefore my people have been led captive, because they have not had knowledge; and their honourable men have perished with famine, and their multitude have parched with thirst. Therefore hell hath enlarged her soul, and opened her mouth without measure: and their strong ones and their multitude, their lofty and renowned ones, shall descend unto it.* And below: *Woe unto them that are mighty to drink wine, and men of strength* [*Isaiah* v, 22-25.] *to mingle drunkenness; who justify the wicked for rewards, and take away the righteousness of the righteous from him. Because of this, as the fire devoureth stubble, and the heat of the flame burneth wood, so shall their root be as embers, and their blossom shall go up as dust. For they have cast away the law of the Lord of hosts, and despised the word of the Holy One of Israel. In all this the anger of the Lord is not turned away, but His hand is stretched out still.*

44 And after some further words, treating of the day of judgment and the unspeakable fear of sinners, he says: *Howl ye,* [*Isaiah* xiii, 6-11.] *because the day of the Lord is at hand*—if it was then near, what shall be thought now?—*because destruction shall come from God. Therefore shall all hands be unloosed, and every heart of man shall melt and be crushed: pangs and sorrows shall take hold of them; they shall be in pain as a woman in travail. Each one shall be amazed at his neighbour; their countenance shall be as faces burnt. Behold the day of the Lord shall come cruel, and full of indignation*

*furorisque ad ponendam terram in solitudinem et peccatores eius conterendos de ea, quoniam stellae caeli et splendor earum non expandent lumen suum, obtenebrabitur sol in ortu suo et luna non splendebit in tempore suo. Et visitabo super orbis*[1] *mala et contra impios iniquitatem ipsorum et quiescere faciam superbiam infidelium et*
*Is.* xxiv, 1-6. *arrogantiam fortium humiliabo.* Et iterum: *Ecce Dominus dissipabit terram et nudabit eam et affliget faciem eius et disperget habitatores eius et erit sicut populus, sic sacerdos, et sicut servus, sic dominus eius, sicut ancilla, sic domina eius, sicut emens, sic ille qui vendit, sicut fenerator, sic ille qui mutuum accipit, sicut qui repetit, sic qui debet. Dissipatione dissipabitur terra et direptione praedabitur. Dominus enim locutus est verbum hoc: luxit et defluxit terra, defluxit orbis, infirmata est altitudo populi terrae et terra interfecta est*[2] *ab habitatoribus suis, quia transgressi sunt leges, mutaverunt ius, dissipaverunt foedus sempiternum. Propter hoc maledictio vorabit terram.*

*Is.* xxiv, 7-15. Et infra: *Ingemiscent omnes qui laetantur corde, cessabit* 45
*gaudium tympanorum, quiescet sonitus laetantium, conticescet dulcedo citharae cum cantico, non bibent vinum, amara erit potio bibentibus illam. Attrita est civitas vanitatis, clausa est omnis domus nullo introeunte. Clamor erit super vino in plateis, deserta est omnis laetitia, translatum est gaudium terrae, relicta est in urbe solitudo et calamitas opprimet portas, quia haec erunt in medio terrae et in medio populorum.* Et post pauca: *praevari-*
*Is.* xxiv, 16-23. *cantes praevaricati sunt*[3] *et praevaricatione transgressorum praevaricati sunt. Formido et foveae et laqueus super te, qui habitator es terrae. Et erit: qui fugerit a voce formidinis, cadet in foveam, et qui se explicuerit de fovea, tenebitur laqueo: quia cataractae de excelsis apertae erunt et concutientur fundamenta terrae. Confractione confringetur terra, commotione commovebitur, agitatione agitabitur sicut ebrius et auferetur quasi tabernaculum unius noctis et gravabit eam iniquitas sua et corruet et non adiciet, ut resurgat. Et erit: in die illa visitabit Dominus super militiam caeli in excelso et super reges terrae qui sunt super terram, et congregabuntur in con-*

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[1] *Orbis mala:* A reads *urbes*=Amiat.

[2] *Altitudo populi terre et terra interfecta est*, is the reading of one MS. only, A, which frequently is found with readings apparently retouched in accordance with a purer type of the Vulgate text, as, e.g., *comeditis*, *urbes* mentioned above.

[3] *Praevaricantes praevaricati sunt.* As mentioned in a previous note, this verb has been retained by Jerome in the Vulgate, from the Old Latin, as the equivalent of παραβαίνειν.

*and wrath and anger, to place the land a desolation, and its sinners crushed out thereof; since the stars of heaven and their splendour shall not spread their light; the sun shall be darkened in its rising, and the moon not shine in her time. And I shall visit the evils of the world, and, against the impious, their iniquity; and shall cause the pride of the unfaithful to become quiet, and the haughtiness of the strong will I lay low.* Again: *Behold the Lord shall waste the earth, and make it* *Isaiah* xxiv, 1-6. *empty, and afflict its face, and scatter abroad the inhabitants thereof, and it shall be, as the people, so the priest; and as the servant so his master; as the maid, so her mistress; as the buyer, so he who sells; as the lender, so he who borrows; as he who claims a debt, so he who is in debt. The land shall be utterly dispersed, and shall be despoiled with pillaging. For the Lord hath spoken this word: The earth hath mourned and hath faded away; the world hath faded away; the loftiness of the people of the earth hath been weakened, and the earth hath been brought to nought by its inhabitants, because they have transgressed the laws, have changed the right, and have broken the everlasting covenant. Therefore shall a curse devour the earth.*

And below: *They that are merry in heart shall sigh, the joy* *Isaiah* xxiv, 7-15. *of tabrets shall cease, the noise of them that rejoice shall rest, the delight of the harp with its song shall be silent, they shall not drink wine, bitter shall be their drink to them that drink it. The city of vanity is wasted; closed is every house, because no man entereth therein. There shall be crying in the streets over the wine, all joy is failed, all gladness of the land is carried away, desolation is left in the city, and adversity shall bear down the gates; for these things shall be in the midst of the land, and in the midst of the people.* After a few words: *The treacherous* *Isaiah* xxiv, 16-23. *dealers have dealt treacherously, and with the treachery of transgressors have they dealt treacherously. Fear, and the pit, and the snare, are upon thee, who art an inhabitant of the earth. And it shall come to pass, he who fleeth from the voice of fear shall fall into the pit; and he that is freed from the pit shall be taken in the snare, because the floodgates from above will be opened, and the foundations of the earth will be shaken. The earth shall be utterly broken; it shall be moved exceedingly; it shall be clean staggered like a drunken man, and shall be carried away like a tent pitched for a night; its transgressions shall be heavy upon it; it shall fall, and shall make no effort to rise. It shall come to pass, in that day shall the Lord visit the host of heaven on high, and the kings of the earth that are upon the earth, and they shall be gathered together as a host of one bundle into*

*gregationem unius fascis in lacum et claudentur ibi in carcerem et post multos dies visitabuntur. Et erubescet luna et confundetur sol, cum regnaverit Dominus exercituum in monte Sion et in Ierusalem, et in conspectu senum suorum fuerit glorificatus.*

Et post aliquanta, rationem reddens, quam ob rem talia 46
*Is.* lix, 1-4. minaretur, ita ait : *Ecce non est abbreviata manus Domini, ut salvare nequeat, neque adgravata est auris eius, ut non exaudiat. Sed iniquitates vestrae diviserunt inter vos et Deum vestrum et peccata vestra absconderunt faciem eius a vobis, ne exaudiret. Manus enim vestrae pollutae sunt sanguine et digiti vestri iniquitate ; labia vestra locuta sunt mendacium et lingua vestra iniquitatem fatur. Non est qui vocet iustitiam neque est qui iudicet vere, sed confidunt in nihil, et loquuntur vanitates et conceperunt dolorem et pepererunt iniquitatem.*
*Is.* lix, 6-9. Et infra : *opera eorum inutilia et opus iniquitatis in manibus eorum. Pedes eorum in malum currunt et festinant, ut effundant sanguinem innocentem. Cogitationes eorum cogitationes inutiles, vastitas et contritio in viis eorum et viam pacis non cognoverunt et non est iudicium in gressibus eorum. Semitae eorum incurvatae sunt eis : omnis, qui calcat in eis, ignorat pacem. Propter hoc elongatum est iudicium*
*Is.* lix, 14, 15. *a vobis et non apprehendit vos iustitia.* Et post pauca : *Et conversum est retrorsum iudicium et iustitia longe stetit, quia corruit in platea veritas et aequitas non potuit ingredi. Et facta est veritas in oblivione et qui recessit a malo, praedae patuit. Et vidit Dominus et non placuit in oculis eius, quia non est iudicium.*

Hucusque Esaiae prophetae pauca de multis dixisse suffi- 47
ciat.

Nunc vero illum, qui, priusquam formaretur in utero, praescitus et priusquam exiret de vulva, sanctificatus et in cunctis gentibus propheta positus est, Ieremiam[1] scilicet, quid de populo insipiente rigidisque regibus pronuntiaverit, parumper attendentes audite, hoc
*Ier.* ii, 1, 2. modo leniter verba initiantem : *Et factum est verbum Domini ad me*
*Ier.* ii, 4-6. *dicens* : *vade et clama in auribus Ierusalem et dices* : *audite verbum Domini, domus Iacob et omnes cognationes domus Israhel. Haec*

[1] *Jeremiam.* Cf. c. 80 : *Hieremias quoque virgo prophetaque.* In the reference to Jeremiah as known and sanctified, before he was born, to be a prophet "unto all the nations," also as a celibate (*virgo*), Gildas follows ordinary traditions, which had interpreted and amplified the meaning of the opening words of the book of Jeremiah. Jerome, commenting on Jer. i, 5 : "ordained thee a prophet unto the nations," remarks : *quod non solum Jerusalem sed et multis in circuitu gentibus prophetavit. Ep.* xxii, 21, makes Elias, Elisaeus, as well as Jeremias, together with "many sons of prophets," celibate : *Virgo Elias, Elisaeus virgo, virgines multi filii prophetarum. Jeremiae dicitur : "Et tu ne*

*the pit, they shall be shut in prison there, and after many days shall they be visited. The moon shall blush, and the sun be confounded, when the Lord of hosts shall reign in mount Zion and in Jerusalem, and shall be glorified in the presence of his elders.*

46 After a while, giving a reason why such things should be threatened, he says thus: *Behold the Lord's hand is not shortened, that it* (*Isaiah* lix, 1-4.) *cannot save; neither His ear become heavy, that it hear not. But your iniquities have separated between you and your God, and your sins have hid His face from you, that He should not hear. For your hands are defiled with blood, and your fingers with iniquity: your lips have spoken falsehood, and your tongue uttereth wickedness. There is none that calleth for justice, nor is there that judgeth truly, but they confide in nothingness; they speak vanities, they have conceived sorrow and have brought forth iniquity.* And below: *Their* (*Isaiah* lix, 6-9.) *works are unprofitable, and the work of inquity is in their hands. Their feet run into evil, and they make haste to shed innocent blood. Their thoughts are unprofitable thoughts; desolation and destruction are in their ways; and the way of peace they have not known; and there is no judgment in their steps. Their paths have been made crooked by them; everyone who walketh therein knoweth not peace. Therefore is judgment made far from you, and righteousness hath not got hold of you.* After a few words: *And judgment is turned back,* (*Isaiah* lix, 14-15.) *and righteousness hath stood afar: because truth is fallen in the street, and uprightness could not enter. Truth hath become in oblivion; and he who hath departed from evil, hath become open to prey. And the Lord saw it, and it was not pleasing in His eyes that there is no judgment.*

47 So far, let it suffice to have said a few, out of many, of the words of Isaiah the Prophet.

Now with equal attention listen to him who, before he was formed in the womb, was foreknown, was sanctified and appointed a prophet among all nations also, before he parted with his mother—listen, I say, to Jeremiah, what he has pronounced concerning a foolish people and stiff-necked kings. He begins his utterances gently in this manner. *And the word of the Lord* (*Jer.* ii, 1, 2.) *came unto me, saying, Go and cry in the ears of Jerusalem, and say. . . . Hear ye the word of the Lord, ye house of Jacob, and all* (*Jer.* ii, 4-6.) *kindred of the house of Israel: thus saith the Lord, What unrighteousness have your fathers found in me, that they are far re-*

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*accipias uxorem*" (xvi, 2). *Santificatus in utero, captiuitate propinqua, uxorem prohibetur accipere.*

*dicit Dominus: quid invenerunt in me patres vestri iniquitatis, qui elongati sunt a me et ambulaverunt post vanitatem et vani facti sunt et non dixerunt: ubi est qui ascendere nos fecit de terra Aegypti?*
*Ier.* ii, 20. Et post pauca: *A saeculo confregisti iugum meum, rupisti vincula*
*Ier.* ii, 21, 22. *mea, dixisti: non serviam. Ego plantavi te vineam electam, omne semen verum. Quomodo ergo conversa es in pravum vinea aliena? Si laveris te nitro et multiplicaveris tibi herbam borith,*[1] *maculata es*
*Ier.* ii, 29-32. *iniquitate tua coram me, dicit Dominus.* Et infra: *Quid vultis mecum iudicio contendere? omnes me dereliquistis, dicit Dominus. Frustra percussi filios vestros, disciplinam non receperunt. Audite verbum Domini: num quid solitudo factus sum Israhel aut terra serotina? Quare ergo dixit populus meus: recessimus, non veniemus ultra ad te? num quid obliviscitur virgo ornamenti sui aut sponsa fasciae pectoralis suae? populus vero meus oblitus est me diebus innu-*
*Ier.* iv, 22. *meris. Quia stultus est populus meus, me non cognovit: filii insipientes sunt et vecordes: sapientes sunt, ut faciant mala, bene autem facere nescierunt.*

*Ier.* v, 3. Tum propheta ex sua persona loquitur dicens: *Domine, oculi* 48
*tui respiciunt fidem. Percussisti eos et non doluerunt; attrivisti eos et renuerunt accipere disciplinam; induraverunt facies suas super*
*Ier.* v, 20-23. *petram et noluerunt reverti.* Itemque Dominus: *Annuntiate hoc domui Iacob et auditum facite in Iuda dicentes: audi, popule stulte, qui non habes cor, qui habentes oculos non videtis et aures et non auditis. Me ergo non timebitis, ait Dominus, et a facie mea non dolebitis? qui posui harenam*[2] *terminum mari praeceptum sempiternum, quod non praeteribit; et commovebuntur et non poterunt, intumescent fluctus eius et non transibunt illud. Populo autem huic factum est cor incredulum et exasperans, recesserunt et abierunt, et non dixerunt in corde suo: metuamus Dominum Deum nostrum.* Et
*Ier.* v, 26-29. iterum: *Quia inventi sunt in populo meo impii insidiantes quasi aucupes, laqueos ponentes et pedicas ad capiendos viros. Sicut decipula plena avibus, sic domus eorum plenae dolo. Ideo magnificati sunt et ditati, incrassati sunt et inpinguati, et praeterierunt sermones meos pessime, causam pupilli non dixerunt et iudicium pauperum non iudicaverunt. Numquid super his non visitabo, dicit Dominus, aut super gentem huiusmodi non ulciscetur anima mea?*

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[1] *Herbam borith.* It was Luther that first used the word *soap* (Seife), here and in Mal. iii, 2; from his translation it passed into the English and Welsh versions. The leaves and sliced roots of this plant were used for washing.

[2] *Harenam.* This aspiration is not rare in codices of the Vulgate. The notes to the Oxford edition show, e.g., *harida = arida*, Matth. xxiii, 15; *stabat ad hostium* (= *ostium*), Jo. xviii, and *hostiariae = ostiariae, ibid.* Gregory of

*moved from me, and have walked after vanity, and are become vain, and have not said, Where is He who caused us to come up out of the land of Egypt?* After a few words: *From of old hast thou broken* [Jer. ii, 20.] *my yoke, thou hast burst my chains; thou saidst, I will not serve. I* [Jer. ii, 21, 22.] *planted thee a chosen vine, all a true seed. How then art thou turned into evil things as a strange vine? If thou wash thee with nitre, and multiply unto thee the plant borith, thou art marked by thine iniquity before me, saith the Lord.* And below: *Wherefore will ye* [Jer. ii, 29-32.] *plead with me in judgment, ye have all abandoned me, saith the Lord. In vain have I smitten your children; they have not received discipline. Hear the word of the Lord. Have I become a wilderness unto Israel, or a late bearing land? Wherefore, then, hath my people said: We have gone away, we will no more come unto thee? Doth a maid forget her ornament, or a bride the fillet of her bosom? Yet my people have forgotten me days without number. Because my* [Jer. iv, 22.] *people is foolish, they know me not: unwise children are they, and without understanding; they are wise to do evil, but to do good they have no knowledge.*

48 Then the prophet speaks in his own person, saying: *O Lord* [Jer. v, 3.] *thine eyes behold faithfulness. Thou hast stricken them, but they have not grieved: Thou hast ground them, and they have refused to receive correction: they have made their faces harder than a rock, and have refused to return.* The Lord also: *Declare ye this to the* [Jer. v, 20-23.] *house of Jacob and make it heard in Judah, saying: Hear, ye foolish people, who have no heart, who, having eyes, see not; and ears, and do not hear. Will ye then not fear me, saith the Lord, and will ye not grieve at my presence? I who have placed the sand for a bound to the sea as a perpetual decree, which it will not pass by. Its waves shall be moved, and they cannot prevail; they shall swell, and shall not pass over it. But to this people there hath come an unbelieving and exasperating heart: they have retreated and departed, and have not said in their heart: Let us fear the Lord our God.* And again: [Jer. v, 26-29.] *Because among my people have been found wicked men, lying in wait as fowlers, setting gins and snares to catch men; as a trap is full of birds, so their houses are full of guile. Therefore they are become great and waxen rich, they are waxen stout and fat, and they have most wickedly passed by my words: the cause of the fatherless they have not pleaded, and the judgment of the poor they have not judged. Shall I not visit for these things? saith the Lord, or shall not My soul be avenged on such a nation as this?*

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Tours has *hac* = ac, hodio = odio, etc.; Jordanes habundans = abundans, horiens = oriens, etc.

*Ier.* vii, 27, 28. Sed absit, ut vobis eveniat quod sequitur : *Loqueris ad eos omnia verba haec et non audient te et vocabis eos et non respondebunt tibi et dices ad eos : haec est gens, quae non audivit vocem Domini Dei sui nec recepit disciplinam : periit fides et ablata est de ore eorum.* Et post 49
*Ier.* viii, 4-7. aliquanta : *Numquid qui cadit non resurget et qui aversus est non revertetur? quare ergo aversus est populus iste in Ierusalem aversione contentiosa ? apprehenderunt mendacium et noluerunt reverti. Attendi et auscultavi, nemo quod bonum est loquitur. Nullus est qui agat paenitentiam super peccato suo dicens : quid feci? omnes conversi sunt ad cursum suum quasi equus impetu vadens in proelium. Milvus in caelo cognovit tempus suum, turtur et hirundo et ciconia custodierunt tempus adventus sui, populus meus non cognovit iudicium Dei.* Et tam vehementi sacrilegiorum caecitate et ineffabili ebrietate propheta conterritus et deflens eos qui se ipsos non deflebant, ut et nunc infelices tyranni agunt, optat sibi auctionem fletuum a
*Ier.* viii, 21 ; ix, 3. Domino concedi, hoc modo dicens: *super contritione filiae populi mei contritus sum : stupor obtinuit me. Numquid resina non est in Galaad aut medicus non est ibi? Quare ergo non obducta est cicatrix filiae populi mei? Quis dabit capiti meo aquam et oculis meis fontem lacrimarum? Et plorabo die et nocte interfectos populi mei. Quis dabit mihi in solitudine diversorium viatorum? Et derelinquam populum meum et recedam ab eis, quando omnes adulteri sunt, coetus praevaricatorum. Et extenderunt linguam suam quasi arcum mendacii et non veritatis* : *confortati sunt in terra, quia de malo ad malum egressi sunt et me non cognoverunt,*
*Ier.* ix, 13-15. *dicit Dominus.* Et iterum : *Et dixit Dominus : quia dereliquerunt legem meam, quam dedi eis, et non audierunt vocem meam et non ambulaverunt in ea, et abierunt post pravitatem cordis sui, idcirco haec dicit Dominus exercituum Deus Israhel* : *ecce ego cibabo populum istum absinthio et potum dabo eis aquam fellis* : et post pauca, quod etiam crebrius stilo propheta adiunxit, dicens ex persona
*Ier.* xi, 14. Dei : *Tu ergo noli orare pro populo hoc, et ne assumas pro eis laudem et orationem, quia non exaudiam in tempore clamoris eorum ad me et afflictionis eorum.*

Quid ergo nunc infausti duces facient? illi pauci[1] invenientes 50

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[1] *Illi pauci.* We are reminded of Gildas's other similar words, the "very few" (*exceptis paucis et valde paucis*) of c. 28, the "not all" of c. 69, the "if they be many" of c. 92, and the "extremely few" (*paucissimi boni pastores*) of c. 110. What will the unhappy princes do, when the few that have found the narrow way, are forbidden to pray for them? And yet, if they return to God—here we see the real Gildas—since He wills not that a soul should die,

49 But God forbid that what follows should befall you : *Thou shalt* Jer. vii, 27, 28. *speak all these words unto them, and they shall not hear thee ; and thou shalt call them, and they will not answer thee ; and thou shalt say unto them : This is a nation which hath not heard the voice of the Lord its God, nor received correction ; faithfulness is perished, and is taken away from their mouth.* After a while : *Will he who falls* Jer. viii, 4-7. *not rise again, and he who is turned away not return ? Why then is this people in Jerusalem turned away with obstinate backsliding ? They have seized falsehood, and have refused to return. I watched and hearkened, no one speaketh that which is good. There is none who repenteth of his sin, saying : What have I done ? All have turned to their own course, as a horse rushing headlong into battle. The kite in the heaven knoweth her time, the turtle and swallow and stork have kept the time of their coming ; My people knoweth not the judgment of God.* And the prophet—terrified at so great a blindness of the irreligious and the unspeakable drunkenness, weeping also for those who do not weep for themselves (just as miserable tyrants behave now)—desires that an increase of tears be given him by the Lord, speaking as follows : *For the grief of the daughter of my* Jer. viii, 21 ; ix, 3. *people am I worn out ; astonishment hath taken hold of me. Is there no balm in Gilead, or is there no physician there ? Why, then, is the wound of the daughter of my people not closed ? Who will give water unto my head, and unto mine eyes a fountain of tears ? And I shall weep day and night for the slain of my people. Who will give me in the wilderness a lodging-place of wayfaring men ? And I shall leave my people and go away from them, since they are all adulterers, an assembly of treacherous men. They have stretched their tongue like a bow of falsehood and not of truth. They have become strong in the land, because they have proceeded from evil to evil, and have not known Me, saith the Lord.* Again : *And the Lord* Jer. ix, 13-15. *said : Because they have forsaken My law, which I gave unto them, and have not hearkened unto My voice nor walked therein, and have gone after the wickedness of their heart ; on that account, thus saith the Lord of Hosts, the God of Israel, behold I shall feed this people with wormwood and give them water of gall to drink.* And a little after, speaking in the person of God, a way which the prophet very frequently assumes : *Therefore pray thou not for this people, and* Jer. xi, 14. *raise not up for them praise and prayer, because I will not hear them in the time of their crying unto Me and their trouble.*

50 What then shall unhappy leaders do now ? Those few who

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but relents, so that the humbled one shall not perish, even those few elect ones could not bring divine punishment upon them.

viam angustam amota spatiosa, prohibiti a Deo, ne preces pro vobis fundant perseverantibus in malis et tantopere incitantibus; quîs e contrario ex corde ad Deum repedantibus, Deo nolente animam hominis interire, sed retractante, ne penitus pereat qui abiectus est, vindictam[1] non potuissent inducere, quia nec Ionas, et quidem cum multum concupiverit, Ninivitis propheta. Sed omissis interim nostris audiamus potius quid prophetica tuba persultet: *Ier.* xiii, 22, 23. *Quod si dixeris*, inquiens, *in corde tuo: quare venerunt mala haec? propter multitudinem iniquitatis tuae. Si mutare potest Aethiops pellem suam aut pardus varietates suas, et vos poteritis bene facere, cum didiceritis malum;* subauditur, quia non vultis. Et infra: *Ier.* xiv, 10-12. *Haec dicit Dominus populo huic: qui dilexit movere pedes suos et non quievit et Domino non placuit, nunc recordabitur iniquitatum eorum et visitabit peccata eorum. Et dixit Dominus ad me: noli orare pro populo isto in bonum. Cum ieiunaverint, non exaudiam preces eorum et si obtulerint holocausta et victimas, non suscipiam ea.* Et iterum: *Ier.* xv, 1. *Et dixit Dominus ad me: si steterit Moyses et Samuel coram me, non est anima mea ad populum istum: eice illos a facie mea et egrediantur.* *Ier.* xv, 5, 6. Et post pauca: *Quis miserebitur tui, Ierusalem aut quis contristabitur pro te aut quis ibit ad rogandum pro pace tua? Tu reliquisti me, dicit Dominus, et retrorsum abisti, et extendam manum meam super te et interficiam te.* *Ier.* xviii, 11-15. Et post aliquanta: *Haec dicit Dominus: ecce ego fingo contra vos cogitationem: revertatur unusquisque a via sua mala et dirigite vias vestras et studia vestra. Qui dixerunt: desperamus, post cogitationes nostras ibimus et unusquisque pravitatem cordis sui mali faciemus. Ideo haec dicit Dominus: interrogate gentes: quis audivit talia horribilia, quae fecit nimis virgo Israhel? Num quid deficiet de petra agri nix Libani aut velli possunt aquae erumpentes frigidae defluentes? quia oblitus est me populus meus.* Et post aliquanta optione proposita loquitur *Ier.* xxii, 3-5. dicens: *Haec dicit Dominus: facite iudicium et iustitiam et liberate vi oppressum de manu calumniatoris et advenam et pupillum et viduam nolite contristare neque opprimatis inique et sanguinem innocentem ne effundatis. Si enim facientes feceritis verbum istud, ingredientur per portas domus huius reges sedentes de genere David super*

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[1] *Vindicta*, in the sense of "punishment," is frequent in ecclesiastical writers: *ostendit se non tam pacem cupere, quam sub pacis occasione vindictam.* Jerome, *Ep.*, lxxxii, 8. *Hymnus S. Columbae Altus Prosatur*, v. 99, reads thus:

*Dies irae et vindictae, tenebrarum et nebulae.*

Jerome has retained it in Rom. xii, 19: *mihi vindicta*, though in the passage from which the quotation is made, viz., Deut. xxxii, 35, he has changed the expression into *mea est ultio.*

have abandoned the broad way and are finding the narrow, are forbidden by God to pour out prayers for you, who persist in evil and tempt Him so greatly: upon whom, on the contrary, if you return with your heart unto God, they could not bring vengeance, because God is unwilling that the soul of man should perish, but calls it back, lest he who is cast away should utterly perish. Because, not even Jonas the prophet, and that when he greatly desired it, could bring vengeance on the Ninevites. But putting aside, meanwhile, our own words, let us rather hear what sound the prophetic trumpet gives: *And if thou say this in thy* (*Jer.* xiii, 22, 23.) *heart, wherefore are these evils come? They come for the greatness of thy iniquity. If the Ethiop can change his skin, or the leopard his spots, ye also can do good, who have learnt to do evil.* Here it is understood, "ye are not willing." And below: *Thus saith the Lord to this* (*Jer.* xiv, 10-12.) *people that hath loved to move its feet, and hath not rested, and hath not been pleasing unto the Lord; now will He remember their iniquities and visit their sins. And the Lord said unto me, Pray not for that people for their good. When they fast, I shall not hear their cries; and if they offer burnt-offerings and victims, I will not accept them.* Again: *And the Lord said unto me: If Moses and Samuel stood* (*Jer.* xv, 1.) *before Me, My mind is not toward that people; cast them out of My sight, and let them go forth.* And after a few words: *Who* (*Jer.* xv, 5, 6.) *shall have pity upon thee, O Jerusalem? or who shall bemoan thee? or who shall go to pray for thy peace? Thou hast abandoned Me, saith the Lord, thou art gone backward, and I shall stretch forth My hand over thee, and kill thee.* And after a while? *Thus saith the* (*Jer.* xviii, 11, 15.) *Lord, behold I frame a device against you; let every one return from his evil way, and make straight your ways and pursuits. And they said: We despair, after our own devices will we walk, and we will everyone do the wickedness of his own evil heart. Therefore, thus saith the Lord, ask ye the nations, who hath heard such horrible things as the virgin Israel hath done beyond measure? Shall the snow of Lebanon fail from the rock of the field? or can the bursting waters flowing cool be drawn away? Because My people have forgotten Me.* After a while, having placed a choice before them, he speaks, saying: *Thus saith the Lord: Execute ye judgment and* (*Jer.* xxii, 3-5.) *righteousness, and deliver him that is oppressed by violence from the hand of the oppressor, and afflict not the stranger, the orphan, and the widow; neither oppress iniquitously, nor shed innocent blood. For if ye thoroughly do this word, there shall enter in by the gates of this house kings of the race of David, sitting upon his throne: because if ye hear not these words, I have sworn unto Myself, saith the Lord,*

*thronum eius. Quod si non audieritis verba haec, in memetipso iuravi,
dicit Dominus, quia in solitudinem erit domus haec.* Et iterum, de
*Ier.* xxii, 24, 25. rege enim scelesto loquebatur : *Vivo ego, dicit Dominus, quia si fuerit
Iechonias anulus in manu dextra mea, inde evellam eum et dabo in
manu quaerentium animam eius.*

*Habac.* ii, 12, 13. Sanctus quoque Abacuc[1] proclamat dicens : *Vae qui aedificant* 51
*civitatem in sanguine et praeparant civitatem in iniquitatibus,
dicentes : nonne haec sunt a Domino omnipotente? et defecerunt
populi multi in igne, et gentes multae minoratae sunt.* Et ita pro-
*Habac.* i, 2-4. phetiam querulus incipit : *Usque quo*[2] *clamabo et non exaudies? voci-
ferabor ad te, ut quid*[2] *mihi dedisti, labores et dolores inspicere miseriam
et impietatem? contra et factum est iudicium et iudex accepit. Propter
hoc dissipata est lex et non perducitur ad finem iudicium, quia impius
per potentiam deprimit iustum. Propter hoc exiit iudicium perversum.*

Sed et beatus Osee propheta attendite quid loquatur de prin- 52
*Os.* viii, 1-4. cipibus dicens : *Pro eo, quod transgressi sunt pactum meum et adver-
sus legem meam tulerunt, et exclamabant : cognovimus te, quia ad-
versum sis Israhel, bonum ut iniquum persecuti sunt, sibi regnaverunt,
et non per me : tenuerunt principatum, nec me agnoverunt.*[3]

Sed et sanctum Amos[4] prophetam hoc modo minantem audite : 53
*Amos* ii, 4-7. *In tribus impietatibus filiorum Iuda et in quattuor non avertam
eos propter quod repulerunt legem domini et praecepta non custo-
dierunt, sed seduxerunt eos vana eorum. Et emittam ignem super
Iudam et comedet fundamenta Ierusalem. Haec dicit Dominus : in
tribus impietatibus Israhel et in quattuor non avertam eos, propter
quod tradiderunt pecunia iustum et pauperem pro calciamentis, quae*

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[1] *Abacuc.* Jerome has *Ambacum, Ambacuc* in the *tituli.* In the Prologus to the *Commentaria* he says that "the name is read *corrupte*, among the Greeks and Latins, as *Ambacum*, by the Hebrews he is called *Abacuc*," and so the name appears throughout the *Commentaria*, but *Habacuc* in the Vulgate (printed) Bible.

[2] *Usque quo : ut quid.* The rude and literal style of the Old Latin meets us now to the end of c. 64. Hence such phrases as *usque quo* = ἕως τίνος ; ut quid = ἵνα τί in this quotation. Elsewhere, *a modo* = ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ; *si* as direct interrogative = εἰ. Many such combinations of preposition and adverb, or of two prepositions live on in French, *demain* from *de mane* (Ruth ii, 7, de mane usque nunc.), *derrière* from *de retro*, *dehors* from *de foris*, etc., etc.

The same fact, of well testified harshness of literal constructions, has led me to punctuate the sentence beginning with *ut quid* as seen in the text. In the Vulgate it runs : *quare ostendisti mihi iniquitatem et laborem uidere praedam et iniustitiam contra me*, but the LXX suggests that we should place a note of interrogation after *impietatem*, and then read : *contra et factum est iudicium et iudex accepit* = ἐξ ἐναντίας μου γέγονεν κρίσις, καὶ ὁ κριτὴς λαμβάνει. Holmes

*that this house shall be a desert.* Again, for he was speaking of a wicked king: *As I live, saith the Lord, if Jechoniah were the ring on my right hand, I will pluck him hence, and give him in the hands of those that seek his life.* *Jer.* xxii, 24, 25.

51 Holy Habakkuk also crieth out, saying: *Woe to him that buildeth a city in blood, and prepareth a city by iniquities, saying: Are these things not from the Lord Almighty? and many peoples have perished by fire, and nations many have been diminished.* *Habak.* ii, 12, 13. He thus begins his prophecy with a complaint: *How long shall I cry, and thou wilt not hear? I shall cry unto Thee, why hast thou given unto me hardships and griefs, to see misery and ungodliness? To the contrary hath both a judgment been made and the judge accepted it. Wherefore the law is demolished and judgment is not brought to an end, because the ungodly by might trampleth down the righteous. Therefore judgment goeth forth perverted.* *Habak.* i, 2-4.

52 Listen also to what the blessed prophet Hosea says of princes: *For that they have transgressed my covenant, and have borne themselves against my law; and were crying out, we know thee that thou art against Israel. They have persecuted the good, as if unrighteous; they have reigned for themselves, and not by me; they have held the chief place, nor have they recognised me.* *Hos.* viii, 1-4.

53 Hear also the holy prophet Amos threatening as follows: *For three transgressions of the sons of Judah, and for four, I will not turn them aside; because they have rejected the law of the Lord, and have not kept His precepts, and their vanities have led them astray. And I will send a fire upon Judah, and it shall devour the foundations of Ierusalem. Thus saith the Lord, For three iniquities of Israel and for four I will not turn them aside, because they have betrayed the* *Amos* ii, 4-7.

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and Parsons give the evidence of two MSS. and one quotation, for the omission of *μου*, which confirms us in the adoption of the ruder form of sentence.

[3] Vide Additional Note, p. 95.

[4] *Amos.* Gildas has quoted more extensively from the writings of this prophet than from any other of the minor prophets, and at greater length here than he quotes from the same prophet in addressing the clergy. The reason is not far to seek. The prophetic ministry of Amos was specially a mission to the rulers of Israel; the cruel harshness of the rich and powerful grinding down their hopelessly-impoverished neighbours, show a terrible declension in all, kings, judges, priests and prophets. Gildas finds apt utterance in the words of this "herdman and dresser of sycamore trees."

Ranke's *Codex Weingart.* begins with ch. vii and breaks off with viii, 10, but as to the parts common to it and Gildas, the resemblance of the version in both is most striking, as well as their agreement with the Greek of the LXX. The Old Latin given by Sabatier is different.

*calciant super pulverem terrae, et colaphis caedebant capita pauperum,*
Amos v, 6. *et viam humilium declinaverunt.* Et post pauca: *quaerite dominum et vivetis, ut non reluceat sicut ignis domus Ioseph et comedat*
Amos v, 10. *eam, nec erit qui extinguat. Domus Israel odio habuerunt in portis redarguentem et verbum iustum abominati sunt.* Qui Amos prohibitus, ne prophetaret in Israel, absque adulationis tepore respon-
Amos vii, 14-17. dens: *Non eram*, inquit, *ego propheta nec filius prophetae, sed eram pastor caprarius vellicans sycomoros,*[1] *et suscepit me Dominus ab ovibus et dixit Dominus ad me: vade et prophetiza in plebem meam Israhel, et nunc audi verbum Domini;* regem namque alloquebatur. *Tu dicis: noli prophetare in Israel et non congreges turbas in domum Iacob. Propter quod haec dicit Dominus: uxor tua in civitate meretricabitur et filii tui et filiae tuae gladio cadent et terra tua funiculo metietur et tu in terra inmunda morieris; Israhel autem*
Amos viii, 4, 5. *captivus ducetur a terra sua.* Et infra: *Audite itaque haec, qui contribulatis inmane pauperem et dominationem exercetis in inopes super terram, qui dicitis: quando transibit mensis ut adquiramus, et*
Amos viii, 7, 8. *sabbata ut aperiamus thesauros?* Et post pauca: *Iurat Dominus contra superbiam Iacob, si*[2] *obliviscetur in contemptione opera vestra et in his non conturbabitur terra et lugebit omnis qui commorabitur in*
Amos viii, 10. *ea et ascendet sicut flumen consummatio. Et convertam dies festos vestros in luctum et iniciam in omnem lumbum cilicium et in omne caput decalvationem et ponam eum sicut luctum dilecti et eos, qui cum*
Amos ix. 10. *eo sunt, sicut diem maeroris.* Et iterum: *Gladio morientur omnes peccatores populi mei, qui dicunt: non appropinquabunt neque venient super nos mala.*

Sed et sanctus Micheas vates attendite quid sit effatus: 54
Mich. vi, 9-12. *Audi*, inquiens, *tribus: et quid exornabit civitatem? Numquid ignis, et domus iniquorum thesaurizans in thesauros iniquos, et cum iniuria iniustitia?*[3] *Si*[4] *iustificabitur in statera iniquus et*

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[1] *Sed eram pastor caprarius vellicans sycomoros;* in the Vulg., *sed armentarius ego sum;* the LXX, ἀλλ' ἤ αἰπόλος ἤμην καὶ κνίζων συκάμινα: by this we see how literal the rendering is.

[2] *Si.* This particle, here, reproduces literally the Hebraism of εἰ in an elliptical construction, conveying the expression of a solemn oath. The Greek reads thus: ὀμνύει Κύριος κατὰ τῆς ὑπερφανείας Ἰακώβ Εἰ ἐπιλησθήσεται κ. τ. λ. It is not unfamiliar to readers of the New Testament, *e.g.*, in Heb. iv, 3: *Si introibunt in requiem meam*—"If they shall enter into my rest"=They shall not enter into my rest.

[3] *Iniustitia.* I have changed the punctuation of other editions by removing the note of interrogation usually placed after *ignis*, retaining only the note at the end of the sentence. It seems to me rendered necessary by the text of the LXX, and reads well. I have ventured even to omit the *m* of the accu-

*righteous for money and the needy for shoes, which tread upon the
dust of the earth, and with cuffs have they struck the heads of the
poor, and have shunned the way of the humble.* After a few words:
*Seek the Lord and ye shall live, so that the house of Ioseph shall not* *Amos* v, 6.
*blaze like fire and devour it, and there shall not be to quench it. The
house of Israel have hated him that reproveth in the gates, and have* *Amos* v, 10.
*abhorred the righteous word.* And this Amos, when being forbidden
to prophesy in Israel, without the mildness of flattery says in
answer: *I was not a prophet nor a prophet's son, but was a goat herd* *Amos* vii, 14-17.
*plucking the fruit of sycamores; and the Lord took me from the
sheep, and the Lord said unto me, Go and prophesy unto my people
Israel; and now hear thou the word of the Lord.* For he was
addressing the king. *Thou sayest Prophesy not unto Israel and
gather not crowds against the house of Jacob. Therefore thus saith
the Lord. Thy wife shall be an harlot in the city, and thy sons and
thy daughters shall fall by the sword, and thy lands shall be measured
by line, and thou shalt die in an unclean land; and Israel shall be led
away captive out of his land.* And below: *Hear therefore these* *Amos* viii, 4, 5.
*things, ye that fiercely afflict the needy and employ tyranny against the
poor in the land; who say, When shall the month be gone that we
may get, and the sabbath that we may open our treasure.* After a
few words: *The Lord sweareth against the pride of Jacob. Shall* *Amos* viii, 7, 8.
*He forget your works in scorn, and in these things shall not the land
tremble? and every one that dwelleth thereon shall mourn, and its
consummation shall rise like a flood. And I will turn your feast* *Amos* viii, 10.
*days into mourning, and shall cast haircloth upon every loin, and
baldness upon every head, and I will render it as a mourning for a
beloved one, and those that are with him, as a day of sorrow.* And
again: *All the sinners of my people shall die by the sword, who say,* *Amos* ix, 10.
*Evils shall not overtake nor come upon us.*

54 But listen also what the holy prophet Micah has said: *Hear* *Mic.* vi, 9-12.
*thou, O! tribe; what shall adorn a city? Not fire? Not the house
of the unjust treasuring unjust treasures? Not unrighteousness with
injury? Shall the unjust be justified in his balance, or deceitful*

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sative *iniustitiam*, though the MS. authority seems altogether to favour its retention; but it is well known that in nothing do MSS. show so much uncertainty as in the omission or insertion of this letter. Taking the LXX as one's guide, and observing that such a phrase as "to treasure unrighteousness" is not in keeping with Old Testament ideas, every hesitation as to the substitution of the nominative case is almost entirely removed. The LXX reading is μὴ πῦρ, καὶ οἶκος ἀνόμου θησαυρίζων θησαυροὺς ἀνόμους, καὶ μετὰ ὕβρεως ἀδικία;

[4] *Si.* Here we have *si* as the literal rendering of εἰ, introducing a *direct*

*in saccello pondera dolosa, ex quibus divitias suas in impietate repleverunt?*

Sed et Sophonias propheta clarus quas minas exaggerat, 55
*Soph.* i, 14; ii, 1. audite: *Prope est*, inquit, *dies Domini magnus, prope et velox*
*valde. Vox Dei Domini*[1] *amara constituta est et potens, dies irae dies*
*ille, dies tribulationis et necessitatis, dies nubis et nebulae, dies tubae et*
*clamoris, dies miseriae et exterminationis, dies tenebrarum et caliginis*
*super civitates firmas et super angulos excelsos. Et contribulabo*
*homines, et ibunt sicut caeci, quia Domino peccaverunt, et effundam*
*sanguinem sicut pulverem et carnes eorum sicut fimum boum, et*
*argentum eorum et aurum non poterit eximere eos in die irae Domini.*
*Et in igne zeli eius consumetur omnis terra quando consummationem*
*et solitudinem faciet Dominus super omnes commorantes in terram.*[2]
*Convenite et coniungimini, gens indisciplinata, priusquam efficiamini*
*sicut flos praeteriens, priusquam veniat super vos ira Domini.*

Et quid Aggaeus sanctus propheta dicat, attendite: *Haec dicit* 56
*Agg.* ii, 22, 23. *Dominus: semel ego movebo caelum et terram et mare et aridum et*
*avertam regnum et exterminabo virtutem regum gentium et avertam*
*quadrigas et ascensores.*

Nunc quoque quid Zacharias filius Addo propheta electus[3] 57
*Zach.* i, 3, 4. dixerit, intuemini, hoc modo prophetiam suam exordiens: *Revertimini ad me et revertar ad vos, dicit Dominus, et nolite tales esse,*
*sicut patres vestri, quibus imputaverunt prophetae priores dicentes:*
*haec dicit Dominus omnipotens: avertite vos a viis vestris: et non*
*Zach.* v, 2, 3, 4. *intenderunt, ut obaudirent me.* Et infra: *Et dixit ad me angelus:*
*quid tu vides? et dixi: falcem ego video volantem longitudinis cubi-*

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interrogative sentence. It is not uncommon in the LXX, and the Greek New Testament, nor in the Latin version, *e.g.*, Acts i, 6; vii, 1. The Greek of the present passage, which explains the Latin, stands thus: *εἰ δικαιωθήσεται ἐν ζυγῷ ἄνομος, καὶ ἐν μαρσίππῳ στάθμια δόλου.* Lucifer of Cagliari quotes Jonah iv, 4: *si* (*εἰ*) *valde contristatus es tu super cucurbitam?* Even Tertullian has imitated this use of *si*, Apol. 23: *si homo communis? si magus?*

[1] *Vox diei Domini.* Mommsen prints *vox Dei Domini.* One MS., A, reads *diei.* The combination "God the Lord" is not found in the Old Testament, while "the Lord God" is universal. The LXX, however, settles the question of reading: *φωνὴ ἡμέρας κυρίου* is decisive against the extremely improbable *Dei Domini.*

[2] *In terram.* This strange construction is frequent in Biblical Latin; Rönsch gives a whole page-full of instances (*Itala und Vulgata, in* auf die Frage *wo?* s. 410, 411), *e.g.*, qui sunt in dom*um* me*am*, Luke ix, 61; ipse mansit in Galilae*am*, Io. vii, 9. Gruter, *Inscr.*, p. 224; in curi*am* fuerant.

[3] *filius Addo propheta electus.* The post-exilian prophet Zechariah is, by Gildas, called "son of Addo," whereas, according to the ordinary reading of the

*weights in the bag, out of which they filled up their riches in ungodliness?*

55 But hear also what threats the distinguished prophet Zephaniah
heaps up: *The great day of the Lord is near, near and hastening* *Zeph.* i, 14; ii, 1.
*greatly. The voice of the day of the Lord hath been appointed bitter
and mighty, that day is a day of wrath, a day of tribulation and distress, a day of cloud and mist, a day of trumpet and cry, a day of misery
and desolation, a day of darkness and thick gloom, over strong cities and
high corner towers. And I will distress men, and they shall go as
blind, because they have sinned against the Lord; and I will pour
out their blood as dust, and their flesh as the dung of oxen; and their
silver and gold cannot deliver them in the day of the Lord's anger.
And by the fire of his jealousy shall the whole land be consumed,
when the Lord shall bring an end and a loneliness over all that dwell
in the land. Come together, and gather yourselves together, nation
without discipline; before ye be made as a flower that passeth away,
before the anger of the Lord come upon you.*

56 Listen also what Haggai, the holy prophet, says: *Thus saith
the Lord: Once shall I move heaven and earth and sea and dry* *Hag.* ii, 22, 23.
*land, and will turn away the kingdom and banish the strength of the
kings of the nations, and turn away the chariots and those (them)
that mount thereon.*

57 Now again, observe what Zachariah, son of Adda, the chosen
prophet, has said, beginning his prophecy in this manner: *Return* *Zech.* i, 3, 4.
*unto me and I will return unto you, saith the Lord, and be not such
as your fathers, whom the former prophets charged, saying, Thus
saith the Lord Almighty: Return ye from your ways: and they did
not observe so as to hearken unto me.* Below also: *And the angel* *Zech.* v, 2, 3, 4.
*said unto me, What seest thou? and I said, I see a flying scythe of*

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Vulgate, Addo must have been his grandfather. The question, as a point of history, does not concern us. But there is a reading of the Vulgate, *filium Barachiae filium Addo*, reproduced by Jerome in his Commentary, which is in evident agreement with the LXX: Ζαχαρίαν τὸν τοῦ Βαραχίου υἱὸν Ἀδδὼ τὸν προφήτην. Gildas is therefore correctly following the tradition contained in the codices of his time. The two, Haggai and Zechariah, go together in all lists of the twelve minor prophets, as in Gildas: unde recte juxta ordinem duodecim prophetarum, *ille decimus et hic undecimus* ponitur (Jer., *Comm.*, i).

The epithet *electus*, which Gildas adds, instead of *beatus*, or *sanctus*, as in the case of the other prophets, may be explained by the distinguished position assigned to Zechariah, along with Haggai and Malachi, as members of the "Great Synagogue," in Jewish tradition, traditions well-known to Latin writers. —*Vide* Smith, *Dict. of Bible*, under Zechariah.

*torum viginti. Maledictio, quae procedit super faciem totius terrae, quoniam omnis fur ex ea usque ad mortem punietur, et proiciam eum, dicit Dominus omnipotens, et intrabit in domum furoris*[1] [*furis ?*] *et in domum iurationis in nomine meo mendacium.*[2]

*Malach.* iv, 1. Sanctus quoque Malachias[3] propheta dicit: *Ecce dies Domini* 58
*veniet succensa quasi caminus, et erunt omnes superbi et omnes facientes iniquitatem ut stipula et inflammabit eos dies adveniens, dicit Dominus exercituum,*[4] *quae non relinquet ex eis radicem et germen.*

Sed et sanctus Iob attendite quid de principio impiorum et fine 59
disceptaverit dicens:

*Iob* xxi, 7-13.
*Propter quid impii vivunt ?*
*et senuerunt inhoneste*
*et semen eorum secundum desiderium eorum,*
*et filii eorum ante conspectum eorum*
*et domus eorum fructuosae sunt et timor numquam*
*nec plaga Domini est super eos.*
*Vacca eorum non abortivit*
*et praegnans eorum pertulit partum et non erravit,*
*sed permanet sicut oves aeternae,*
*et pueri eorum gaudent*
*et psalterium sumentes et citharam.*
*Finierunt in bonis vitam suam,*
*in requiem inferorum dormierunt.*
Num quid Deus facta impiorum non respicit? non ergo;

*Iob* xxi, 17-20.
*Sed lucerna impiorum extinguetur,*
*et superveniet eis eversio*
*et dolores tamquam parturientis eos ab ira tenebunt.*
*Et erunt sicut paleae a vento*
*et sicut pulvis, quem abstulit turbo.*

*Iob* xxiv, 2-7.
*Deficiant filiis eius bona.*
*Videant oculi eius occisionem suam,*
*nec a domino resalvetur.*
Et post aliquanta de iisdem: *Qui gregem,* inquit, *cum pastore rapuerunt,*
*et iumentum orfanorum abduxerunt,*

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[1] *In domum furoris.* There seems to be an original corruption of text here; the LXX has εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ κλέπτου, and the Vulgate *furis*, which must have been the original reading, though the corrections of ℵ πλεπου, πλεκτου, imply an early uncertainty.

[2] *Mendacium.* Polydore Vergil, in the edition of 1525, omits this word, as

*twenty cubits in length. It is the curse which goeth forth over the face of the whole earth; since every thief shall from it be punished unto death, and I shall cast him forth saith the Lord Almighty; and it shall enter into the thief's house, and into the house of swearing falsely in my name.*

58 Holy Malachy the prophet also says: *Behold the day of the* *Mal.* iv, 1.
*Lord shall come, burning as a furnace; and all the proud and all who work wickedness shall be as stubble, and the coming day shall set them on fire, saith the Lord of hosts, which shall not leave of them root or shoot.*

59 But hear what holy Job also has taught respecting the beginning and end of the wicked, saying: *Wherefore do the wicked* *Job* xxi, 7-13.
*live? And they have become old dishonourably, and their seed is according to their desire, and their sons before their face; and their houses are fruitful, and never is the fear or the scourge of the Lord upon them. Their cow hath not been abortive, and their animal, big with young, hath brought forth and hath not gone astray; but it abideth as an eternal flock, and their children rejoice, taking up both psaltery and harp. They finished their life in good things, and stept into the rest of the grave.* God, then, does not regard the deeds of the wicked? No, not so, I conclude. *But the candle of the wicked* *Job* xxi, 17-20.
*shall be extinguished, and calamity shall come upon them, and pain as of one in childbirth shall hold them through anger. And they shall be like chaff before wind, and as dust, which the whirlwind carrieth away. May his goods fail to his children. Let his eyes see his own destruction, and may he not be redeemed by the Lord.* After a while, of the same: *Those who have carried away the flock with the* *Job* xxiv, 2-7.
*shepherd,* he says, *and have taken away the beast of the orphans, and*

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he does also several of the harsh constructions already referred to. The Greek is καὶ εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ ὀμνύοντος τῷ ὀνοματί μου ἐπὶ ψεύδει, but the Latin here employs a verbal noun instead of the participle: *mendacium* may be an adverbial accusative, with the active idea implied in *iuratio*=mendaciter; Vulg. *iurantis in nomine meo mendaciter*; or it may be an instance of an accusative after a verbal noun used as a verb.

[3] *Malachias*: as in Gildas, this book is twelfth, following Haggai and Zechariah, and last, in all arrangements of the minor prophets. We may compare the short quotation made here, with the large space given to him by Gildas in addressing the clergy, because Malachi's prophecies are directed, chiefly, against abuses and corruptions prevailing among the priests.

[4] *Dominus exercituum.* The Greek is κύριος παντοκράτωρ, but the *Commentary* of Jerome, as well as the Vulgate, imply another reading, κύριος τῶν δυναμέων, which the critical notes of Holmes and Parsons give as that of the Complutensian LXX, but without any mention of MS. authority.

*et bovem viduae pigneraverunt,*
*et declinaverunt impotentes*[1] *a via necessitatis.*
*Agrum ante tempus non suum demessi sunt,*
*pauperes potentium vineas sine mercede et sine cibo operati sunt,*
*nudos multos dormire fecerunt sine vestimentis;*
*tegmen animae eorum abstulerunt.*

*Iob* xxiv, 18. Et post pauca, cum ergo sciret eorum opera, tradidit eos in tenebras:

*Maledicatur ergo pars eius a terra,*
*Iob* xxiv, 20-24. *pareant*[2] *plantationes eius aridae.*
*Retribuatur ergo illi sicut egit,*
*contribuletur omnis iniquus sicut lignum sine sanitate.*[3]
*In iracundia enim surgens impotentem evertit:*
*propterea enim non credet de vita sua, cum infirmari coeperit,*
*non speret sanitatem, sed cadet in languorem.*
*Multos enim laesit superbia eius,*
*Et marcidus factus est sicut malva in aestu,*
*Velut spica, cum de stipula sua decidit.*

Et infra:

*Iob* xxvii, 14. *Quod si multi fuerint filii eius, in occisionem erunt;*
*Iob* xxvii, 16. *quod et si collexerit ut terram argentum,*
*et similiter ut lutum paraverit*[4] *aurum,*
*Haec omnia iusti consequuntur.*[5]

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[1] *Impotentes.* Mommsen reads *imponentes*, but Codex A has *impotentes*, and the LXX ἀδυνάτους without variation; I have on this account adopted the reading of A.

[2] *Pareant.* Three forms are found: *pariant*, *pereant*, *pareant*. The Greek is ἀναφανείη, and as *parere*, in the sense of *apparere* (cf. Rönsch, *Itala u. Vulg.*, 374), is the regular form for this verb in Biblical Latin, it seems best to adopt the reading *pareant* here.

[3] *Lignum sine sanitate*, for ξύλῳ ἀνιάτῳ. We have before met this rude rendering of Greek adjectives with negative *α*; not exactly of the same kind is *sine mercede et sine cibo*, for ἀμισθί καὶ ἀσιτί.

[4] *parauerit.* The reading in Mommsen's edition is *rarauerit*, but A has *parauerit*, which previous editors had changed into *praeparauerit* in conformity with the Vulgate. The LXX decides: its codices read ἑτοιμάσῃ.

[5] The verses are arranged as the Greek in the Cambridge edition of the LXX, edited by Dr. Swete. This makes comparison easy, and several lines will be found wanting in Gildas, *i.e.*, probably those marked with asterisks by Origen, and by Jerome in his revision of the old Latin version in accordance with the Hexaplar text. *Some* of the omitted lines, however, have no asterisks in the text printed by Migne, Tom. xxix.

*have pledged the widow's ox, and have shunned the weak in the way of need, they have reaped a field, not their own, before its time; the poor have worked the vineyards of the strong, without pay and without hire; they have caused many to sleep naked without clothing; the covering of their life have they taken away.* After a few words, when he knew their deeds, he delivered them over to darkness:
*Cursed therefore be his portion from the earth, and may his planta-* *Job* xxiv, 18.
*tions appear as parched ones. Let there be, therefore, retribution to him* *Job* xxiv, 20-24.
*as he hath done; let every wicked man be destroyed as a tree without health. For he riseth in anger, and overturns the weak. Therefore he shall not have confidence of his life, when he shall begin to grow weak; he shall not hope for health, but shall fall into weariness. For his pride hath wounded many, and he hath become withered as the mallow in heat, as the ear of corn when it falleth from its stem.*
Below also: *Although his children be many, they shall be for destruc-* *Job* xxvii, 14.
*tion. Though he gather silver like earth, and prepare gold like unto* *Job* xxvii, 16
*clay, all these do the just obtain.*

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### The Quotations from the Book of Job.

We have already referred, in the Note on Gildas's quotations, to the fact that the earliest text of the Greek version of Job was considerably shorter than that which is found now in any MSS. The Latin version, in its oldest form, followed this shorter abbreviated Greek text, and, before Origen, could follow no other. As in the case of the shorter LXX, all MSS. of this ancient shorter Latin version seem to have been completely lost: we have, however, the asterisks affixed by Origen to the verses which he supplied from Theodotion's version, preserved in Greek, Latin, and Syriac MSS. The hypotheses that have been advanced to account for this strange fact, deserve close and earnest attention from a student of the history of the text of Scripture; but any attempt to state or judge such hypotheses, would be quite out of place here.

Jerome, in the *Praefatio in Librum Job* (Vulgate), states that previous to the translation or edition which he had lately published *with asterisks*, from seven to eight hundred lines of the book were wanting to the Latins. This edition, as has been previously observed, is the revision which he made, about 392, of the Old Latin translation, upon the basis of the LXX Greek, before the greater work of translating from the Hebrew had been taken in hand: though it seems to have quickly superseded the earlier in Italy and other parts, nevertheless, Britain, about 540, still used the older imperfect version. The public reading of such a truncated book, he says, was an ugly thing, which his revision had attempted to remove. (Ceterum apud Latinos, ante eam translationem (editionem) quam sub asteriscis et obelis nuper edidimus, septingenti ferme aut octingenti versus desunt; ut decurtatus et laceratus corrosusque liber foeditatem sui publice legentibus praebeat.) The portions of Job preserved for us in this work of Gildas, represent that mutilated form, as Jerome regarded it, of the book, and one unworthy to be read in the public service of the church. I place

side by side, Jerome's revision and Gildas's text, so as to show the omitted lines. But before we look at them, it may be well to bear in mind how easy it was for these asterisks to fall away in places, especially as many Latin writers, from Augustine down, use this revised version containing the added lines, but make no distinction between the verses so marked and the others. Origen expressly states that there were "frequently three or four, sometimes fourteen or nineteen verses" omitted, but neither Migne's nor Sabatier's reprint seems to show this extent of omission. Caspari's text, printed in 1893,[1] shows a few verbal differences, not very material, such as *emittunt* for *et mittunt*, *sicut oves* for *sicut infantes suos* in xxi, 11, *abierunt* for *abegerunt* in xxiv, 3. Otherwise, in the main, we have agreement with the texts given in the reprints named. I have not added the *obelus* affixed to words and phrases; the chief point for us to observe is that the lines, phrases, or words, marked by an asterisk, are absent from the text of Gildas. This means that the British church, in the sixth century, at a time when the Vulgate of Jerome was coming into fashion, still read a form of Job that needed supplementing.

| Gildas. | Jerome's Revision. A.D. 392. (Sabatier.) |
|---|---|
| xxi, 7-13. | |
| 7. Propter quid impii vivunt? | Quare impii vivunt |
| et senuerunt inhoneste, | et senuerunt in divitiis? |
| 8. et semen eorum secundum desiderium eorum, | semen eorum secundum desiderium animae |
| et filii eorum ante conspectum eorum, | et nepotes eorum, ante oculos. |
| 9. et domus eorum fructuosae sunt et timor nunquam, | Domus eorum abundantes et timor nusquam, |
| nec plaga domini est super eos. | nec flagellum domini est super eos. |
| 10. Vacca eorum non abortivit, | Vaccae eorum concipientes non abortant, |
| et praegnans eorum pertulit partum et non erravit, | et foeta eorum salvavit, et peperit. |
| . . . . . . . . . . . . . . | *Et mittunt sicut infantes suos.[2] |
| 11. sed permanet sicut oves aeternae, | et permanent sicut vetustae oves eorum, |
| et pueri eorum gaudent, | et parvuli eorum ludo se provocant. |
| 12. et psalterium sumentes et citheram. | Tenent psalterium et citheram, |
| . . . . . . . . . . . . . . | *et laetantur ad vocem *organi.[3] |
| 13. finierunt in bonis vitam suam, | Et finierunt in bonis vitam suam, |
| in requiem inferorum dormierunt. | atque in requie inferni dormierunt. |
| xxi, 17-20. | |
| 17. Sed lucerna impiorum extinguetur, | Imo vero lucerna impiorum extinguetur, |
| et superveniet eis eversio, | et superveniet eis eversio. |
| et dolores tamquam parturientis eos ab ira tenebunt. | Dolores autem tenebunt eos ab ira, |

[1] Das Buch Hiob in Hier.'s *Ubersetzung aus der Alex. Version nach einen Gallener Handschrift*, saec. viii. Christiania, 1893.

[2] Omitted in codices A B ℵ of the LXX.

[3] *φωνῇ ψαλμοῦ.*

| GILDAS. | JEROME'S REVISION. A.D. 392. (Sabatier.) |
| --- | --- |
| | xxi, 17-20. |
| 18. Et erunt sicut paleae a vento, | et erunt sicut palea in vento, |
| et sicut pulvis quem abstulit turbo. | et sicut pulvis quem abstulit turbo. |
| 19. deficiant filiis eius bona. | Deus, deficiant filii *eius bona *eius |
| . . . . . . . . . . . . . . | *redde ei et sciet. |
| 20. Videant oculi eius occisionem suam, nec a domino resalvetur. | Videant oculi eius necem suam, et a domino non salvetur. |
| | xxiv, 2-7. |
| 2. qui gregem cum pastore rapuerunt, | gregem cum pastore sapientes *paraverunt |
| 3. et iumentum orfanorum abduxerunt, | iumentum pupillorum abegerunt, |
| et bovem viduae pigneraverunt, | et bovem viduae pignoraverunt, |
| 4. et declinaverunt impotentes a via necessitatis. | et inclinaverunt pauperes a via justa. |
| . . . . . . . . . . . . . . | *Simul absconditi sunt mites terrae, |
| 5. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . | et irruerunt sicut asini* feri |
| . . . . . . . . . . . . . . | in agro super me, exeuntes ad opus suum. |
| . . . . . . . . . . . . . . | *Suavis factus est eis panis in adolescentes. |
| 6. Agrum ante tempus non suum demessi sunt, | Agrum ante tempus non suum demessuerunt, |
| pauperes potentium vineas sine mercede et sine cibo operati sunt, | infirmi vineas impiorum absque mercede et cibo coluerunt, |
| 7. nudos multos dormire fecerunt sine vestimentis, | nudos multos fecerunt dormire sine vestimentis, |
| tegmen animae eorum abstulerunt. | et tegumen in frigore abstulerunt. |
| | xxiv, 18-24. |
| 18. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . | *Levis est super faciem aquae : |
| maledicatur ergo pars eius a terra, | maledicatur pars eorum super terram, |
| 19. pareant plantationes eius aridae. | appareant plantationes eorum super terram aridae. |
| . . . . . . . . . . . . . . | De sinu enim pupillorum rapuerunt ; |
| 20. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . | deinde rememoratum ut peccatum eius. |
| . . . . . . . . . . . . . . | Sicut nebula roris, nusquam comparuit. |
| Retribuatur ergo illi sicut egit ; | Retribuatur illi sicut agit ; |
| contribuletur omnis iniquus sicut lignum sine sanitate. | conteratur sicut lignum insanabile, |
| 21. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . | et mulieris non est misertus. |
| 22. In iracundia enim surgens impotentem evertit : | In ira evertit infirmos ; |

[1] This verse is omitted in the text of B : it agrees with C, not with ℵ or A.

| Gildas. | Jerome's Revision. A.D. 392. (Sabatier.) |
|---|---|
| | xxiv, 18-24. |
| 23. propterea enim non credet de vita sua cum infirmari coeperit, | consurgens ergo non credit contra vitam suam cum infirmari coeperit ; |
| non speret sanitatem, sed cadet in languorem. | non speret sanitatem, sed cadet in languore. |
| 24. Multos enim laesit superbia eius, | multos enim afflixit altitudo eius ; |
| et marcidus factus est sicut malva in aestu, | emarcuit sicut malva in aestu, |
| velut spica, cum de stipula sua decidit. | aut sicut de spicula spica *sponte decidens. |
| 25. . . . . . . . . . . . . . | *Alioquin quis est qui loquatur me dicere, |
| . . . . . . . . . . . . . | *et ponet in nihilum verba mea ?[1] |
| | xxvii, 14-16. |
| 14. Quod si multi fuerint filii eius, in occisionem erunt ; | Quod si multi fuerint filii eius in occisione erunt ; |
| . . . . . . . . . . . . . | si autem et iuvenes facti fuerint, indigebunt, |
| 15. . . . . . . . . . . . . . | et qui circa eum sunt, morte morientur,[2] |
| . . . . . . . . . . . . . | et viduis eorum nemo miserebitur. |
| 16. quod et si collexerit ut terram argentum, | Quod si et collegerit ut terram argentum, |
| et similiter ut lutum paraverit aurum, | et velut lutum paraverit aurum, |
| haec omnia justi consequuntur. | haec omnia justi consequentur. |

## The Fourth Book of Esdras.

1. By inserting quotations from this book among the "oracles of the prophets," Gildas shows that the views prevailing in Britain with respect to the books that constitute the volume of Scripture (or Scriptures), were different from those held by leading Church writers, and from the formal decisions of Councils. It is well known how Jerome strongly insisted upon the so-called Palestinian Canon of twenty-two books, or, owing to a different arrangement of some books, twenty-four. The Prologus galeatus names Esdras, qui et ipse similiter apud graecos et apud latinos in duos libros divisus est ; these two books of Esdras are our Ezra and Nehemiah,[3] though in MSS. of the LXX the first

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[1] It is difficult to resist the conclusion that, had the last two lines marked by asterisks been in the text of Gildas, he would never have omitted them.

[2] See note on p. 130.

[3] It may perhaps be not superfluous to remind ourselves that Esdras, or Hesdras, is the Greek and Latin form for the Hebrew Ezra. The form *Ezra* was first introduced in the Geneva Bible (1560). In Dr. Morgan's Welsh Bible (1588), the titles of Ezra and Nehemiah appear as: LLYFR CYNTAF

book of Esdras is the so-called 3 Esdras, or 1 Esdras of the English Apocrypha, while the second book contains the Ezra and Nehemiah of our Authorised Version. After naming the twenty-two books he adds: "whatever is outside these must be placed among the *apocrypha*." "Nevertheless, Jerome," as Buhl says, "was not in a position to maintain this standpoint over against the practice of the Church, but repeatedly falls back into the mediating practice of the Greeks. Indeed, he translated from the Apocrypha, and that entirely in consequence of the demands of his fellow-countrymen, only Tobit, Judith, and the additions to Esther and Daniel, these latter writings being distinguished from the canonical by diacritical marks; but in the Prologue to the 'Books of Solomon' he gives the non-canonical writings used in the Church the same intermediate place which they held among the Greeks, while he remarks of Jesus Sirach and of the Book of Wisdom: 'These two volumes it (the Church) reads for the edification of the people, not for the establishing of ecclesiastical doctrines;' and so he himself not infrequently quotes various apocryphal works, especially Jesus Sirach, once expressly introducing his quotation with a *dicente scriptura sancta* (Comment. on Isaiah, iii, 12). Meanwhile the Western Church, striving after unequivocal and definite forms, did not regard with favour this somewhat uncertain intermediate position of the books allowed to be read (*libri ecclesiastici*). Instead of now solving the problem by an uncompromising acceptance of the Jewish practice, the attempt was rather made to abolish altogether the distinction between canonical books and books that might simply be read. In the Latin Bible MSS. prior to Jerome, just as among the Greeks, non-canonical writings are found along with the canonical. Only here the number of the non-canonical writings did not vary so much as among the Greeks, while the MSS. regularly embraced the writings received by most of the churches, *i.e.*, the Wisdom of Solomon, Jesus Sirach (or Ecclesiasticus), Tobit, Judith, 1 and 2 Maccabees, and the additions to Daniel, Esther and Jeremiah. The ecclesiastical *usus* was now regarded as decisive, and all those writings were pronounced canonical without paying any regard to the Jewish Canon and the opposing remarks of Jerome." The leading impetus in this direction came from Augustine, and the church of North Africa in the Councils of Hippo, A.D. 393, and Carthage, A.D. 397. The great teacher himself gives a list of "the whole canon of Scripture," adding, "in all these books those who fear God and are of a meek and pious disposition seek the will of God." Now this list includes Tobit, Judith, 1 and 2 Maccabees, as well as Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus. The lists drawn up by the Councils of Hippo and Carthage are similar in character, though the order of books is different. This whole tendency received a fixed form in the decision of the Council of Trent, which pronounced the books named by Augustine to be canonical, but excluded 3 and 4 Esdras as uncanonical. The authoritative

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ESDRAS; LLYFR NEHEMIAS, YR HWN HEFYD A ELWIR AIL LYFR ESDRAS. The name Esdras, in the Welsh and English Bibles of the Authorised Version, is now reserved for the two Apocryphal books attributed to Ezra. These two, owing to the fact that Ezra and Nehemiah were regarded as First and Second Ezra, were reckoned, in editions of the Vulgate, as Third and Fourth; in our Bibles, by the use of the names First and Second Esdras, a mode of naming less correct historically than the other has been introduced.

edition of the Vulgate, the Clementine of 1592, prints the Prayer of Manasses along with 3 and 4 Esdras at the end of the New Testament as *extra seriem Canonicorum Librorum.*[1] Gildas, therefore, agrees with the usage of early Latin writers, and the Tridentine Council, by his inclusion of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus as parts of Scripture, but differs from them by including also in the same this evidently pseudo-epigraphic book, 4 Esdras. On the other hand, all the Reformed Churches, as well as the Lutheran, have clung to the Hebrew Canon as stated by Jerome, so that Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, 3 and 4 Esdras, though allowed to be read, are regarded as non-canonical. We have, on this account, to place the British Church, as represented by Gildas, outside this view also of the Canon : it agrees with neither the Reformed nor the Tridentine doctrine of canonicity.

2. When we look somewhat more closely at the history of this book, which, as understood by Gildas, carried a truly prophetic message unto men, we find that some strikingly interesting facts have come to light respecting it. To add a brief account of these would be equivalent to placing ourselves at a better point of vantage for understanding the significance of such quotations as this chapter contains, in a message addressed to our ancestors.

The order of books found here is somewhat strange ; after Malachi come *Job*, *Esdras*, *Ezekiel*, *Wisdom*, *Ecclesiasticus.* It might appear as though the two books last-named were actually placed at or near the end of the Old Testament in the codices used by Gildas. But the way in which Wisdom is introduced by him leads me to conclude that this was not the case. Upon placing Ezekiel aside, he says : "enough of threats uttered by holy prophets ; I have thought it right to add a few words from the book of Wisdom to this little work of mine, words which set forth encouragement and intimation no less than threats ;" he will, he says, not be of those who are unwilling to move a finger by way of help to carry the burdens imposed by them, and, therefore, will quote words of consolation. We may safely conclude that the order of the whole series of minatory quotations ends with Ezekiel, because, with a changed purpose, the writer would naturally go back to former books. There remain, thus, as his last books, *Malachi*, *Job*, *Esdras*, *Ezekiel.* Perhaps no one can quite explain how this unusual order came to prevail in Britain ; but other illustrative lists are not wanting. It is difficult not to name here, first of all, the finest Latin MS. of the Bible : this is the well-known Codex Amiatinus, preserved in the Mediceo-Laurentian Library at Florence, but proved to have been written in Britain, at the monastery of Wearmouth, sometime about A.D. 700.[2]

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[1] The contemptuous words of Jerome to Vigilantius respecting this very 4 Esdras, from which Gildas quotes, are piquant, whatever else they may be. One is tempted to quote them. "Tu uigilans dormis, et dormiens scribis : et proponis mihi librum apocryphum, qui sub nomine Esdrae a te, et similibus tuis legitur : ubi scriptum est, quod post mortem nullus pro aliis audeat deprecari : quem ego librum nunquam legi. Quid enim necesse est in manus sumere, quod ecclesia non recipit ?" *Contra Vig.*, 7. Migne, Tom. i.

[2] On the whole strange and romantic story of this discovery see *Studia Biblica*, ii, 273-308 ; 309-324. It will not unduly crowd our page, nor dissociate our thought for what strictly concerns us, if we refer to a fact of some moment

The Codex Amiatinus contains in its prefatory matter three lists of books of the Old and New Testaments, which, as touching upon the question of Gildas' arrangement in this place, may be quoted in part. They are as follows : (1) The arrangement of the Codex itself : In hoc codice continentur ueteris et noui testamenti Libri N LXXXI ; Genesis . . . . . Malachias, Job, Thobias, Iudith, Hester, Ezras (=Ezra and Nehemiah), Machabeorum lib. duo. (2) The books according to the Hieronymian division. (3) The arrangement sicut diuidit sanctus Hilarus Romanae urbis antistes et Epiphanius Cyprius : Genesi . . . . Malachim qui et Angelus, Iob, Tobis, Hester, Iudith, Esdrae libri duo (Ezra and Nehemiah), Machabeorum libri duo (*Studia Biblica*, ii, 290 ff.). Omitting the books not quoted by Gildas, we have in the British Codex itself, and in the list according to Hilarius and Epiphanius, which corresponds with the order "according to the ancient version" given by Cassiodorus, the very arrangement of Gildas, viz., *Malachi*, *Job*, *Esdras*. He is thus shown to be following a traditionary order of the sacred books.

3. But he must have had more than the "two books" of Esdras in this very place. Besides 1 Esdras = Ezra, and 2 Esdras = Nehemiah, he may have had in his copy 3 Esdras = 1 Esdras of our Apocrypha, and, probably, chapters xv, xvi, or xv, xvi, I, II, of 4 Esdras, that is, of 2 Esdras in the Apocrypha of the English or Welsh Authorised Versions. I have been impressed by the cogent remark of Dillmann that, except for the printing press (*i.e.* since A.D. 1462), this 4 Esdras would never have appeared as one book. As printed it has issued from one MS., or from copies of that MS., the *Codex Sangermanensis*, formerly

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revealed by the study of British MSS. of the Latin Bible. It is brought before the reader at some length in M. Samuel Berger's *Histoire de la Vulgate*, pp. 35 ff. Not long after the last of the group of men to whom Gildas belonged, the disciples of Illtud, had passed away, the English and British Churches parted violently asunder and stood in formal hostility the one to the other. Soon the British and Scot (Irish) churches were openly pronounced to be schismatic ; but amid all this conflict there are evident signs, judging by copies of Scripture or parts thereof, that there was, nevertheless, friendly intercourse of practical life between the two Churches. The Saxon Church benefited, so far as to borrow certain definite peculiarities of the texts copied in its cloisters, from the Celtic Church, which, earlier in the North and later in the West, was persuaded by it to abandon those points on which it was held to stand outside Catholic unity. "Ne dites pas qu'il importe peu à l'histoire de la Vulgate, et que le *Codex Amiatinus*, rapporté à Rome en 716 par les serviteurs de Ceolfrid, n'était que la copie d'un autre manuscrit qu'il avait lui-même apporté de Rome : double voyage d'un texte qui retourne à son lieu d'origine. Le Codex Amiatinus ne peut pas être identique au manuscrit romain sur lequel il a été copie. . . . . Nous avons déjà constaté, et nous verrons par de nouveaux exemples que les copistes saxons ne savaient pas copier un texte étranger sans lui donner, pour ainsi dire, la couleur locale des textes de leur pays" (M. Berger, p. 37).

Just as the hard struggle against the Saxons did not prevent the wide diffusion of a new Bible (the Vulgate) in the British Churches, so also the bitter feud between two Churches was not such as to prevent co-operation in the further preparation of copies of this new Bible for use in the English Church;

of the Benedictine Abbey of S. Germain des Prés at Paris, but is now located in the Bibliothèque Nationale (date A.D. 822). All MSS. known until lately show a strange *lacuna* in ch. vii, between verses 35 and 36. Here a leaf had been cut out, because, as M. Berger puts it, it contained a passage which appeared to discountenance prayer for the dead, and all Bibles have, for six centuries, depended upon this one mutilated Codex. The "Missing Fragment" was discovered by Prof. Bensly, of Cambridge, in a MS. of Amiens, the *Codex Ambiensis* (A), and published by him in 1875 at the Cambridge University Press. Ch. vii now contains, therefore, 139 verses instead of the old 70. He shows plainly *how near the text of Gildas is to that found in the Amiens Codex*, as compared with certain Spanish codices, which also contain the missing part. That MS., of Cent. IX, may suggest to us what Gildas also read in *his* copy; its contents are:—

I Esdras = our Ezra and Nehemiah..

II Esdras = III Esdras of the Vulgate, or I Esdras of the English Apocrypha.

III Esdras = IV Esdras, i, ii. = II Esdras, i, ii of Auth. Version.

IV Esdras = IV Esdras, iii-xiv = II Esdras, iii-xiv „

V Esdras = IV Esdras, xv, xvi = II Esdras, xv, xvi „

Dr. M. R. James, in *Text and Studies*, vol. iii, 2, has given a full account of the interesting questions connected with this book, but it would be out of place to introduce here from his pages the valuable material which he has placed at the disposal of students of the book and of Apocalyptic literature. He shows, confirming Dillmann's view, how scanty is the authority for the fusion into one book of portions that are proved by early quotations and copious MS. authority to have been separate. He says, that about the commonest arrangement in MSS. of the books assigned to Ezra is the following:—

I Esdras = Ezra, Nehemiah.

II Esdras = IV Esdras, i, ii.

III Esdras = III Esdras.

IV Esdras = IV Esdras, iii-xiv.

V Esdras = IV Esdras, xv, xvi (= Gildas' Esdras here?).

Some modern editors, Fritzche for instance, have designated chapters xv, xvi, as "The Fifth Book of Esdras." Now Gildas quotes only from these chapters, which inclines us to the belief that in his "Bible" they formed a single book. The fact that he calls Esdras "prophet" may perhaps favour the view that his Book of Esdras consisted of those chapters, *and* i, ii, since ch. i begins with the words: *Liber Ezrae prophetae.* Yet the appellation "prophet," though found nowhere in the Bible, is applied to Ezra as early as the time of Clement of Alexandria. The peculiar character of chapters i, ii, xv and xvi, has led some of the best commentators to regard them as Christian interpolations, of which the former was written, according to Gutschmid, about A.D. 201, or 160 according to Volckmar, the latter (the chapters from which Gildas quotes), during the period of martyrdom, A.D. 260-268. These chapters are marked by a stern tone of denunciation, after the manner of the older prophets, and as such were well adapted for Gildas' special purpose.

## EZEKIEL (EZECHIEL).

The place assigned by Gildas to Ezekiel, in the series of prophetical books, is somewhat singular, but seems capable of explanation, satisfactory, it may be hoped. Reference has already been made to the consolatory intention of the writer in his use of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus, as proving that their position here cannot imply a similar position in his copy or copies of the Old Testament Scriptures. It is a well-known fact that complete copies of the Bible were exceedingly rare. Gregory of Tours was just a generation younger than Gildas, his episcopate extending from A.D. 573 to his death in 594 ; and during his lifetime the Bible, we know from his writings, was found in churches in separate volumes. No doubt the whole *bibliotheca*, as the term was used for a complete Bible, belonged to every church and to many individuals, yet he speaks of "three books having been placed on the altar, id est prophetiae(=the sixteen prophetical books), apostoli (=the Epistles), atque evangeliorum (=the four Gospels)," *Hist. Fr.*, iv, 16 ; also "three books . . . id est psalterii (book of Psalms) ; regum (=1, 2 Samuel ; 1, 2 Kings) ; evangeliorum (=the four Gospels)," *ib.*, v, 14. We can hardly be wrong in supposing that the same must have been the case in Britain, so that the Prophets were included in one, or perhaps in two volumes. By examining the lists of Biblical books collected by Zahn, in ii, 1, of his *Geschichte des Neutest. Kanons*, it will be found that the older lists, generally, place the Prophets as the last books of the Old Testament. They also show that the twelve Minor Prophets preceded Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, and were regarded as one Book. This arrangement is found in the Apostolic Canons, in those of the Council of Laodicea, in the Paschal letter of Athanasius, in the poetic list of Gregory Nazianz, in the decisions of the Council of Hippo (A.D. 397), in the list given by Augustine (*De doctrina Christiana*, ii, 8, 12-14), and in Cassiodorus' list according to the *antiqua translatio.* This is the order we have in Swete's edition of the LXX, vol. iii, as found in the *Codex Vaticanus*, and others named in the Preface. The Vulgate introduced a new order, in which the four greater prophets precede the twelve minor, and this order is found in other lists quoted by Zahn, such as that of Rufinus, the Decretum Gelasii, and others. By earlier use and wont, the last two books of the Old Testament for Gildas would have been Ezekiel, Daniel, or Daniel, Ezekiel, as the order of succession varies in different lists. But because Gildas does not quote Daniel, the last book for his series of quotations would be Ezekiel. Now Isaiah and Jeremiah he quotes from a copy of the Vulgate, and naturally places them in the position they hold in that version, that is, *before* the minor prophets ; but when quoting Ezekiel, for some reason or other, probably because habit had still too strong a hold upon his mind, he falls back upon the older version. What, then, more natural than to place this where it stood in the older codices, viz., last of all the Old Testament books ?

## BOOKS OF WISDOM AND ECCLESIASTICUS.[1]

We notice the language of Gildas respecting the authorship of these books, because it leads us to observe that the Church in Britain about 540 was yet

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[1] Opinion is even now uncertain with respect to the dates of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus. Schürer, in the third edition of Herzog's *Encylopädie*, doubting

unenlightened by the correcter views which had begun to spread over the West through the writings of Jerome. This fact is deserving of notice, because it cannot fail to have some bearing upon the question of a late date for the *De Excidio.* The Greek lists, from those of Melito of Sardes and Origen (Eus., *H. E.*, iv, 26, 14; vi, 25, 2), and the "Apostolic Canons," as a rule, name only three books of Solomon. The last-named, for instance, gives Σαλομῶντος τρία· παροιμίαι, ἐκκλησιαστής, ᾆσμα ᾀσμάτων. So also does Athanasius, along with Gregory Nazianz, not to name any more. Consonant with this view, Jerome, in his Preface to the Books of Solomon, writes: "though broken down by a long illness, I have consecrated a three days' labour to your name, lest I should be entirely silent this year and mute towards you, that is, a translation of the three books of Solomon." The next lines refer to "the book of Jesus, the son of Sirach," and "and another pseudepigraphic book called Wisdom of Solomon." Even his bitter opponent, Rufinus, well read, however, in Greek ecclesiastical writings, writes: *Salomonis tres ecclesiis traditi*, and the Decretum Gelasii, *Salomonis libri* iii. But the *old* list of Cassiodorus names *Salomonis lib.* v, so also Mommsen's Cheltenham Codex; the Council of Hippo, after the Psalter of David, mentions *Salomonis libri quinque*, and Pope Innocent, in a Rescript of A.D. 405, likewise inserts in his list (*brevis*), *Salomonis libri quinque;*

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the possibility of Jerome's guess that Wisdom was written by Philo, is inclined to place it somewhere between 150 and 50 B.C., as the work of an unknown Alexandrian Jew. English writers generally understand "the 38th year of Euergetes," when the grandson of Jesus, son of Sirach, came to Egypt, as B.C. 132. The Greek version of his grandfather's book was made by him about that time, so that the Hebrew original may have been written about 190-170 B.C. This is the view of Schürer also.

Quid praeterea beatus Esdras propheta ille bibliotheca legis[1] minatus sit, attendite, hoc modo disceptans: *Haec dicit Dominus*

4 *Esdr.* xv, 22-27.

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[1] *Ille bibliotheca legis.* The explanation of this term as applied to Ezra may be found in the book itself. If 4 Esdras, or this particular part of it, be placed as late as some critics conclude (*c.* A.D. 286), then the tradition can be shown to have come into Christian communities long before it found expression there. In any case, it must be regarded as part of Jewish tradition respecting "the men of the Great Synagogue."

I quote from the Revised Version of xiv, 21: "For thy law is burnt, therefore no man knoweth the things that are done of thee, or of the works that shall be done. But if I have found favour before thee, send the holy spirit into me, and I shall write all that hath been done in the world since the beginning, even the things that were written in thy law . . . . So I took the five men, as he commanded me, and we went forth into the field, and remained there. And it came to pass on the morrow that, lo, a voice called me, saying, Esdras, open thy mouth, and drink that I give thee to drink. Then opened I my mouth, and, behold, there was reached unto me a full cup, which was full as it were with water, but the colour of it was like fire. And I took it and drank: and when I had drunk of it my heart uttered understanding, and wisdom grew in my breast, for my spirit retained its memory: and my mouth was opened, and shut

we have, moreover, *Liber Ecclesiasticus Salomonis* as the title of a Fragment published by Paul de Lagarde. Here is the tradition in which we find Gildas and the British Church ; to them Solomon is the author of five books, the two named above, along with the three found in our Bibles. *Such an opinion would have been impossible at the late date assigned by some writers to the De Excidio.*

If anybody were inclined to belittle Gildas and his countrymen, because about 540 they still held to these traditionary, but impossible, views respecting the authorship of these books, it would be well to remember that even the great Teacher of the West, Augustine, had very hazy ideas respecting the same question when writing the earlier books of the *De Doctrina Christiana:* this was in 397. "For two books," he writes, "one called Wisdom and the other Ecclesiasticus, are ascribed to Solomon from a certain resemblance of style, but the most likely opinion is that they were written by Jesus the son of Sirach" (ii, 8). Afterwards, in the *Retractationes*, ii, 4, written about 427, he corrects this statement : *non ita constare, sicut a me dictum est, postea didici et omnino probabilius comperi, non esse hunc eius libri auctorem.*

Solomon, we observe, is here called "prophet ;" this may be explained by the words of Augustine : "Next the Prophets, in which there is one book of David, the Psalms, and three of Solomon—Proverbs, Song of Songs and Ecclesiastes . . . . The remainder are the books of those strictly called Prophets." Isidore of Seville, also, who died A.D. 636, and is thus later than Gildas, in his *De Ordine Librorum S. Scripturae*, writes : "Occurrunt dehinc Prophetae, in quibus est Psalmorum liber unus, et Salomonis libri tres, Proverbiorum scilicet, Ecclesiastes et Cantica Canticorum." There was thus a sense in which, along with "the xvi Books of the Prophets," the books passing under the names of David and Solomon were regarded as prophetical. Gildas, we see, is far from standing alone in this application of the name.

60 Listen besides to what the blessed prophet Esdras, that volume of the law, has threatened, treating in this manner: *Thus says* 4 *Esdr.* xv, 22-27.

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no more. The Most High gave understanding unto the five men, and they wrote by course the things that were told them, in characters which they knew not, and they sat forty days : now they wrote in the day-time, and at night they ate bread. As for me, I spake in the day, and by night I held not my tongue. So in forty days were written four-score and fourteen books. And it came to pass, when the forty days were fulfilled, that the Most High spake unto me, saying, The first which thou hast written publish openly, and let the worthy and unworthy read it : but keep the seventy last, that thou mayest deliver them to such as be wise among thy people : for in them is the spring of understanding, the fountain of wisdom, and the stream of knowledge. And I did so." (The question of reading in this last passage can scarcely concern us.) The twenty-four books (94—70) which Esdras is to publish openly cannot but be the twenty-four books of the Old Testament canon, while the remaining seventy would be mystical or Apocryphal books. From this story came, with slight alteration and refinement, the idea that Ezra performed the task of collector or editor for the books of the Old Testament. In Irenaeus, v. 8 (*c.* A.D. 180), the story is told thus : "And this was nothing wonderful for God to do, who, in the captivity of the people under Nebuchadnezzar, when the Scriptures had been

meus: *non parcet dextera mea super peccantes*[1] *nec cessabit romphaea*[2] *super effundentes sanguinem innocuum super terram. Exibit*[3] *ignis ab ira mea et devorabit fundamenta terrae et peccatores quasi stramen incensum. Vae eis,*[4] *qui peccant*[5] *et non observant mandata mea, dicit Dominus, non parcam illis. Discedite, filii*[6] *apostatae, et nolite contaminare sanctificationem meam. Novit Deus qui peccant in eum, propterea tradet eos in mortem et in occisionem. Iam enim venerunt* (4 *Esdr.* xvi, 3-12.) *super orbem terrarum mala multa.*[7] *Inmissus est gladius vobis*[8] *ignis, et quis est qui recutiet*[9] *eà? Num quid recutiet*[10] *aliquis leonem esurientem in silva? Aut num quid extinguet*[11] *ignem, cum stramen incensum fuerit? Dominus Deus mittet mala et quis est qui recutiet*[12] *ea? Et exiet*[13] *ignis ex iracundia*[14] *eius et quis est qui extinguet eum? Coruscabit, et quis non timebit? tonabit, et quis non horrebit?*[15] *Deus comminabitur, et quis non terrebitur*[16] *a facie eius? tremet terra*[17] *et fundamenta maris fluctuantur de profundo.*

Ezechiel quoque propheta egregius quattuorque euangelicorum 61
*Ezech.* i, 23. animalium[18] mirandus inspector quid de sceleratis edixerit, attendite,

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destroyed, and the Jews had returned to their own country after seventy years, afterwards, in the time of Artaxerxes, King of the Persians, inspired Ezra the priest (ἐνέπνευσεν Ἔσδρᾳ τῷ ἱερεῖ), of the tribe of Levi, to relate all the words of the former prophets, and to restore to the people the legislation of Moses." Substantially the same tradition is found in Clem., *Al. Strom.*, i, 22; Tert., *De cult. poem.*, i, 3; Jerome, *Adv. Helv.*, 7; Pseudo-Aug., *De mirab.*, s. s. ii, 32, and continued to be accepted until the sixteenth century.

I add the following notes, with the help of Bensly's 4 Ezra, as edited by Dr. M. R. James, *Text and Studies*, iii, 2, THE FOURTH BOOK OF EZRA. A and D denote MSS. of Gildas.

[1] *Peccantes.* Cod. Sang. *peccatores.* [2] *Romphaea.* This Latinised form of ῥομφαία is found in *Sach.*, xiii, 7, as quoted by Tert., *Eug.*, 11, where the Vulgate has *framea.* It has been preserved in Rev. ii, 12: qui habet rhomphaeam utraque parte acutum. Even Livy (xxxi, 39), and Claud., *Epigr.*, 27; others also are quoted as employing it, but some in the form *rumpia.* A reads *rumpfea*, but Bensly's codices read *rumphea.* [3] *Exibit, deuorabit.* Cod. Sang. and Bensly's A Cod. Amb. read *exiit, deuorauit.* Two codices have *exiet*, a common Vulgate form of the Future. Vide Rönsch, *It. u. Vulg.*, p. 292, *composita* von *ire.* [4] *Eis*, Cod. Amb. *his.* [5] *Filii apostatae.* Cod. Sang. has by mistake *a potestate.* Bensly's text omits *et* before *nolite*, and inserts *Quoniam* before *nouit.* Cod. Amb. agrees with Gildas in reading *Deus.* Cod. Sang. and A (Gild.) have *Dominus*; also in omitting *omnes* before *qui.* [6] *Peccant* is supported, against D *peccauit*, by Cod. Amb.; *tradet eos*, A has *uos*, but Bensly's text *eos.* Cod. Sang. *tradidit eos ds.* [7] *Mala multa.* Bensly's text omits *multa*, but it is found in two codices, *Cod. Complutensis* and *Cod. Mazarinaeus* (Vide *Text and Studies*, lxix). [8] *Gladius uobis*, so Cod. Amb. [9] *Recutiet ea.* Cod. Amb. *eam*, Cod. Sang.

*my Lord, my right hand shall not spare sinners, neither shall the sword cease over them that shed innocent blood upon the earth. The fire shall go forth from my anger, and shall devour the foundations of the earth, and sinners like kindled straw. Woe unto them who sin and keep not my commandments, saith the Lord, I will not spare them. Depart ye apostate children, and defile not my holiness. God knoweth those that sin against Him, therefore He will deliver them unto death and unto destruction. For now have evils many come upon the whole earth. A sword of fire is sent upon you, and who shall turn* 4 *Esdr.* xvi, 3-12. *back those evils? Will anyone turn back a hungry lion in the wood? Or what shall quench fire, when the straw is kindled? The Lord God will send evils and who will turn them back? And fire shall go forth from His wrath, and who is he that shall quench it? He shall send lightning, and who shall not fear? He shall thunder, and who shall not dread it? God shall threaten, and who shall not be terrified before His face? The earth shall quake and the foundations of the sea move like waves from the deep.*

61 Listen also to what Ezekiel the famous prophet, the wonderful seer of the four beasts of the gospels, has said of the wicked. To *Ezek.* i. 23.

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first reading, *illud*, corr. *illum*. Between *illum* and *num quid* Bensly's text reads, *Inmissa sunt uobis mala, et quis est qui repellat ea ?* A has the same with the exception of *excutiet* for *repellat*. [10] *Recutiet*, so Cod. Amb., but Cod. Sang. *repellet*. [11] *Aut num quid extinguet*. Bensly's text : *aut extinguet ignem in stipula mox quae coeperit ardere*. Cod. Amb. *extinguit*, but the rest = Gildas. V. 7 in Bensly's text is omitted by Gildas : *Numquid aliquis repellet sagittam a sagittario forti missam*. [12] *Et quis est qui recutiet ea*. Bensly's text : *et quis repellet ea*. Cod. Amb. *recuciet*. [13] *Exiet:* here is the common Future of compounds of *ire* in the Vulgate ; above we have *exibit*. Cod. Amb. *exiet*, but correction *exit*. [14] *Ex iracundia :* Cod. Amb. *et iracundia*. Bensly's text has *extinguat* for *extinguet*. [15] *Horrebit*, so Cod. Amb., but Cod. Sang. *surgebit Deus comminabitur*, Cod. Sang. and Amb. *D'n's* but Cod. Amb. reads *comminatur* and D *cuncta minabitur*. [16] *Quis non terrebitur*. Bensly's text : *quis non funditus conteretur*. Cod. Sang. *conteritur*, so Cod. Amb. Dr. James adds, *conterretur? terretur?* terrebitur? [17] *Tremet terra*. Bensly's text : *Terra tremuit et fundamenta eius, mare fluctuatur de profundo ; tremuit*, reading of Cod. Sang., but Cod. Amb. = Gildas *tremet*, with corr. *tremit*.

[18] *Evangelicorum animalium*. Though Gildas could not have read the interpretation of the four faces of animals, mentioned by Jerome in the Commentary on Ezekiel, he may have been well acquainted with it from the Prologue to the Commentary on the first Gospel. In fact, we need not derive his familiarity with this symbolical representation of the four evangelists by the four animals which Ezekiel had seen, from any one writer. The idea is, at least, as old as Irenaeus (*c.* A.D. 180), and a mosaic in the apse of the Basilica

cui primum Dominus miserabiliter plagam Israel deflenti ait: *Ezech.* ix, 9. *Iniquitas domus Israel et Iuda invaluit nimis, quia impleta est terra* *Ezech.* v, 8, 11. *populis multis*[1] *et civitas impleta est iniquitate et inmunditia. Ecce ego sum. Non parcet oculus meus neque miserebor.* Et infra: *Ezech.* vii, 23-25. *Quoniam terra plena populis et civitas plena iniquitate est, et avertam impetum virtutis eorum et polluentur sancta eorum. Exoratio veniet* *Ezech.* xiv, 12-16. *et quaerent*[2] *pacem et non erit.* Et post aliquanta: *Factus est,* inquit, *sermo Domini ad me dicens: fili hominis, terra quae peccaverit mihi ut delinquat delictum, extendam manum meam et conteram eius firmamentum panis et emittam in eam famem et tollam de ea hominum et pecora. Etsi sint tres viri isti in medio eius Noe Daniel et Iob, non liberabunt eam, sed ipsi in sua iustitia salvi erunt, dicit Dominus. Quod si etiam bestias malas induceam super terram et puniam illam et erit in exterminium et non erit qui iter faciat a facie bestiarum et tres viri isti in medio eius sint, vivo ego, dicit Dominus, si filii et filiae eius liberabuntur, sed ipsi soli salvi erunt, terra autem* *Ezech.* xviii, 20-24. *erit in interitum.* Et iterum: *filius non accipiet iniustitiam patris neque pater accipiet iniustitiam filii. Iustitia iusti super ipsum erit. Et iniquus si avertat se ab omnibus iniquitatibus quas fecit et custodiat omnia mandata mea et faciat iustitiam et misericordiam multam, vita vivet et non morietur: omnia delicta eius, quaecumque fecit, non erunt: in sua iustitia, quam fecit, vita vivet. Num quid voluntate volo mortem iniusti, dicit Dominus, quam ut avertat se a via sua mala et vivat? cum se autem converterit iustus a iustitia sua et fecerit iniquitatem secundum omnes iniquitates, quas fecit iniquus,*

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of S. Pudenziana, dating from the time of Bishop Siricius (384-398), still survives to represent it. Schultze gives an engraving of this symbolic picture in *Archäologie der Altchr. Kunst*, s. 230. Gildas' reference to the symbolical animals in this passage is made in such a way as to imply that he and his readers were perfectly familiar with the symbols, and perhaps with pictorial representations of them. Zahn, in his *Forschungen zur Gesch. der neutestam. Kanons, und der altkirchl. Litterature*, vol. iii, 257, traces the following groups in the representation.

I. Matthew = Man; Mark = Lion; Luke = Ox; John = Eagle (Works of Theophilus, Victorinus, Epiphanius, Jerome, etc.).

II. Matthew = Man; Mark = Eagle; Luke = Ox; John = Lion (Irenaeus, Ambrose, etc.).

III. Matthew = Lion; Mark = Man; Luke = Ox; John = Eagle (Augustine, Primasius, Beda).

IV. Matthew = Man; Mark = Ox; Luke = Lion; John = Eagle (Pseudo-Athanasian Synopsis).

We see that the symbols varied in the Western Church, so that it would be impossible to tell which group would be met with in Britain. The probability

him first, as he piteously weeps the scourge of Israel, the Lord
says: *The iniquity of the house of Israel and of Judah hath grown* Ezek. ix, 9.
*exceeding great, because the land is full of many peoples and the city*
*is full of iniquity and uncleanness. Behold it is I. Mine eye shall* Ezek. v, 8, 11.
*not spare, neither will I have pity.* And below. *Because the land is* Ezek. vii, 23-25.
*full of peoples, and the city is full of iniquity, I will also turn away*
*the force of their prowess, and their holy places shall be polluted.*
*Supplication shall come, and they shall seek peace, and it shall not be.*
And after a while. *The word of the Lord*, he says, *came unto me* Ezek. xiv, 12-16.
*saying, Son of man, the land which shall sin against me to commit a*
*trespass, I will stretch out my hand and break her foundation of*
*bread, and send famine upon it, and take away from it man and*
*beast. Although those three men be in the midst of it, Noah, Daniel,*
*and Job, they shall not deliver it, but shall be themselves saved by*
*their righteousness, saith the Lord. Because if I bring noisome beasts*
*upon the land, and punish it, and it shall be a banishment, and there*
*shall not be to walk from the face of the beasts, and if those three*
*men be in the midst of it, as I live saith the Lord, its sons and*
*daughters shall not be delivered, yet they themselves alone shall be*
*saved, but the land shall be a desolation.* And again. *The son shall* Ezek. xviii, 20-24.
*not bear the iniquity of the father, nor shall the father bear the*
*iniquity of the son. The righteousness of the righteous shall be upon*
*himself. And the unjust man if he turn from all the iniquities*
*which he hath done, and keep all my commandments, and do righteous-*
*ness and plenteous mercy, he shall surely live and not die. All his*
*transgressions which he hath committed, shall not be: in the*
*righteousness which he hath done, he shall surely live. Do I, indeed,*
*desire the death of the unrighteous, saith the Lord, rather than that*
*he turn from his own evil way and live? But when the righteous*
*shall turn away from his righteousness and commit iniquity, accord-*
*ing to all the unrighteousnesses which the sinner hath committed,*

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would be strongly in favour of Group I, because found in the writings of Jerome. Zahn traces the tradition to some unknown exegete or homilist of the second century, who compared the Four Evangelists to the "four living creatures" which, according to Ezek. i, 10, drew the chariot of Jehovah, which, in Rev. iv, 7, is the throne of Christ.

[1] *Populis multis ei civitas impleta est.* These words are omitted in D and by the two first editors, also in Migne's edition. The reading is supported by A and by the LXX: λαῶν πολλῶν, καὶ ἡ πόλις ἐπλήσθη. The reading *miserebor* in next line is supported by the LXX against A, which reads *miserabitur*.

[2] *Quaeret*=ζητήσει. D, *quaerit*. Mommsen's edn., *quaerent*.

*omnes iustitiae, quas fecit, non erunt in memoria: in delicto suo, quo excidit, et in peccatis suis, quibus peccavit, morietur.* Et post (*Ezech.* xxxix, 23, 24.) aliquanta: *Et scient omnes gentes, quia propter peccata sua captivi ducti sunt domus Israel, eo quod reliquerunt me. Et averti faciem meam ab eis et tradidi eos in manus inimicorum eius et omnes gladio ceciderunt. Secundum immunditias suas et secundum iniquitates suas feci illis, et averti faciem meam ab eis.*

Haec de sanctorum prophetarum[1] minis dixisse sufficiat: pauca 62 tantum de sapientia Salomonis, quae adhortationem vel denuntiationem exprimant regibus non minus quam minas huic opusculo inserere necessarium duxi, ne dicant me gravia et importabilia in humeros hominum verborum onera velle imponere, digito autem (*Sap.* i, 1.) meo ea, id est consolatorio affatu, nolle movere. Audiamus itaque, quid propheta dixit.

*Diligite*,[2] inquit, *iustitiam, qui iudicatis terram.*

Hoc unum testimonium si toto corde servaretur, abunde ad corrigendum patriae duces sufficeret. Nam si dilexissent iustitiam, diligerent utique fontem quodammodo et originem totius iustitiae Deum.

(*Sap.* i, 1.) *Servite Domino*[3] *in bonitate*
*et in simplicitate cordis quaerite eum.*

Heu "quis victurus est," ut quidam ante nos[4] ait, "quando ista a (*Sap.* i, 2.) civibus perficiantur," si tamen usquam perfici possunt,

*quoniam invenitur ab his qui non temptant illum,*
*apparet autem eis, qui fidem habent in eum.*

Nam isti sine respectu temptant Deum, cuius praecepta contumaci despectione contemnunt nec fidem servant illi, cuius oraculis blandis vel aliquantulum severis dorsum versant et non faciem.

(*Sap.* i, 3.) *Perversae enim cogitationes separant a Deo.*

Et hoc in tyrannis nostri temporis perspicue deprehenditur. Sed quid nostra mediocritas[5] huic tam aperto sensui miscetur? loquatur

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[1] *Propheta:* regarding Solomon as "Prophet," see p. 139.

[2] *Diligite . . .* The quotations which begin here from the book of Wisdom and from Ecclesiasticus in the next section, as well as those already found in cc. 35, 36, agree in the main with the text found in the Vulgate Bibles. This is the Old Latin, as the books were not revised by Jerome. "Nullam aliam utrumque Libri Sapientiae et Ecclesiastici Latinam Versionem edidimus praeter illam quae prostat; hodieque legitur in S. Bibliis Vulgatae editionis: haec enim non differt ab Antiqua Versione Latina, seu, ut aiunt Italica; imo una et

*all the righteousnesses which he hath done, shall not be in remembrance. In his own trespass, by which he hath fallen, and in the sins by which he hath sinned, shall he die.* And after a while. *And all* Ezek. xxxix, 23, 24. *the nations shall know that it was on account of their sins the house of Israel were carried away captive, because they forsook me. And I have turned my face away from them, and delivered them into the hands of their enemies, and all have fallen by the sword. According to their uncleanness, and according to their transgressions, have I done unto them and have turned my face away from them.*

62 Let this be sufficient to say respecting the threats of the holy prophets. I have, however, thought it necessary to insert in this little work a few things from The Wisdom of Solomon, so as to declare exhortation or intimation to kings no less than threats, lest it should be said of me, that I wish to place burdens of words, heavy and grievous to be borne, upon the shoulders of men, but am unwilling to move them with my finger, that is, by a word of consolation. Let us hear, therefore, what the prophet hath said. *Love righteousness*, he says, *ye that judge the earth.* This one Wisdom i, 1. testimony, if it were kept with the whole heart, would abundantly suffice to set right the rulers of the land. For if they had loved righteousness, they would also certainly love the fountain, as it were, and source of all righteousness, even God. *Serve the Lord* Wisdom i, 1. *in goodness, and in singleness of heart seek ye him.* Alas! "who shall be alive," as someone before us says, "when those things are done by our citizens," if haply they can be done anywhere, *Because* Wisdom i, 2. *he is found of them that tempt him not, but appeareth unto them who have faith in him.* For those men tempt God without respect, whose precepts they despise with stubborn contumacy; nor do they keep faith towards him unto whose oracles, pleasant or partly severe, they turn their back and not their face. *For froward thoughts separate* Wisdom i, 3. *from God.* This is that which is chiefly observed in the tyrants of our time. But why is my insignificant self brought in where

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eademque est cum ipsa, si nonnullae excipiantur varietates, quae tamen duplicem non arguunt interpretatem."—Sabatier, vol. ii, p. 389.

M. Douais has published a Fragment which he considers older: "Une ancienne version latine de l'Ecclesiastique." Paris, 1895.

[3] *Servite Domino.* There is probably some error here: the reading is not supported by any authority apparently. The Greek is φρονήσατε περὶ τοῦ κυρίου ἐν ἀγαθοτήτῃ, for which the ordinary reading, *sentite de Domino in bonitate*, seems appropriate.

[4] *Ut quidam ante nos.* See cc. 38, 92.

[5] *Nostra mediocritas.* This term, or *parva nostra mediocritas*, used with a

namque pro nobis, ut diximus, qui solus verax est, Spiritus scilicet Sanctus,[1] de quo nunc dicitur:

*Sap.* i, 5. *spiritus autem sanctus disciplinae effugiet fictum.*

Et iterum:

*Sap.* i, 7. *quoniam spiritus Dei replevit orbem terrarum.*

Et infra finem malorum bonorumque oculato iudicio praetendens ait:

*Sap.* v, 15-17. *Quoniam spes impii tamquam lanugo est, quae a vento tollitur,*
*et tamquam[2] fumus, qui a vento diffusus est,*
*et tamquam spuma gracilis, quae a procella dispergitur,*
*et tamquam memoria hospitis unius diei praetereuntis.*
*Iusti autem in perpetuum vivent,*
*et apud Deum[3] est merces illorum,*
*et cogitatio eorum apud altissimum.*
*Ideo accipient regnum decoris,*
*et diadema speciei de manu Domini,*
*quoniam dextera sua proteget eos,*
*et brachio sancto suo defendet illos.*

Dissimiles etenim sunt qualitate, sunt valde iusti et impii, nimirum,
I *Sam.* ii, 30. ut dixit Dominus: *eos qui honorant,*[4] inquiens, *me, honorabo: et qui*
*Sap.* vi. 2-11. *me spernunt, erunt ignobiles.* Sed transeamus ad cetera:

*Audite, inquit, omnes[5] reges et intellegite,* 63
*discite, iudices finium terrae: praebete aures vos, qui continetis multitudines*
*et placetis vobis in turbis nationum.*
*Quoniam data est a Deo potestas vobis*
*et virtus ab altissimo,*
*qui interrogabit opera vestra et cogitationes scrutabitur:*
*quoniam cum essetis ministri regni illius, non recte iudicastis*
*neque custodistis legem iustitiae*
*neque secundum voluntatem eius ambulastis:*
*horrende et celeriter apparebit vobis,*
*quoniam iudicium durissimum his qui praesunt fiet.*
*Exiguis enim conceditur misericordia,*
*potentes autem potenter tormenta patientur.*
*Non enim personas subtrahet, qui est omnium dominator:*

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self-depreciatory intention, is frequent in Cyprian; we read it also in Lucifer of Cagliari and others. See c. 93.

the meaning is so manifest? For let him speak on my behalf, as I have said, who alone is true, that is to say, the Holy Spirit, of whom it is now said: *For a holy spirit of discipline will flee deceit.* Again: [*Wisdom* i, 5.] *Because the spirit of God hath filled the world.* And below, showing [*Wisdom* i, 7.] with clear judgment the end of evil and good, he says. *For the hope of the ungodly man is as the down of plants, that is carried away* [*Wisdom* v, 15-17.] *by the wind; and as the smoke that is dispersed by wind, and as the thin foam that is driven away by the storm, and as the remembrance of a guest that tarrieth but a day; but the righteous shall live for ever, and with God is their reward, and the care for them is with the Most High. Therefore shall they receive the kingdom of dignity, and the crown of beauty, from the Lord's hand: because with His right hand He shall cover them, and with His holy arm shall He protect them.* For unlike in quality are they; they are righteous and ungodly; there is no doubt of this, as the Lord has said, *I shall honour them* [1 *Sam.* ii, 30.]
63 *who honour me, and they that despise me shall be unknown.* But let us pass on to the other things. *Hear*, he says, *all ye kings and understand*, [*Wisdom* vi, 2-11] *learn ye judges of the ends of the earth. Give ear, ye that hold dominion over multitudes, and pride yourselves in crowds of nations. Because power was given you of God, and your strength from the Most High, who shall inquire into your works, and search out your counsels. Because, though ye were ministers of this kingdom, ye have not judged aright, nor kept the law of righteousness, nor walked according to His will; awfully and speedily shall He appear unto you, because a stern judgment shall be unto them that rule. For mercy is granted to the mean, but mighty men shall mightily suffer torments. For He who is Ruler of all will not thrust aside men's persons, nor will He reverence any man's greatness, because it is He*

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[1] *Spiritus scilicet Sanctus.* As usual with greater writers than he, and long before his time, with that striking weakness in exegesis which characterises so many Patristic writings, Gildas reads the New Testament meaning of Spiritus Sanctus into the clause of the Book of Wisdom: "a holy spirit of wisdom." For *autem*, MSS. of Vulg. read *enim.*

[2] *Et tamquam.* The order of two clauses is here inverted by Gildas.

[3] *Deum*, *eorum.* Vulg. *Dominum*, *illorum.*

[4] *Eos qui honorant.* This verse is found twice. See p. 93.

[5] The Vulg. readings omit *omnes;* and for *eius* have *Deus;* for *non*, *nec;* for *celeriter*, *cito;* for *personas*, *personam cuiusquam.*

*nec reverebitur*[1] *magnitudinem cuiusquam,*
*quoniam pusillum et magnum ipse fecit*
*et aequaliter cura est illi pro omnibus.*
*Fortioribus autem fortior instat cruciatio.*
*Ad vos ergo, reges, hi sunt sermones mei,*
*ut discatis sapientiam et non decidatis.*
*Qui enim custodierint iusta, iustificabuntur,*
*et qui didicerint sancta, sanctificabuntur.*

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[1] Vulgate reads for *reverebitur*, *verebitur;* omits *sunt;* for *decidatis*, *excidatis.*

*that hath made the mean and the great, and He hath care for all alike. But a very sore trial is at hand unto the mighty. Unto you, therefore, O kings, are these words of mine, that ye may learn wisdom, and fall not away. For they that have kept righteous things shall be justified, and they that have learnt holy things shall be made holy.*

# PART IV.

The second principal division of the work begins here. Perhaps, judging by references made to Gildas, it might be held that the sole interest of what he has written is at an end with c. 63, so that the portion now beginning has but small claims upon the notice of a student of history. It is true that this part is concerned chiefly with what might be termed Ecclesiastical Britain ; it is an appeal, in the foremost place, to the bishops of Britain, and, in a secondary, to the rest of the clergy ; there is no allusion to any secular ruler, nor hardly to the people, except as sufferers at the hands of unworthy ministers of the Church. Nevertheless, I feel that a truer estimate of the former half can be gained by a close study of this second half. The work is one piece, and allusions are made here to words used by the writer in the earlier parts of his work. His message to princes and judges, on the whole, is less self-contained than his message to his brother clergy, and, on that account, one feels that in his delivery of the second, Gildas, as a writer, stands upon a higher level. In aim and execution, the second portion is probably superior to the first. The dark picture, there, of cruelty and immorality, serves as a background for the darker picture here. Yet those tender touches, observed in his appeals to the princes, are even more frequent here. " Repent, I pray, and come to Christ," he says to one of his princes, " though thou labourest and art bent by thy heavy load ; He, according to His word, will give thee rest. Come to Him, who willeth not the sinner's death, but that he turn and live." In this part, he frankly confesses that his language is not as lenient as it might be, yet the invitations to a changed life are frequent ; his utterance, he confesses, is wrung from a wounded heart (*quod non absque dolore cordis fateor*).

If we were to ask the question, whether the work was in any way successful, I should feel inclined to reply, that there are many reasons for an affirmative answer. But, whilst the reader may be referred to the Introduction as to a detailed account of the grounds for this conclusion, it may be stated here that the success of the whole was due chiefly to this second part. *Gildas seems certainly to have gained the ear of the clergy;* a new age begins from his time in the British and Irish Churches. This book may well have been but part of a great propaganda, already at work, and issuing from the school of Illtud ; the friends by whose persuasion, as he tells us in the first chapter, his task was undertaken, were also zealously aiding his efforts. Therefore we find that the British " Saints " are of the sixth century, contemporaries and successors of Gildas, with a shadowy older figure or two, such as Dubricius and Paulinus, preceding them ; in Ireland, the men who filled it with monasteries, Finian of Clonard, Brendan, Kieran, Comgall, and others, are, by a very wide tradition, closely connected with Gildas and his younger friends. Finian, the founder of Clonard, had been a disciple of " the three holy men, Dewi, Cathmael and Gildas," at Kilmuine (Cil-mynyw) : Brendan, who founded Clonfert, and Kieran (Cieran) the founder of Clonmacnois, were brought up at Clonard, but Brendan is also represented

as betaking himself for more advanced training to Gildas in Wales ; Comgall, the founder of Bangor, and master of Columbanus, falls into the same line by his early connection with Clonmacnois.

1. There is one contribution, in way of historical evidence, furnished us by this division that deserves very special mention. Every page, almost every chapter from c. 65 to the end is full of references to the ministry of the Church as such. We read much of bishops, presbyters, priests, altars and preaching, but only an apologetic allusion to Monasticism in words that more than half disguise their true meaning. Here is certainly a very marked feature ; in this specially ecclesiastical portion of the work, there is found no mention of Monasticism as part of the public life of Christianity in this island. But that Christianity which is rightly regarded as possessing a peculiarly Celtic stamp, and which we connect in our thoughts with these islands, is one having the monastery as the centre of both its religious activity and its government. For it, the abbot is more important than the bishop : the cloister, with fresh accretions derived from native customs, absorbs the *ecclesia*. It becomes, however, very evident as we read these pages that the Church, of which and to which Gildas writes, is in no way organised after this model ; we find it to be a Church having the customary episcopal constitution. There is no lack of material for understanding what the ecclesiastical development had become elsewhere, or was becoming, during the sixth century ; therefore it is a matter of no small moment to find that in Britain, so far as the evidence of this work goes, we have at that time a Church of the same type as elsewhere, only somewhat more antiquated. We are thus able to infer *that the distinctively Celtic type of Church must have been developed subsequently to c.* A.D. 540. Gildas will probably witness its rise and growth, after years of toil ; he shall see it, but not yet ; he himself is one of the builders of the new fabric.

2. We observe that no complaint is uttered by the writer, in respect of schism, or any peculiarity of ritual. It is true that schism is once mentioned, just as Novatus is also named, yet there is nothing to lead us into a suspicion of separation from the Catholic Church beyond the fact that individual men, proud and unscrupulous, who return home from abroad, themselves as *nova quaedam plasmata*, had been irregularly ordained. Neither can one find any trace of heresy in these pages, so that the Church is in the enjoyment of rest and quiet in this respect, as well as of the outward peace which followed the siege of Badon Hill. Gildas, had he found it necessary to inveigh against aberrations of doctrine or canonical irregularities, would have proved, no doubt, a far more interesting writer : his name would have been surrounded by a cloud of commentators, and every sentence in his book would have formed the text of disquisitions, marking peculiar currents of thought, or type of irregularities. He is, however, a writer whose sole aim is to stimulate the inner and spiritual life ; he is, therefore, in some sense, uninteresting. But as in this part there occurs such frequent mention of bishops and presbyters, of

priests and altars, it may be well to endeavour to form an idea what manner of man a bishop of the sixth century might have been in Britain. We shall make this attempt so as to prevent our coming to Gildas with ideas derived from modern times, or even from mediæval, or worse still, from primitive Christian times. The subject will, no doubt, be too familiar to several who may read these pages ; but one feels convinced that there are others who cherish a passionate interest in the history of the past, for whom it will be an advantage to be placed, if possible, in a proper position to read the terms found in this part of Gildas, as they were understood in his time.

Whatever theory be held respecting the rise of the episcopate in the Church, it will be universally conceded that, between A.D. 150 and A.D. 200, monarchic episcopacy had become the rule throughout all Christendom. By this is meant, that about the time mentioned, no Church, as far as history knows, regarded the regular ministry of the Church except as consisting of bishop, presbyters and deacons. That, moreover, by about 200-250, it had become customary to regard all bishops as priests also, will, I believe, be accepted everywhere ; but it was not customary until the time of Jerome (340-420), and Augustine (354-430), to give the title of priest (*sacerdos*) to presbyters as well as bishops. From about A.D. 400, in round numbers, priesthood (*sacerdotium*) was thus regarded as a holy function of both orders, and yet frequently the term priest was applied *par eminence*, and without qualification, to the bishop alone.

In this book, a work of the sixth century, we accordingly find bishops, presbyters and deacons in great numbers, and further, the presbyteral chair, as well as the episcopal, is a priest's chair (*sacerdotalis sedes*) ; all the bishops hold the "apostolic see," because every bishop is a "successor of Peter ;" they are successors of the Apostles ; they, together with the presbyters, have power to bind and loose ; authority to pronounce absolution belongs to the two orders. Being priests, they have, as such, altar and sacrifice ; in Britain it is just as in Gaul ; the same ideas prevail here as elsewhere.

Gildas is silent as to any distinctions of authority among bishops, and there are weighty reasons for concluding that the Metropolitan system had, at that time, no place in Britain. Moreover, his words in reference to the large number of bishops, "if not too many, certainly not too few," and what is known from other sources respecting the subsequent history of the Church in Ireland, imply that "Diocesan" episcopacy did not prevail among the Britons in his time. This means that every separate community, or a very small group of churches, had its own bishop ; it would have as well its own presbyters and deacons ; Gildas does not mention the so-called minor orders, sub-deacons, acolytes, exorcists, lectors, ostiarii, though they seem to be implied in the words *quemlibet gradum* (c. 66).

We find that there was used in the Gallic and Spanish Churches, during the second half of the fifth century and the sixth, a short body or digest of church rules or canons, called *Statuta Ecclesiae Antiqua*.* Maassen, in his *Geschichte der Quellen und der Literatur des canonischen Rechts*, i, 382-394, has given a very full account of this interesting collection, concluding that it

* I use the *St. Eccl. Ant.* as printed in Migne, Opp. S. Leonis Magni, iii, 879 ff. On the reception and diffusion of "ce petit recueil de droit canonique" in Gaul, cf. Duchesne, *Fastes Episcopaux de l'anc. Gaule*, Tome ii, 248 (1899).

was drawn up by an unknown author in Gaul sometime after A.D. 450. It was extensively used in that country, and may be regarded as summarising the ways and aims of church usages for Western Europe during the fifth and sixth centuries. We have, indeed, no evidence of its use in Britain, but it would be no great error to regard it as a very probable representation of the qualifications expected in a British bishop, of his election and ordination to office, and of his life and work afterwards; we see in it also, as in a mirror, a picture of the *clericus* of every grade, his ordination and subsequent services for the church in which he is constituted. Besides its bishop, presbyters and deacons, a church (that is, a single community) has also its sub-deacons, acolytes, exorcists, readers and ostiarii.

Canon 2, of the *Statuta Ecclesiae Antiqua*, directs "that a bishop when in church and seated along with the presbyters, is to occupy a higher position than they, but in the house is "to regard himself as the colleague of the presbyters;" canon 3 "that a bishop is not to involve himself in private affairs, but to devote his time to reading, prayer, and the preaching of God's word;" canon 4, "that a bishop should have plain (*vilem*) furniture, a poor table and raiment, and should seek the authority of his dignified position, by faith and the deserts of a good life." He must, by canon 10, not ordain clerics without taking counsel of his co-presbyters, and is also to seek the assent and testimony of the citizens; he is to hear no cause without the presence of his clergy; the sentence pronounced by him will not have validity unless confirmed in their presence. Canon 29 directs "that a cleric is to provide himself with food and clothing by some handicraft (*artificiolo*) or by agriculture, provided it be not to the detriment of his office;" so also canon 45, "all clerics strong enough to work, must learn a trade and literature (*litteras*)." Further, any donation, or sale, or exchange of church property by the bishop, will be invalid, unless it be done by the knowledge and the subscription of the clerics; a bishop should bear in mind to exhort dissentient brethren, whether clerical or lay, to peace rather than judgment; the exorcists are to impose hands every day upon the *energumeni* (those possessed by evil spirits); the priests are to impose hands at every time of fast upon the penitent; priests are to refuse the offerings of those who oppress the poor. (On ordination in Britain, see notes to cc. 106-108.)

These extracts, one may conjecture, serve to show us the kind of bishops and clergy that Gildas had in view in the present work. The episcopal office was evidently a position of great influence, open to gravest misuse at all times, but, as described in this book, extensively degraded by pride, laxity of morals, and extreme neglect of duty. It was also a position which base-minded bishops could turn into a source of personal gain. Such men had "bought their priesthoods" for money; they were not averse to spending all their wealth in order to secure the episcopal chair. Nevertheless, through the thick cloud of dark invective, we can discern that the position of the church and its ministry in Britain was indisputably strong. Gildas himself confesses that good men were not wanting; there were, he avers, many whose pastoral life he admired; there was also a small remnant, *hardly known by the Church*, whose life he not only praised, but thirsted, some day before he died, to share; these must have been the monks or, more strictly, the eremites.

Not a single word is said by Gildas respecting any council or synod to be held for the redress of grievances, or reformation of morals. In Gaul during the fifth and sixth centuries, synods formed an important factor of Church

life, but it may be that Gildas had lost hope of any good from such gatherings.*

3. This part of the book discloses to us a way of regarding men that seems to betoken a grasp on the part of the writer of the true need of the time. We see two distinct classes, and a glimpse is afforded us of a third. There are first of all the dissolute and simoniacal men, who aim at the bishop's office from avarice (*vas episcopatum magnopere avaritiae gratia cupitis*), *insipientes pastores*, *pastores imperiti*, *falsi sacerdotes*, *inertes sacerdotes*, *dolosi doctores*, *pravi antistites*, *inordinati sacerdotes*. We are bound to remember that zealot no less than cynic is apt to exaggerate; and so we have left us a corner for a generous doubt, whether, after all, spiritual affairs were quite so bad as they are pictured by the writer. But it is when we turn to the second class that we find the real Gildas. One could have wished that he had worked it out to clearer issue. These are those against whom no charge can be made, upon the score of schism, or supercilious pride, or uncleanness of life. Now while the matter of his invective against these good men is, of necessity, different from that against the bad priests of his time, it is, nevertheless, quite as severe. To him they were the indolent good, and no lenity is admissible in their case; there is a disdainful tone in his indignation against them. But his long clumsy sentences took effect; he had suggested a deep great need—the need of devoted earnestness, of severer "rigour and vigour," and when the new spirit came, it found a new way in a revived monasticism of a peculiarly Celtic stamp.

I have mentioned a third class; they are the priests whom our author loved. Of such are the men who have obtained "the apostolic chair" in a regular way (*legitime*, *legitimus pastor*); Gildas, apparently, was a good canonist, though his language was so unrestrained. They are the good and experienced pastors (*pastor peritus*), men skilled to dispense spiritual food (*spiritalia cibaria*) for their Lord's household. These are the true priests, and he will not deny that they are numerous, even "in the present times" (c. 92).

4. A perusal of this part leads to other conclusions not devoid of interest. In the first place, the general tenor of it leaves upon the mind the impression that the whole country was Christian—at least in name. No charge is made against the clergy that would lead us to infer any connection with non-Christian or anti-Christian usages; as in the former part the princes are Christians, one of them having been a monk, so here the clergy are ministers of a Christian people. We find confirmation of this in the early traditions of the kings and magnates who, accompanied by numerous bishops and clergy, emigrated to Armorica.

In c. 67 Gildas describes how men who failed to secure ordination in the church (*parochia*) in which they sought the episcopal honour, were, nevertheless, by sending embassies before them, and themselves sailing across the

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* Cf. *Sinodus Aquilonalis Britanniae*, *Sinodus Luci Victoriae*, Wasserschleben, Bussordnungen, 103, 104. Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, i. 116. Ecclesiastical Latin has, in this connection, left its impress upon the Welsh language in the borrowed word *senedd* (=council, *e.g.*, "Senedd Vrevi"), which is only another form of *synodus* or *sinodus*, or more probably of *senodus*, as the word appears in several MSS. of Irish collections of canons mentioned by Maassen (p. 877).

seas, able to grasp this much-coveted prize. We seem to have in this passage a reminiscence of c. 25, which informs us that those parts beyond seas, in worthier aid, had secured an asylum for many from the sword of the Saxons (*alii transmarinas regiones petebant cum ululato magno*). The passage to which reference is now made, no less than that in c. 25, presupposes a long and well-established community, where churches might be strong and individual bishops influential. Such a place these ambitious men would find in Armorica, where countrymen of theirs had been settled since no very recent date. One is slightly puzzled at first, in reading some of the *Vitae*, such as, for instance, that of Paul Aurelian, at coming across not only the name Britannia, but such old names of districts or kingdoms as *Damnonia* and *Cornubia*, in Britanny. These names were carried over, just as "Plymouth" and "Boston," and more recently "Cambria," were carried to America. It has been well argued of late that the settlement in Armorica was older than the Saxon invasion of Britain, and continued long after the time referred to by Gildas in c. 25. It consisted chiefly of tribes not affected by the ravages of the Saxons until after the time at which Gildas wrote this work, and was probably pacific in character.* But what concerns us chiefly is the fact that British ecclesiastical life, thus transferred quietly to a new soil, stood in bold contrast with the more developed life of the native Gallic church ; the same in essentials, yet different because of an older type. In Gaul, the bishops were few in number and the organization of Metropolitans had taken strong hold of the country, so that British usages, in the neighbourhood of these Gallic Metropolitans, seem to have appeared teeming with abuses and irregularities. We find Licinius, who was Metropolitan of Tours from 509 to 521, addressing a letter to two presbyters of Brittany, deprecating their transgression of canonical regulations, but particularly in reference to the very usage condemned by Gildas, in c. 66, as to unseemly intercourse of priests, under specious disguises, with women.† The Council of Tours, in 567, thought fit specially to determine: "that bishops should not be ordained in Britain (*i.e.*, Britanny) without the consent of the metropolitan and his co-provincials" (*Conc. Turin.*, c. 9). Such a decision implies that ordinations of an irregular character—irregular according to the more advanced usage of Gaul—had been going on for a long time ; this explains c. 67 ; and there can be no doubt that, judged by canonical usage, the three ordinations, described in the Life of Paul of Leon in Armoric Damnonia, must have fallen under like censure. The last, however, presupposes the newer, later, and specially Celtic organization, as were also the foundations of Tudwal at Tréguier, Brioc at Champ du Rouvre, Malo (Maclovius) at Aleth, and Samson at Dol. The British lived a life apart, tenacious of ways that had become antiquated in the country to which they had migrated, as well as of others created by themselves.

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* Cf. esp., *La Colonization de l'Armorique par les Bretons insulaires.* Par le R. P. Dom Bède Plaine, O.S.B. (1899), and the rich material found in the work referred to before, Loth, *L'Emigration bretonne en Armorique.*

† M. de la Borderie, *Histoire de Bretagne*, ii, 527.

*The writer's feelings with respect to the princes so severely censured in the preceding part. Motives as to intending attack upon the clergy.*

HACTENUS cum regibus patriae non minus prophetarum oraculis 64
quam nostris sermonibus disceptavimus, volentes eos scire, quae
*Ecclus.* xxi, 2, 3. propheta dixerat: *Quasi*, inquiens, *a facie colubri fuge peccata: si accesseris ad illa, suscipient te dentes leonis, dentes eius interficientes*
*Ecclus.* xvii, 28. *animas hominum.* Et iterum: *Quam magna misericordia Domini et propitiatio eius convertentibus ad se.*[1] Et si non habemus[2] in nobis
*Rom.* ix, 3. illud apostolicum, ut dicamus: *Optabam enim anathema esse a*
*Micah* vii, 2 (?). *Christo pro fratribus meis*, tamen illud propheticum toto corde possimus dicere: *Heu quia anima perit!*[3] Et iterum:

*Thren.* iii, 40. *Scrutemur vias nostras et quaeramus et revertamur ad Dominum: levemus corda nostra cum manibus ad Deum in caelo.*

*Phil.* i, 8. Sed et illud apostolicum: *cupimus unumquemque vestrum*[4] *in visceribus Christi esse.*

Quam enim libenter hoc in loco ac si marinis fluctibus iactatus 65
et in optato evectus portu remis, si non tantos talesque malitiae episcoporum vel ceterorum sacerdotum aut clericorum in nostro quoque ordine[5] erigi adversus Deum vidissem montes, quos me

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[1] *Ad se.* The meaning of *se*, preceded by *eius*, is fixed by the LXX,

ὡς μεγάλη ἡ ἐλεημοσύνη τοῦ κυρίου,
καὶ ἐξιλασμὸς τοῖς ἐπιστρέφουσιν ἐπ' αὐτόν.

[2] *Et si non habemus . . .* This sentence is a good instance of the vein of real modesty which runs through this work; it does not in any way impress us as the empty mannerism of conventional self-depreciation. Gildas halts with modest self-fear at the saying: "I could wish that I were anathema from Christ for my brethren's sake;" but with a full heart (*toto corde*) he can use other words, such as those of the prophet Micah: "Alas! a soul is perishing." There is earnest grief in these touching words of that prophet whose mission it was to rebuke the moral condition of both people and princes. The reality of modest affectionate sorrow, on the part of Gildas, for those addressed by him is clear, and it leads us to look at other words of his which will all the more be felt to have the same ring of sincerity. "Constrained by my own reasonings or by the pious entreaties of brethren, I now pay the debt long ago exacted. The work is indeed poor; but, as I think, it is faithful and friendly to every disciple of Christ, though weighty and hard to bear, for foolish apostates" (c. 1). We call to mind also his anxiety to help men to carry the burden he brings, by words of encouragement and consolation (*consolatorio affatu*) (c. 62). "Me, poor though I am, thou holdest of no moment, and yet I observe the prophet's word with earnest affectionateness of soul" (c. 36). "Surely I shall put forth what I feel: the denunciation might, no doubt, be softer, but what boots it merely to touch

*The writer's feelings with respect to the princes so severely censured in the preceding part. Motives as to intending attack upon the clergy.*

64 So far, I have argued with the kings of my country no less by oracles of prophets than by my own words, desiring that they should know what the prophet had said: *Flee from sins*, he says, *as from the face of a serpent; if thou draw nigh unto them, the teeth of a lion shall catch thee, their teeth that slay the souls of men.* (*Ecclus.* xxi, 2, 3.) And again: *How great is the mercy of the Lord, and His reconciliation unto them that turn unto Him.* (*Ecclus.* xvii, 28.) If I have not in me that apostolic word, that I should say, *I could wish to be an anathema from Christ for my brethren*, (*Rom.* ix, 3.) I could, nevertheless, say that word of the prophet with my whole heart: *Alas! a soul perisheth.* (*Micah* vii, 2 (?).) Again: *Let us search and try our ways, and return unto the Lord; let us lift up our hearts with our hands unto God in heaven;* (*Lam.* iii, 40.) but also that apostolic saying, *We desire every one of you to be in the bowels of Christ.* (*Phil.* i, 9.)

65 How gladly, in this place, as one tossed by the waves of the sea, and carried into the desired haven by the oars, would I, under the prompting of modesty, take my rest, did I not see mountains so great, and of such a kind, of the evil committed by bishops or the other priests, or by clergy of my own order also, raised up against God. These must I first, according to the law, as the witnesses (*Deut.* xvii, 7.)

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the wound with the hand and smear it with ointment, when there is need of the branding iron, and the open treatment of fire." I feel we have not read Gildas in the right way, if we do not perceive and appreciate his earnest moderation, as well as that something else, the fashion and temper of his time, which leads us to speak of him only as rhetorical or declamatory.

[3] *Heu, quia anima perit.* Mommsen's edition (*Mon. Germ. Hist.*) refers these words to Jerem. iv, 10, where the Vulgate reads *Heu, heu, heu, Domine Deus, ergone decepisti populum istum et Jerusalem.* Micah, vii, 2, seems far nearer, as quoted again in c. 86: *heu me; anima quia periit;* they are a rude rendering of οἴμοι ψυχή ὅτι ἀπόλωλεν εὐσεβής, with the omission of εὐσεβής.

[4] *Cupimus unumquemque.* There may be here an intentional variation of the text, but it looks like an Old Latin rendering, inexact, no doubt, but impressive. The Vulgate is: *quomodo cupiam omnes vos in visceribus Christi Jesu.*

[5] *Episcoporum vel ceterorum sacerdotum aut clericorum in nostro quoque ordine.* The peculiar use of *vel* preceding *aut* in this clause, renders the meaning somewhat difficult to deduce. Is it two classes or three that are indicated? We may be helped in arriving at a decision by observing that in late Latin writers *vel* has frequently the meaning of *et*, e.g., Fulgentius (*pro fid. cath.*, p. 537) quotes Rev. xix, 16: et habebat in vestimento *vel* (in Greek καὶ)

*Deut.* xvii, 7. secundum legem, ceu testes, primum duris verborum cautibus, dein populum, si tamen sanctionibus inhaeret, non ut corporaliter interficiantur, sed mortui vitiis vivant Deo, ne personarum arguar

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in femore suo scriptum: the Chronographer of A.D. 354 has: Odenatus *vel* Aureolus in Italia tyranni fuerunt, 234, 14: the Anon. of Valesius: cunctus senatus *vel* populus. These and many other instances are given in Rönsch, *Collectanea philol.*, pp. 51, 826; also *Itala und Vulgata*, p. 345.

Three classes may thus be regarded as implied in these words. (1) The bishops (*episcopi*), (2) the other priests, that is, the presbyters associated with the bishops (*ceteri sacerdotes*), (3) the clergy, bishops, presbyters or deacons that had adopted the monastic life (*clerici in nostro—i.e. monachorum—ordine*). The message of Gildas is directed first of all and mainly to bishops, then to other clerics. He nowhere implies that there was any other function in the Church important enough to be addressed by him; this fact seems to dispose of the attempt made to find, in Gildas' time, the *ordo inusitatus* described by Beda as prevailing at Iona, and probably at Holy Island and other places, where ecclesiastical jurisdiction was in the hands of Abbots (*H. E.*, iii, 4; iii, 5, 17, 25. *Vita S. Cudb.*, c. xvi). Cf. Reeves' *Adamnan*, and Dr. Bright's *Early English Church History*, 135 ff.

The only monks included by Gildas in his message were clerics, and his appeal is not directed to anyone holding any such monastic office as Abbot of a monastery. But his bishops, further, cannot be "diocesan" bishops; they have their *parochiae* (c. 67), but are so numerous, good as well as bad, as to be, in his opinion, in excess of the requirements of the Church; if not too many, there were certainly, he says, not too few. We seem to find ourselves in Britain face to face with the *older* kind of episcopacy which we meet with, for instance, in Africa and Italy, about A.D. 250, when the Bishop of Rome and the Bishop of Carthage could bring together a council, the one of sixty, the other of ninety bishops. By the fourth and fifth centuries, sees could be counted by hundreds in either of the countries named. The state of things in the later Church of Ireland which astounded St. Bernard, when he wrote his *Life of Malachias*, would seem to fit Britain in the time of Gildas, that it is say, there were almost as many bishops as churches (*ita ut singulae pene ecclesiae singulos haberent episcopos—De Vita Mal.*, *c.* 10). Many reminiscences of this "congregational episcopacy," as it has been called, have filtered down into the Welsh hagiographical writings. The *Life of Teilo* represents him, as "of his own counsel, consecrating Ishmael for the Church of Menevia, because Dewi had migrated to the Lord"; but, "many other men, also of the same order, did he raise to the episcopate, sending them throughout the country, and distributing *parochiae* to them, as was convenient for clergy and people."

It is worthy of note that Gildas, with his heavy indictment of crimes against the bishops, nowhere mentions any ecclesiastical authority, either of Synod or of Metropolitan, that might be expected to take disciplinary cognizance of the irregularities involved in those misdeeds. Wasserschleben has remarked, with respect to the Irish Canons, which belong to a time later than Gildas, how bare those canons are of any reference to organisation in Ireland, uniting different communities and securing ecclesiastical jurisdiction: the relation of bishops to Archbishops as Heads of Provinces is but barely mentioned in them.

did, with rough stones of words, and then the people, if they cling to the decrees, stone with all our might, not that they may be killed in the body, but, by being dead unto sins, they may live unto God. This

"Auffallend ist es"—these are his own words—"dass die Sammlung nur sehr spärlich Bestimungen aufgenommen hat, welche die Kirchliche Verfassung und die Gliederung der Organe für die Kirchliche Jurisdiktion regeln. Die Organisation der Kirche in Diözesen und Provinzen, das Verhältniss der Bischöfe, als Leiter der ezteren, ze den Erzbischöben, als Haupten der Provinzen, ist nur selten berührt." (*Die irische Kanonensammlung*, xxxvi.)

(2) The second expression, *ceteri sacerdotes*, implies, as in fact the whole language of this part implies, the same idea as prevailed elsewhere by that time, that the ministry of the Church is a priestly one. In the first rank, and unless otherwise limited, it is the bishops that are *the* priests, but the name *sacerdotes* is also applied to presbyters : the chair of both presbyter and bishop is a priest's chair (*post sacerdotalem episcopatus vel presbyterii sedem*, c. 66). Gildas has not yet, nor the usage of his time, arrived at the terminology found in Wasserschleben's Irish Canons, viz., *episcopus*, *sacerdos*, *diaconus*. It is not quite out of place to remind ourselves that the application of the term "priest" (*sacerdos*) to presbyters was not usual before the end of the fourth century. For Tertullian and Cyprian, the *sacerdos* is the bishop only. Koffmane mentions one instance (*Ep.* 67, 4) in the writings of Cyprian, where *sacerdos* may be taken as another term for *presbyterus* ; but it does not, I feel on reading the whole context, seem to bear out his statement. Ritschl maintains that the priesthood of presbyters is implied in a few passages (*Epp.*, 61, 3 ; 72, 2 ; 5, 2), yet his view has been disputed (*Studia Biblica*, vol. iv, 258).*

This early limitation of the term "priest," prevails in Gildas to the extent that his reference to presbyters is quite secondary ; there could hardly be, at his time, any presbyters in sole charge of a church : *altari et sacrificiis deserviunt*, to use words of Cyprian in regard to them, in the same church as the bishop, or in churches under his immediate personal supervision. They were, however, regarded as priests in Britain ; and conformably with this idea of their and the bishop's office, we not only find frequent use of such terms as "altars" and "sacrifices," by Gildas, in allusion to the Eucharist, but also "offering *for*," or "making sacrifice *for*" : *pro bonis regibus*, he says, *sacra debemus offerre* (*De Poen.*, xxiii). The doctrine of the Eucharist and the ministry of the Church, which Britain knew, is evidently the same, let us say, as that of the Roman bishop, who lived not long after Gildas, Gregory the Great (590—604) ; or, in other words, it is that which, by a natural development, grew to be the mediæval doctrine.

* One fact suggested by the work to which reference has been made—*Cyprian von Karthaga und die Verfassung der Kirche*—seems to have a peculiar cogency for us : while the noun is *sacerdos*, the verb is generally *offere*, and though the noun may not be applied to presbyters, the verb *is* used of them: they are said "to offer" (*offerunt*). Now, in the Welsh language, the substantive *sacerdos* seems to have left no derivative, as in the Irish and Gaelic languages, but the verb has remained in *offeiriad* (priest) and *offeren* (mass, *offerenda*).

exceptionis, totis necesse est viribus lapidare, verecundia interveniente quiescerem. Sed mihi quaeso, ut iam in superioribus dixi, ab his veniam impertiri,[1] quorum vitam non solum laudo, verum

(3) The words *in nostro ordine* cannot but refer to the *ordo* of monks, implying also that the writer is himself a monk, one of these very *clerici*. Had he intended a reference to any one of the three clerical orders, he would have used *gradus*, as he, in fact, does in c. 66. Jerome, in a terribly severe chapter of his *Ep. ad Eustochium*, says, almost anticipating the diatribes of Gildas: "Sunt alii, *de mei ordinis hominibus loquor*, qui ideo presbyteratum et diaconatum ambiunt, ut mulieres licentius videant" (*Ep.* 22, 28). Monks, of course, as such were laymen; the great movement was originally a lay movement. I may mention an exhaustive account by Dr. Grützmacher* of early monasticism, in which he has embodied conclusions derived from the Coptic sources published in the *Annales du Musée Guimet* (Tome xxii, Paris), as well as from Greek and Latin writers. He shows how Pachomius insisted that even presbyters who joined his discipline must, as members of his community, be laymen. He monachized the clergy, thereby preparing the way for clericizing the monks. During the age preceding that in which Gildas was born, many of the most influential men of Western Christianity were clerics that had been trained as monks. After describing the life observed in the monastery over which St. Martin of Tours presided, Sulpicius Severus adds: "A great number of them we see afterwards as bishops; for what city or church was there, which did not wish to have its priest (*i.e.*, bishop) from the monastery of Martinus" (*Vita Mart.*, 10). Eucher also, describing the southern centre of monasticism, on the island of Lerins, exclaims: "that worthy island which rears distinguished monks, and produces active, eager priests" (*De Laude Eremi*, 42). Copious evidence to the same effect may be read in Arnold's *Cäsarius von Arles*, 41, n. This fresh invigorating flood of new life could not fail to find its way to Britain; the previous age, upon the memory of which Gildas longingly dwells, may have been due to men in the ministry of the Church, who had experienced the elevation in which such men as Eucher exulted. The earliest instance that I can find of such a monk-bishop in Britain, is a friend of Faustus, the third abbot of Lerins, who was himself a Briton. Faustus was abbot of the monastery of Lerins from 433 to 460, and afterwards bishop of Riez (*civitas Regiensis*) until his death about 495. Apollinaris Sidonius, from whom we have an interesting account of the British lady that was Faustus' mother, relates also, how Faustus sent two of his writings to Britain by the hands of a fellow-countryman, Riocatus. This Riocatus is styled bishop and monk—*antistes ac monachus* (*Mon. Hist. Germ.*, viii, 157). He must have had many comrades and successors in that double capacity.

The oldest Welsh *Vitae*, or Lives of Saints, a few of which may date from a very early period, such as Vita Samsonis (*Anal. Bollandiana*), represent these men as abbots and bishops: they were probably the originators of the Welsh *llan*, which, as the author of the *Vita Pauli Leonensis* explains it, means monastery (*Lanna Pauli, id est, monasterium Pauli*). Such were Dewi Sant, Samson, Paul Aurelian, Maclovius (St. Malo), Dubricius, Teilo and others: a large number of the "saints" (= monks in Welsh hagiography) who crossed to

* *Pachomius und das älteste Klosterleben*, 1896.

I do lest I be accused of making an exception of persons. Yet, as I have already said in the former part, I crave pardon from those whose life I not only praise, but even prefer to all the wealth of the

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Armorica in the sixth century were bishops. Beda's account of Irish monasteries of the north, Iona and Lindisfarne, shows that there were bishops who led a cœnobite life unattached to any *parochiae*. *The Life of Dewi Sant* also mentions another bishop, Gwislianus, who lived with him as a simple monk, and the consecration of deacons and presbyters within the monasteries is a feature common to most of the Welsh *Lives*.

It seems evident that Gildas expected a higher sense of rectitude and devotion from this third class than from the other two.

[1] *Ab his veniam impertiri*. Peculiar significance attaches to the "few" whom Gildas excludes, or partially excludes, from his general invective. Besides the present passage, a similar allusion will be found in cc. 26, 69, 92, 109. It is to the first of these—c. 26—that he refers in the words *ut iam in superioribus dixi*; and when the words used here, and in that section, are compared with those of the other sections named, we find that Gildas recognises two classes as standing outside the mass of those repudiated by him:—

(1) In the first class are those who, so few in number (*tam brevis numerus*), that the Church, their mother, does not know them as her own real sons, who nevertheless lead a "noble life admired of all, beloved of God," whose prayers also had been the writer's firm support in the past. So far extends the description conveyed in the section named. These we have already understood to be the monks of his time. The present section adds, that the life of these men is one which Gildas not only praises, but prefers to all the world's wealth; in which, also, he earnestly hopes, some day, to have a share, if possible (*si fieri possit*). But we have seen that he is already a monk. What, then, can such a hope imply? An answer is furnished in the Epistle of Columbanus to Pope Gregory the Great, written sometime about A.D. 595. The Irish missionary and founder of monasteries is disturbed by a new current of the ascetic life: monks, he informs the Roman bishop, are seeking desert places in the wilderness, impelled thereto by the fervour peculiar to monks (*fervore monachorum cogente*), with the result that some find the desert a place for higher perfection, while others give way to laxity of discipline. We learn from the same letter that an Irish abbot, of the name of Finian, had consulted Gildas respecting so new a departure in monastic discipline, which involved the abandonment of that common life, under a strict *regula*, that prevailed in the cloisters. (This Finian was probably the founder of Clonard, not another, who, owing to more trustworthy records, is better known, viz., Finian of Moville.) Gildas is said to have sent "a most fit" answer to his old pupil, then at Clonard, presiding—if we are to believe what is said of him in prose and verse—over a community of 3000 monks. *Vennianus auctor Gildam de his interrogavit, et elegantissime illi rescripsit.* We are not told what the substance of that answer was. The eager desire expressed by Gildas in the present passage can, we conclude, be no other than a thirst for the cell of the recluse, the *meudwy* (= servant of God?) of the Welsh. Some echo, perhaps, of this appears in *The Life of Oudoceus*, who was Bishop of Llandav about or after the middle of the sixth century; it describes Gildas as leading a hermit's life in the island of Echni. "Ecce vir bonus et iustus et totius Brittaniae historiographus,

etiam cunctis mundi opibus praefero, cuiusque me, si fieri possit, ante mortis diem esse aliquamdiu participem opto et sitio. Nostris iam nunc obvallatis sanctorum duobus clipeis lateribus invictis, dorso ad veritatis moenia stabilito, capite pro galea adiutorio domini fidissime contecto, crebro veracium volatu volitent conviciorum cautes.

### 1. *Charges against wicked and reprobate priests*,[1] cc. 66-68.

Sacerdotes[2] habet Britannia, sed insipientes; quam plurimos 66
ministros, sed impudentes; clericos, sed raptores subdolos; pastores, ut dicuntur, sed occisioni animarum lupos paratos, quippe non commoda plebi providentes, sed proprii plenitudinem ventris quaerentes; ecclesiae domus[3] habentes, sed turpis lucri gratia eas adeuntes; populos docentes, sed praebendo pessima exempla, vitia malosque mores: raro sacrificantes[4] et numquam puro corde

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Gildas sapiens, ut in historiis nominatur, qui eo tempore convertabatur in insula Echni ducens anchoritalem vitam." (Vita b. Oudocei, in Evans' *The Book of Llandav*, p. 138.) The Welsh addition on p. 135 places Echni in the estuary of the Severn: "Hafren nyhyt can ynys Echni."

This trace of what we may regard as real history is interesting; Gildas the monk, at present in the heat of his battle against ecclesiastical declension, when bishops decline the task, looks longingly for the seclusion of a cell, such as a number of his acquaintances had already found, in the desert. If our explanation of his language be correct, it disposes completely of the view adopted by many, that Gildas wrote this work, late in life, at the monastery of Ruys in Brittany. Such, it is well known, is the account given in *The Life of Gildas* written by the monk of Ruys, but the passage we have been noticing proves it to have been impossible.

(2) The second class of "the few" appears in cc. 69, 92, 109. It consists of bishops and presbyters against whom no charge of schism, or pride, or uncleanness can be brought. In his treatment of these worthy men, the real Gildas reveals himself more fully, perhaps, than elsewhere. He is not at all unwilling to confess their good qualities (*quod nec vehementer et nos diffitemur*): he knows that they are "chaste and good," that many of them have obtained the "apostolic throne" in the recognised way (*legitime*), being well able also to confer spiritual gifts (c. 92), but—they are not heroic, they should be made of sterner stuff; some are too like Eli; martyrs are not found among them; they have not fearlessly excluded the wicked from the Church. Who of them like Abraham, he asks, is willing to offer a son, if need be, in the cause of Christ? Who, as Joseph, has rooted out of his heart the remembrance of an injury? Gildas' soul is grieved and troubled within him that the good "few" are not awake to the awful call of the time: they also must be numbered among the *inertes sacerdotes* of c. 83.

[1] The style of this part, directed against the priesthood, is in keeping with

world, of which, if it be possible, sometime before the day of my death, I desire and thirst to be a partaker. While my sides are now made invincible by a rampart of two shields of saints, with my back steadfast against the walls of truth, while my head is most surely covered by the Lord's help for a helmet, let the stones of my censures fly in a thick flight of truthful words.

1. *Charges against wicked and reprobate priests*, cc. 66-68.

66 Priests Britain has, but foolish ones; a great number of ministers, but shameless; clergy, but crafty plunderers; pastors, so to say, but wolves ready for the slaughter of souls, certainly not providing what is of benefit for the people, but seeking the filling of their own belly. They have church edifices, but enter them for the sake of filthy lucre; they teach the people, but by furnishing the worst examples, teach vice and evil morals; they seldom sacrifice, and never stand among the altars with pure heart; they

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that of c. 27, where kings and judges are censured: Reges habet Britannia sed tyrannos; iudices habet sed impios.

[2] *Sacerdotes.* This term, as well as *ministri*, *clerici*, *pastores*, may perhaps include presbyters as well as bishops, but the allusion to "the chair of Peter" evidently proves that the writer has the latter mainly in view.

[3] *Ecclesiae domus.* The term ἐκκλησίας οἶκος, or οἶκοι ἐκκλησίας, is found at least three times in Eusebius in the sense of "church building," or simply "church," *i.e.*, the house or structure used by the Church for its assemblies. Paul of Samosata refuses to leave the "church house;" but the Emperor Aurelian "decided the matter most equitably, ordering the building (οἶκον) to be given to those to whom the bishops of Italy and the city of Rome should adjudge it" (*H. E.*, vii, 30, 19. See also viii, 13, 13, of Constantius, who did not pull down "the church buildings": μήτε τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τοὺς οἴκους καθελών. Also ix, 9, 24). Bingham (Book viii, 1, 3) understands *domus ecclesiae* in Can. 1 of the Second Council of Toledo, A.D. 527 or 531, as signifying "the bishop's house," and Hefele agrees with him (*Concilgesch.*, ii, 719). Here, however, as the next words imply, it can only have the meaning it has in the official language quoted or alluded to in the pages of Eusebius. It may well contain a reminiscence of the fact that Christian assemblies were, for two centuries or more, accustomed to meet in private houses; or that the original architectural form of Christian churches, in consequence of such a custom, was taken from the Roman private house.

[4] *Raro sacrificantes.* This use of the verb *sacrificare*—to sacrifice—as well as *offerre*, along with the nouns *sacerdos* and *altaria*, affords proof how, in the British Church of the sixth century, that idea of the Eucharist as the highest act of worship, sacrificial worship, which found form and expression in other lands, at that time and subsequently, was the prevalent one. These terms are not used by Gildas in any figurative or metaphorical sense.

inter altaria stantes; plebem ob peccata non corripientes, nimirum eadem agentes; praecepta Christi spernentes et suas libidines votis omnibus implere curantes; sedem Petri apostoli[1] inmundis pedibus usurpantes, sed merito cupiditatis[2] in Iudae traditoris pestilentem cathedram decidentes; veritatem pro inimico odientes et mendaciis ac si carissimis fratribus faventes; iustos inopes immanes quasi angues torvis vultibus conspicantes et sceleratos divites absque ullo verecundiae respectu sicut caelestes angelos venerantes; egenis eleemosynam esse dandam summis e labiis praedicantes, sed ipsi vel obolum non dantes; nefanda populi scelera tacentes et suas iniurias quasi Christo irrogatas amplificantes; religiosam forte matrem seu sorores domo pellentes[3] et externas veluti secretiori ministerio familiares indecenter levigantes vel potius, ut vera dicam licet inepta non tam mihi quam talia agentibus,

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[1] *Sedem Petri apostoli.* We seem to have in this phrase, as in *Petri cathedra*, the survival of a belief that had died out elsewhere. It means that *every* bishop is regarded as a successor of Peter, just as every bishop's chair is a *sedes apostolica* (c. 92): such appears to have been the faith of the Church in Britain when Gildas wrote. If we look up the writings of Tertullian and Cyprian, comparing them with the Tractate *De Aleatoribus* (supposed now to have been written at Rome itself), we find a living conviction that every bishop is a successor of Peter; that his position is marked by the *cathedra Petri* to which he has been called. Tertullian states, in *Scorp.* 10, that "the Lord had given the keys of the kingdom of heaven to Peter, and by him to the Church (*per eum ecclesiae reliquisse*)." In the *De Pudicitia*, 21, he is indignant that the bishop of Rome (Callistus) should appropriate to himself the power of binding and loosing which really appertains "to every church belonging to Peter" (*ad omnem ecclesiam Petri propinquam*). It is true that these last passages are strongly marked by the Montanist leanings of Tertullian, but the same idea is very prominent in Cyprian. To him the bishop of Rome was *the* successor of Peter, nevertheless he has the whole episcopate in mind; it was, "in ordering the office of the bishop and the course of his Church in the Gospel, that he says to Peter" (quoting Matth. xvi, 18, etc.), *Ep.* 33, 1: "There is one God, one Christ, one Church, and one chair, founded on Peter by the word of the Lord (*una ecclesia et cathedra una super Petrum Domini voce fundata*), *Ep.* 43, 5. The question itself is not to be touched upon here, but the historical survival of phrases that once had a peculiar meaning is of interest. One might refer as to these views in the African and other Churches during the early third century, to Sohm's *Kirchenrecht*, 251-256; Harnack, *Texte und Unters.*, v, 1, 73-76. There is certainly a temptation to draw, as regards Britain, a conclusion which is evident in the case of Tertullian and Cyprian. In their case, many such sayings as those quoted are reminiscent of the fact, that the Church of Africa had received its teaching from Rome; such a conclusion would hardly be contested. But may we not find in this use of the phrase "chair of Peter," for the whole episcopate, an indication of very *early* Roman influence upon the ideas prevailing among the Christian communities in Britain also?

do not reprove the people on account of their sins, nay, in fact, they commit the same; they despise the commandments of Christ, and are careful to satisfy their own lusts with all their prayers: they get possession of the seat of the apostle Peter with unclean feet, but, by the desert of cupidity, fall into the unwholesome chair of the traitor Judas. Truth they hate as an enemy, and favour lies as if they were their dearest brothers: the righteous poor they eye like huge serpents, with fierce countenances, and respect the rich impious, with no touch of shame, like angels from heaven. They preach that alms should be given to the needy, with all the power of their lips, but they themselves contribute not a penny. Silent as to abominable sins of the people, they magnify their own injuries as if inflicted upon Christ. They drive out of house a religious mother, may be, or sisters, and unbecomingly make light of strange women, as if for a more hidden service, or rather, to speak the truth, though it be of improper things—not so much for me as for the men who do such things—they demean them.

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[2] *Merito cupiditatis.* We find *merito* here used as a preposition=*propter* with accus. Instances may be found in ecclesiastical Latin, such as Cyprian, 711, 4 (Hartel). *Cum tamen merito benedictionis*: Sulp. Sev., *Chron.*, i, 12, 7; *Artaxersi merito obsequiorum carissimus*, *ib.*, ii, 11, 1. One early instance I have met with (in a review of Hoppe, *De Sermone Tertulliano*, in Wölfflin's *Archiv.*), *Domitianum saevitiae merito poenas luisse*: Suetonius, *Vesp.*, 1.

[3] *Religiosam forte matrem seu sorores domo pellentes.* Gildas has in mind the rule established by the well-known Canon 3 of Nicaea: "The great Synod wholly refuses to bishop, or presbyter, or deacon, or in short anyone in the ranks of the clergy, the right to have a strange woman (in their homes), only a mother, or sister, or aunt, or solely such persons as incur no suspicion." Such a woman is termed συνείσακτος, *subintroducta*, in this and in numerous canons repeatedly passed down into the eighth century. The habit condemned, may have included constant cases where there was no real ground of suspicion, clerics and chaste women living under the same roof in strict purity. Yet gross indecencies arose; under cover of a specious plea of spiritual intercourse, came the *secretius ministerium* of which Gildas mockingly speaks. A complaint of like nature is made against two British presbyters in Armorica, by Licinius, Metropolitan of Tours (509-521), before this work of Gildas had been written. The women in his letter are termed *conhospitae.* The article on *Subintroductae*, in the *Dict. of Chr. Ant.*, gives a full account of the many canons that, time after time, sternly condemned a habit which, we see from this passage, had taken deep root in Britain. But in other countries we hear the same invective, so that Britain was by no means alone in this immoral custom. "Pudet dicere proh nefas; triste sed verum est: Unde in ecclesias agapetarum pestis introiit? Unde sine nuptiis aliud nomen uxorum? Imo unde novum concubinarum genus?" So wrote an earlier monk than Gildas—Jerome—in 384. (See p. 155.)

humiliantes; ecclesiasticos post haec gradus propensius quam regna caelorum ambientes et tyrannico ritu[1] acceptos defendentes nec tamen legitimis moribus illustrantes; ad praecepta sanctorum,[2] si aliquando dumtaxat audierint, quae ab illis saepissime audienda erant, oscitantes ac stupidos et ad ludicra et ineptas saecularium hominum fabulas, ac si iter vitae, quae mortis pandunt, strenuos et intentos; pinguedinis gratia taurorum more raucos et ad illicita infeliciter promptos; vultus arroganter in altum habentes et sensus conscientia remordente ad ima vel tartarum demersos; uno sane perdito denario maestos et ad unum inquisitum laetos; in apostolicis sanctionibus ob inscientiam vel peccatorum pondus, ora etiam scientium obturantes, hebetes ac mutos et in flexibus mundialium

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[1] *Tyrannico ritu.* The next chapter not only enlarges upon the simony practised by the clergy, but explains also how their ordination is irregular and violent: the bishops and presbyters "steal the title of priest" (*rapto sacerdotali nomine*), because when thwarted in the church (*parochia*) for which they seek ordination, and there refused, they sail across seas, to Gaul, perhaps, or Ireland, and secure their object by bribes. It is self-seeking men (*ambitores*) that ordain them, against the will of those to whom it legitimately belonged. We may surmise that, except where such base influences as are here described operate and break through ecclesiastical usages, a bishop would be elected by the whole community, so that "the episcopate should," in the words of Cyprian, "be conferred upon him *de universae fraternitatis suffragio*" (*Ep.* 67, 5). The great Leo, writing to the bishops of the province of Vienne in Gaul, just a hundred years before Gildas, insists that the "consent of clergy and people" (*ordinis consensus et plebis*) should be duly observed; adding that, "he who is to preside over all must be elected by all" (*Ep.* 10, 6). Any bishop ordained otherwise is ordained by a *tyrannicus ritus.*

[2] *Praecepta sanctorum . . . . . . . ineptas saecularium hominum fabulas.* In this contrast we have implied the great change that found its completion during the sixth century. With the fall of the Empire fell also the schools of the rhetoricians, which had kept alive the taste for the classic literature of antiquity. They were replaced by Christian schools connected with the great churches, or with monasteries; and in these, reading was confined to the works of Christian writers, and chiefly those writings which inculcated asceticism and monastic retirement. The celebrated dream of Jerome, of which he gives a graphic account in his letter to Eustochium (*Ep.* 22, 30), shows how the feeling of aversion to Pagan literature was, at the end of the fourth century, beginning to carry even men of the highest equipment away from the great writers of Greece and Rome. "What has Horace to do with the Psalter? What has Maro in common with the Gospels? What has Cicero with the Epistles?" (cf. the 7th chapter in *Ep.* 53; Taceo. de mei similibus . . . . . ). In his dream he found himself standing before the judgment-seat of Christ. He had been reading Cicero and Plautus with delight, but felt a shudder at the uncouth language of the prophets; when asked about his condition, his answer

After these things, they are more ready to seek ecclesiastical positions than the kingdom of heaven ; and these, when received by an illegal rite, they defend without even adorning them by legitimate usages. Towards the precepts of the saints, if indeed they have at any time heard these things, which ought to be very frequently heard by them, they are listless and dull ; while for public games and the scandalous tales of men of the world, they are active and attentive ; as if the things which open the way of death were the way of life. They are hoarse, by reason of fat, like bulls ; and are unhappily ready even for things unlawful ; proudly holding their faces aloft, and their feelings plunged down to the lowest, even to hell, though with the remorse of conscience ; grieving at the loss of a single penny, glad also at the gain of one. In apostolic decrees, because of ignorance or the weight of sins, while they stop the mouths of even the knowing, they are sluggish and dumb, yet in the false windings of worldly affairs, they are

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was : " I am a Christian ;" whereupon He who sat upon the throne said : " Thou liest : thou art a Ciceronian, not a Christian." After the severe flogging inflicted upon him by the Judge, he vows that he will never again read " secular books " (*codices seculares*). His antagonist Rufinus could well reproach him that the vow was badly kept. There was an uneasy feeling in such men as Jerome, Augustine, Paulinus of Nola, with respect to the reading of heathen writings ; but such anxiety of mind before long disappeared ; then came likewise the abandonment of Homer, Virgil and Cicero. Another kind of reading spread widely, with a taste newly formed, which eagerly scanned the *praecepta sanctorum*. Under this term we may include the works of the ecclesiastical writers, but more especially such writings as those of John Cassian and the popular *Lives of Saints*, a species of literature introduced by Jerome.

Eucher, about a hundred years before Gildas penned these words, wrote a letter of advice to a relative (*Epistola paraenetica ad Valerianum cognatum*), in which he exhorts him to abandon the works of secular writers, and devote himself to the study of Christian doctrine, to the studies and writings of *our* men (*ad studia te nostrorum et scripta converte*), and especially to approach as a searcher "ad fontes ipsos sacri eloquii." Can. v of *Statuta Ecclesiae Antiqua*, *c*. A.D. 450-500, commonly observed in Gaul, directs "That a bishop shall not read heathen books (*gentilium libros*), but those of heretics, as demanded by the necessity of the times." The spirit of such admonitions spread more and more, though several writers besides Boetius and Cassiodorus continued in a feeble, declining way, to show that the old taste was still alive. The story told by John of Salesbury, that Gregory the Great caused the valuable Palatine Library to be burnt, lest the study of Scripture might be prejudiced by the perusal of its books, is at least a true picture of the sentiments entertained by men of the monastery during the fifth and sixth centuries. Gildas may be understood as presenting here the view held by a fervent monk, of the men in Britain who still continued to read the ancient literature.

negotiorum[1] mendacibus doctissimos; quorum de scelerata conversatione multos sacerdotio irruentes potius vel illud paene omni pecunia redimentes[2] quam tractos et in eodem veteri infaustoque intolerabilium piaculorum caeno post sacerdotalem episcopatus vel presbyterii sedem, qui nec ibidem usquam sederunt, utpote indigne porcorum more volutantes, rapto tantum sacerdotali nomine nec tamen tenore, vel apostolica dignitate accepta, sed qui nondum ad integram fidem sunt vel malorum paenitentia idonei, quomodo ad quemlibet ecclesiasticum, ut non dicam summum,[3] convenientes et adepti gradum, quem non nisi sancti atque perfecti et apostol-
1 *Tim.* iii, 2. orum imitatores et, ut magistri gentium[4] verbis loquar, irreprehensibiles legitime et absque magno sacrilegii crimine suscipiunt?

Quid enim tam impium tamque scelestum est quam ad simili- 67
tudinem Simonis magi, non intervenientibus licet interea promiscuis criminibus, episcopatus officium vel presbyterii terreno pretio, quod sanctitate rectisque moribus decentius adquiritur, quempiam velle mercari? Sed in eo isti propensius vel desperatius errant, quo non ab apostolis vel apostolorum successoribus, sed a tyrannis et a patre eorum diabolo fucata et numquam profutura[5] emunt sacerdotia: quin potius velut culmen tectumque malorum omnium quoddam, quo non facile eis improperentur a quoquam admissa prisca vel nova et cupiditatis gulaeque desideria utpote praepositi multorum facilius rapiant, scelestae vitae structurae superponunt.

Nam si talis profecto coemptionis condicio ab impudentibus istis

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[1] *In flexibus mundialium negotiorum mendacibus doctissimos.* The last word implies that the clergy in Britain, or some of them, were engaged in some trade or other for their maintenance. We need not refer to the frequent legislation upon this subject, such as the exemption from trade dues granted by imperial edict in 343 and 353, but afterwards limited; and the prohibition issued by Valentinian III, in 452, which forbade clerics to pursue any trade: *ut nihil prorsus negotiationis exerceant* (*Cod. Theod.*, xvi, 2, 36). But Britain had long been outside the range of any edict. The *Statuta Ecclesiae Antiqua*, the basis for Church law and custom in Gaul in the second half of the fifth century—it might well have been so in Britain—in two canons reads as follows: "Clericus quantumlibet verbo Dei eruditus artificio victum quaeret" (can. 51). "Clericus victum et vestimentum sibi artificiolo vel agricultura absque officii sui detrimento quaeret" (can. 52). A cleric's sustenance and clothing was to come to him by some trade or by agriculture, provided it did not prejudice his own proper work.

[2] *Pecunia redimentes.* Now begin the charges, frequently repeated, of simony, in addition to the assumption of sacred office by violence, that is, against the will of the community (*rapto sacerdotali nomine*). The office of bishop or presbyter was bought for an "earthly price"; priesthoods are

exceedingly well versed. Many of these men, after a wicked life, rather force their way into the priesthood, or buy it at almost any price, than be drawn into the same; and in the same old and accursed mire of unbearable crimes, after gaining the priestly chair of episcopate or presbyterate (men who never sat thereon), meanly wallow like swine. They have violently seized the mere name of priest, without receiving its true meaning or apostolic worthiness, but as men, who in respect of sound faith and by repentance for sins, are not yet fit. How do they arrive at and acquire any ecclesiastical rank, to say nothing of the highest? because it is a rank which none save the holy and perfect, and those who imitate the apostles, and, to speak in the words of the teacher of the gentiles, those without reproach, undertake in a legitimate way and without the great sin of sacrilege. 1 *Tim.* iii, 2.

67 For what is so impious and so wicked as, after the pattern of Simon Magus, though meanwhile no indiscriminate sins intervene, that any one should wish to purchase the office of bishop or presbyter for an earthly price, an office that is more becomingly obtained by holiness and upright character? But the error of those men lies the more grave and desperate in the fact that they buy counterfeit and unprofitable priesthood, not from apostles or the successors of apostles, but from tyrants and from their father the devil. Nay, furthermore, they place upon the edifice of an infamous life a kind of roof and covering for all sins, in order that admitted desires, old or new, of covetousness and gluttony should not be easily placed to their charge by any one, seeing that, having oversight of many, they carry on their pillage with greater ease. For if truly such a stipulation of purchase had been pre-

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bought from "tyrants;" which means that princes—whom Gildas, a thoroug imperialist as a *civis Romanus*, will only name as *tyranni*—were able to influence appointments.

[3] *Summum . . . gradum*: the simple episcopate only, would be the highest *gradus*. There probably were never any metropolitans or archbishops in the British Church.

[4] *Magistri gentium.* This—Teacher of the Gentiles—is a favourite appellation with Gildas: it occurs in cc. 72, 73, 97.

[5] *Fucata et numquam profutura.* This is an idea which Gildas elsewher expresses: The priests who buy their office, not of apostles or successors of apostles, not even of a godly king, but of tyrants, cannot, in the exercise of their priestly functions, benefit anyone: they are not priests, barely eve Christians: *O inimici Dei et non sacerdotes . . . . . . traditores et non sanctorum apostolorum successores et non Christi ministri* (108).

non dicam apostolo Petro, sed cuilibet sancto sacerdoti pioque regi[1] ingesta fuisset, eadem responsa accepissent, quae ab apostolo *Act.* viii, 20. auctor eorundem magus Simon dicente Petro: *Pecunia tua tecum sit in perditionem.* Sed forte heu, qui ambitores istos ordinant, immo potius humiliant atque pro benedictione maledicunt, dum ex peccatoribus non paenitentes, quod rectius fuerat, sed sacrilegos et desperatos faciunt et Iudam quodammodo in Petri cathedra *Rufinus h. e.* iii, 29. domini traditorem ac Nicolaum[2] in loco Stephani martyris statuunt inmundae haereseos adinventorem, eodem modo sacerdotio adsciti sunt: et ideo non magnopere detestantur in filiis, quin immo venerantur, quod similiter ut patribus subinde venisse certissimum est.

Etenim eos, si in parochiam,[3] resistentibus sibi et tam pretiosum

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[1] *Cuilibet sancto sacerdote pioque regi.* The words point out the personages to whom the offer of money might be made, to a bishop or a king. Below, we are told that the men drawn by ambition to simony were ordained by others who had obtained the priesthood in the same way.

[2] *Nicolaum.* Gildas probably borrowed the baseless fiction implied in this place from Rufinus' Latin translation of Eusebius (*H. E.*, iii, 29). "The author of their sect (Nicolaitans) was Nicolaus, one of the deacons, who, with Stephen were appointed by the apostles for the purpose of ministering to the poor." Apparently, all accounts go back to a conjecture made by Irenaeus (*Adv. Haer.*, i, 26, 3), who probably knew no more about the Nicolaitans than he read in Rev. ii, 6, 15. He may have been the first to identify their founder with the Nicolaus of Acts vi. Clement of Alexandria, who was the recipient of many curious traditions respecting the men and facts of the Apostolic age. seems to have held a very different opinion (*Strom.*, iii, 4, 25). A similar disinclination to connect Nicolaus with any such sect holding immoral tenets may be detected in *Const. Apostolicae*, vi, 8, οἱ νῦν ψευδώνυμοι Νικολαῖται. By Gildas' time, however, the false belief had become universal.

[3] *In parochiam = in parochia.* We have already met with instances of *in* with accus. denoting place *where*, and referred to Rönsch, *Itala u. Vulgata*, 410, for a host of examples of the same. *Parochia* must mean see, or diocese, that is, church. In the previous section the utter neglect of those who obtained by money the priest's chair, to undertake the charge symbolized in that throne, is described by the phrase that "they never sat therein" (*qui ibidem nusquam sederunt*). Now we have presented us the other picture, of bishops who, after similar pelf, would thrust themselves upon a church (*parochia*), but encounter opposition. The two terms *parochia* and *dioecesis* have had a curious history: both are originally abstract, but, like the equally abstract "circumcision" (ἡ περιτομή) in the New Testament, soon acquired a concrete meaning. The two also are originally Greek (παροικία, διοίκησις), but as we meet with them in Latin, they are applied, without distinction, both to a church under the oversight of a bishop and, at a later period, to a church of which a presbyter has charge, subject to the neighbouring bishop. Sulpicius Severus, writing of St. Martin

sented by those shameless men, let me not say to the apostle Peter, but to any holy priest and pious king, they would have received the same answer as the originator of the same, the magician Simon, received from the apostle when Peter said: *Thy money* *Acts* viii, 20. *perish with thee.* But perhaps, alas! they who ordain those candidates, nay, rather, who abase them and give them a curse for a blessing, because out of sinners they make, not penitents, which would be more befitting, but sacrilegious and irremediable offenders, and in a way appoint Judas, the betrayer of the Lord, to the chair of Peter, and Nicolaus, the founder of a foul heresy, in place of Stephen the martyr—perhaps they were summoned to the priesthood after the same manner. *Rufinus h. e.* iii, 29. For this reason, in the case of their sons, they do not greatly detest (they rather approve), that it is a matter of utmost certainty that things should come to pass afterwards as with the fathers. Since, if they could not find this kind

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of Tours, about 405, how, as bishop, he visited his churches, gives an interesting account of an incident that occurred, "when he had come to a certain church" (cum ad *dioecesim quandam* . . . . . . . . media fere hyeme Martinus venisset, *Ep.* 1). Can. 54, of the council of Agde, A.D. 506, orders a presbyter to keep a record of what is bought in the name of the church, *dum dioecesim tenet.* Until the eighth and ninth century, *parochia* held on its original meaning of a bishop's "diocese," whether an individual church or a group of churches, as many *Capitularia* of the Carolingian period show; though, by then, its application to the *ecclesiae baptismales*, in our modern sense (not territorial) of "parish," is also common. When we look at the use of the word in British or English writers, we find from Beda's narrative of the Council of Hertford (A.D. 673) that Canons 2 and 6 employ the word for a bishop's diocese: *Ut nullus episcoporum parrochiam alterius invadat, etc. Absque permissu episcopi in cuius parrochia esse cognoscitur.* Even so late as the *Book of Llandav* (12th century), Dubricius is said by the writer, or compiler, to have founded churches and consecrated bishops, after having fixed their *parochiae* for them.

How similar is the history of the Welsh word *plwyf*? As early as the Latin version of Origen, the church is defined as *credentium plebs* (Hom. 9 in Exod. 3), a congregation of believers; *plebem fidelium* is found in Beda with the same signification. Ducange mentions *plebs* and *plebes* as having the meaning of "church," sometimes that of a bishop, sometimes of a presbyter, and particularly among people of Celtic descent. The Welsh *plwyf* is the derivative of this Latin term (*plebem*), having three meanings: (*a*) *Congregation*, as in a well-known passage of *Buchedd Dewi Sant.* Gildas is unable to preach because Dewi's mother is present: she is requested to go out, and bid the *congregation* to come in (ac arch yr *plwyf* dyvot y mywn). All now being seated, Gildas is able to preach "clearly and loudly," but the *congregation* are curious to know why he had become dumb and unable to preach (yna y govynnawd y *plwyf* idaw; paham na ellesit ti pregethu y ni gynheu). (*b*) The word is also met with as the equivalent of "diocese"—ac a hynny y bu terfysc

quaestum denegantibus severe comessoribus[1] huiuscemodi margaritam, invenire non possint, praemissis ante sollicite nuntiis transnavigare maria terrasque spatiosas transmeare non tam piget quam delectat, ut omnino talis species inaequiparabilisque pulchritudo et, ut verius dicam, zabolica[2] illusio vel venditis omnibus copiis comparetur. Dein cum magno apparatu magnaque fantasia[3] vel potius insania repedantes ad patriam ex erecto erectiorem incessum pingunt et dudum summitates montium conspicantes nunc recte ad aethera vel ad summa nubium vellera luminum semidormitantes acies librant ac sese nova quaedam plasmata, immo diabolica *Rufinus h. e.* vi, 33. organa, ut quondam Novatus[4] Romae, Dominicae mulcator margaritae, porcus niger, patriae ingerunt, violenter manus non tam venerabilibus aris quam flammis inferni ultricibus dignas, in tali schema positi sacrosanctis Christi sacrificiis extensuri.

*Tit.* i, 12. Quid tu, infelix popule, a talibus, ut dixit apostolus, *bestiis* 68
*ventris*[5] praestolaris? Hisne corrigeris, qui se ipsos non modo

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dirfawr ym *mhlwyf* Teilaw (=*parochia Teliaui*). *Brut y Tywysog.*, p. 28, in *Arch. Camb.*, 3rd series, x; *Haddan and Stubbs*, i, 286: hyd onid aeth rhan fawr o *blwyf* Teilaw yn nawdd yr eglwysi; *H. and S.* i, 359. (*c*) The ordinary modern meaning of "parish," is too well-known to need illustration. In Cornish, *hebrenciat plui*=presbyter. *Ploue*, in the Bretagne language, is found in many compound place-names. Vide, Loth, *Les mots latins dans les langues brittoniques*.

[1] *Comessoribus.* A. here reads *coemptoribus*; in c. 87, we have *comessores*, and c. 99, *comessationes*. I have therefore adopted the form *comessores* here in preference to *commessores* as printed in Mommsen's edition. The word is not given by Du Cange in this form, but as *comestor*, *comestio*, along with, as alternative rarer forms, *comissator*, *comissatio*, *comisacio*, *comesatio*. Quis tam *comesor* (commesor) mus Ponticus, quam qui evangelia corrosit. (Tert., *Adv. Marc.*, i, 1). Non in *comesationibus* (*comisat.* and *commesat. al.*) et ebrietatibus, Rom. xiii, 13. The *Confessio* of St. Patrick seems to furnish the very form used by Gildas of the abstract noun: Peccavi per *comessationem*. We may conclude that the allusion is to other clergy, as boon companions or revellers, unwilling that any intruder should have a share in that which they enjoyed among themselves.

[2] *Zabolica.* Cf. c. 34.

[3] *Fantasia.* In the old Latin version this word stands for *superbia*, and thence came into ecclesiastical Latin.

[4] *Novatus Romae.* The confusion of Novatus for Novatianus in so late a writer as Gildas is curious. The Roman presbyter who led the opposition against the bishop Cornelius, and caused a separation from the Church in the name of stricter discipline, was Novatian: from Africa there came to Rome the Carthaginian presbyter Novatus, who joined Novatian, and probably instigated him to his schismatic partition of the Church. (See Langen, *Gesch. der Röm. Kirche*, i, 293.) This may be the implication of Prosper's words: Novatus

of pearl, because fellow-labourers resisted them in a diocese, and sternly refused them so profitable a business, they are not so much grieved as delighted to send messengers before them, to cross seas and travel over broad countries, so that in any way such display and incomparable dignity, or to speak more truly, such diabolical mockery, be acquired, even by the sale of all their substance. Afterwards, with great state and magnificent show, or rather foolery, they return to their own country, and show their haughty gait more haughty. While hitherto their gaze was at the tops of mountains, they now direct their half-sleepy eyes straight to heaven, or to the light fleecy clouds, and obtrude themselves upon their country as creatures of a new mould; nay, rather as instruments of the devil, just as aforetime Novatus at Rome, *Rufinus h. e.* vi, 33. the tormentor of the Lord's jewel, the black hog, their purpose is to stretch forth their hands violently upon the holy sacrifices of Christ, hands worthy not so much of the venerable altars as of the avenging flames of hell, because they are men placed in a position of this kind.

68 What wilt thou, unhappy people, expect from such *belly* *Tit.* i, 12. *beasts*, as the apostle says? Shalt thou be amended by these men who not only do not call themselves to what is good, but, in the

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presbyter Cypriani Romam veniens Novatianum et ceteros confessores sibi sociat, eo quod Cornelius paenitentes apostatas recepisset. (*Chron. M. Germ. H.*, s. 439.) Now Latin writers name Novatian as the leader of this separation, and call the schism by his name, but Eusebius and other Greek writers ascribe the movement to "the Roman presbyter *Novatus*." Rufinus, in his Latin version of Eusebius (*H. E.*, vi, 43), repeats the mistake of the original: *Novatus Romanae ecclesiae presbyter.* We have good reason to infer that Gildas was acquainted with Jerome's works, the *De viris illustribus* in particular (which work gives: *Novatianus Romanae urbis presbyter*); his present agreement with Rufinus, therefore, leads us to infer that he is here borrowing from that writer's Latin version of Eusebius.

[5] *Bestiis ventris.* A. reads *bestiis ventris pigri.* This expression is certainly borrowed from Titus i, 12, but must be from a text other than the Vulgate of Jerome. We have thus another illustration of the way that Gildas, in a very familiar quotation made off-hand from memory, falls into the Old Latin of his early life (see Additional Note, p. 92). The passage, as we have it in the Authorised Version, reads: "evil beasts, slow bellies;" which aptly renders the Greek κακὰ θηρία, γαστέρες ἀργαί, and the Latin *malae bestiae*, *ventres pigri.* But Gildas seems to have read: *malae bestiae ventris pigri* = "evil beasts of idle belly." Now the Old Latin MS. *g* has this very reading, *ventris pigri*, so that our conjecture as to Gildas' usage seems to be well grounded. The next quotation, from Jeremiah, appears to be of the same character, by its marked deviation from the Vulgate, and that in a book which, when quoted at some length, always agrees with that version.

*Ierem.* ix, 5. ad bona non invitant, sed secundum prophetae *exprobrationem laborant, ut inique agant?* Talibusne oculis illustraberis, qui haec tantum avide speculantur, quae proclive vitiis, id est Tartari portis, *Matth.* vii, 16. ducant? Vel certe secundum salvatoris dictum, si non istos *Soph.* iii, 4. *Gen.* xix, 17. rapacissimos ut *Arabiae lupos*,[1] ac si Loth ad montem, igneum *Matth.* xv, 14. Sodomorum imbrem praepropere fugeritis, *caeci educti a caecis*[2] pariter in inferni *foveam cadetis*.

2. *Defects of those acknowledged to be blameless in their lives when compared* (*a*) *with Old Testament examples*, cc. 69-72; (*b*) *with examples found in the New*, c. 73; (*c*) *with those furnished by Church history*, cc. 74-75.[3]

Sed forsitan aliquis dicat: Non ita omnes episcopi vel presby- 69
teri, ut superius comprehensi, quia non scismatis,[4] non superbiae, non inmunditiae infamia maculantur, mali sunt. Quod nec vehementer et nos diffitemur.

(*a*) *Comparison with Old Testament examples.*

Sed licet sciamus eos castos esse et bonos, breviter tamen respondebimus. Quid profuit Heli sacerdoti, quod solus non violaverit praecepta Domini, rapiendo in fuscinulis antequam adeps Domino offerretur ex ollis carnes, dum eadem mortis ira, qua filii

I *Sam.* ii, 16.

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[1] *Arabiae lupos. Lupi Arabiae* occurs again, c. 87, as a quotation from Zephaniah, iii, 3. Neither there, nor in Hab., i, 8, has the Vulgate these words, while the LXX reads in both places λύκοι τῆς Ἀραβίας. Gildas is again reproducing a Biblical phrase of his youth. Jerome himself, referring to the incursions of the Huns, tells Heliodorus how, "there were let loose upon us, last year, not the wolves of Arabia, but those of the North" (*non iam Arabiae, sed septentrionis lupi*), evidently, as Gildas, alluding to a phrase from the old and more familiar version (*Ep.* 60, 16).

[2] *Caeci educti a caecis:* probably another Old Latin clause.

[3] In these sections we have a long array of names of men, with whom the good among the clergy are contrasted. While Gildas confesses that he has no desire to class these with the accursed clerics already described, they are, nevertheless, wanting in the strong, daring, active qualities of those who burn with the zeal of God's house. His words are ablaze, as those of an uncompromising reformer, and the unspotted, chaste, and good ministers, as he calls them, must have felt sorely uncomfortable upon reading this part of the work.

The examples are taken from three sources: (*a*) the Old Testament, (*b*) the New Testament, (*c*) Ecclesiastical History, by which last is meant, no doubt, the work of Rufinus. Those from the first source begin with Abel and end with Jeremiah, with a partial resemblance in point of order, though not of facts,

words of the prophet, *weary themselves to commit iniquity?* Shalt *Jerem.* ix, 5.
thou be illuminated by such eyes which greedily scan only those things which lead downwards to wickedness, that is, to the gates of hell? Or, surely, according to the Saviour's saying, if ye do not *Matt.* vii, 16. *Soph.* iii, 4.
speedily escape from those ravenous Arabian wolves, just as Lot *Gen.* xix, 17.
escaped to the mountain, fleeing the fiery shower of Sodoma, *blind* *Matt.* xv, 14.
*led by the blind, ye shall fall equally into the ditch* of hell.

2. *Defects of those acknowledged to be blameless in their lives when compared (a) with Old Testament examples*, cc. 69-72; (*b*) *with examples found in the New*, c. 73; (*c*) *with those furnished by Church history*, cc. 74-75.

69 Perhaps, however, some one may say: All bishops or presbyters are not so wicked as they have been described in the former part; because they are not defiled by the infamy of schism or of pride or of uncleanness. Neither do I also strongly deny this.

(*a*) *Comparison with Old Testament examples.*

But while I know them to be chaste and good, I shall, nevertheless, make a brief answer. What did it avail Eli the priest, that he himself did not violate the precepts of the Lord by seizing with *I Sam.* ii, 16.
flesh-hooks, before the fat was offered to the Lord, flesh out of the

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to the list in the epistle to the Hebrews, ch. xi. Each sentence also in this portion begins with "Who of them" (*Quis eorum*); but, in taking his heroes from the New Testament narrative, the writer waxes bolder, with more direct appeal, in a "Who of you" (*Quis vestrum*).

The first sentence depicts the imprisonment of the "holy apostle" at Philippi, introduced by the impetuous "Which of you?" The following refer in like eager questioning to James, the brother of Jesus, "first bishop of the New Testament," killed with a fuller's club; to James, the brother of John, beheaded by Herod; to Stephen, the "first deacon and martyr;" to Peter, unto whom were given the keys of the kingdom of heaven; to Paul, the "chosen vessel and teacher of the Gentiles."

The third class, taken from ecclesiastical history, includes Ignatius of Antioch, Polycarp of Smyrna, and Basil of Caesarea.

[4] *Non scismatis.* There are bishops and presbyters against whom no charge of schism, pride, or uncleanness can be advanced. Gildas is not strongly drawn to deny this; on his general attitude towards men of this class, see notes on p. 154. Schism is nowhere else alluded to, and it seems that the most self-seeking and immoral among the clergy were well able to keep themselves clear of this accusation. Gildas has probably been reminded of schism by his mention of Novatus (Novatian?), who certainly did foment an unworthy division, that spread over many parts of Italy and Gaul.

sunt, multatur? Quis rogo eorum ob invidiam melioris hostiae *Gen.* iv. caelestique igni in caelis evectae, ut Abel, occisus? Qui etiam *Psalm.* xxv, 5, 9. mediocris verbi aspernantur convicium. Quis *perosus est consilium malignantium et cum impiis non sedit*, ut de eo veridice quasi de *Gen.* v, 24. Enoch diceretur: *Ambulavit Enoch*[1] *cum Deo et non inveniebatur* in mundi scilicet vanitate omnis post idola proclive id temporis claudicare relicto Deo insipientis? Quis eorum salutari in arca, hoc est nunc ecclesia, nullum Deo adversantem, ut Noe diluvii tempore, non admisit, ut perspicue monstraretur non nisi innoxios vel paenitentes egregios in Dominica domu esse debere? quis victoribus solum et in tricentenario numero, hoc est trinitatis sac- *Gen.* xiv, 14 *seq.* ramento,[2] liberato iusto regum quinque victriciumque turmarum

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[1] *Ambulavit Enoch.* The Vulgate reading is: *Ambulavitque cum Deo, et non apparuit;* for the second clause Gildas writes, *et non inveniebatur*, which answers to the LXX, *καὶ οὐχ εὑρίσκετο.* Cyprian twice quotes the same passage: *et non est inventus. Test.*, iii, 58; *De Mart.*, 23. Here again we have the rendering of an older version.

### Allegory and Type.

When Gildas adds, as explanation of the words "Enoch was not found," that he "was not found in the vanity of the world," he, to our feeling, employs a strange method of elucidation. But in this he is simply the heir of earlier and greater thinkers, who led almost the whole Christian world into that kind of exegesis which is called allegorical. Introduced first of all into Christian literature by Clement and Origen of Alexandria, at the end of the second century and beginning of the third, this way of interpreting took firm possession of the minds even of the greatest of subsequent writers. Except at Antioch, there was scarcely a doubt of its supreme value. By this process, meanings were extracted from a text of Scripture of which the writer had never dreamt, and to which the literal meaning is frequently opposed. The method of allegory reposes upon analogy pushed to extremes: something is discovered in a phrase, or even a word, which recalls an idea of the mind: the idea may be of a speculative character, moral or theological, but the text is transformed into an image of that idea, and understood as containing it. By such a method history is evaporated in typology. The literal sense does not seem to exist at all, as may be seen from the interpretation put by Gildas upon the words "was not found," applied to Enoch. To him they mean that Enoch was not found in the vanity of the world. Philo, the first to employ allegory, speaks of Paradise with the implication that such a place never existed in reality; the description of Paradise, for him, is a description of wisdom, and the four rivers *mean* the four cardinal virtues. Clement borrowed principles and methods from Philo, and to some extent they are with us to this day. It is impossible not to smile at some of the allegories found here: the *three* hundred (318 in reality) servants of Abraham typify the mystery of the Trinity; the only daughter whom Jephtha sacrificed means our self-will. Most of these are stock examples which may be traced back to Origen or Clement, or their master Philo. "Les allegories de

pots, whilst he was punished by the same anger leading to death
as his sons were? Who, I ask, of those men was killed, as Abel, *Gen.* iv.
owing to envy of a better sacrifice, and one carried by celestial
fire into heaven? They are men who even reject the reproof of
a lowly word—who *hath hated the counsel of the malicious and hath* *Psalms* xxvi, 5,
*not sat with the ungodly*, so that of him it might be truly said as of 9.
Enoch: *Enoch walked with God and was not found*, that is to say, *Gen.* v, 24.
was not found to have abandoned God, and to limp readily after
idols at that time, amid the vanity of the whole world in its un-
wisdom. Who of them has refused to admit into the ark of salva-
tion, that is, now, the Church, any adversary of God, as Noah in the
time of the deluge, so that it may be made clearly manifest that
only the innocent, or those pre-eminently penitent, ought to be
in the Lord's house? Who, like Melchisedek, offered, sacrificed, *Gen.* xiv, 14
and blessed the victors only when, three hundred in number *seq.*
(which implies the mystery of the Trinity), after delivering the
just man, they vanquish the dangerous armies of the five kings and

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Philon, de Clement, d'Origene nous font sourire; elle ne nous paraissent guère plus raisonnables que celles des stoïciens dont Cicero nous a donné quelques échantillons si curieux dans son *De Natura Deorum*. Et cependant, il faut le reconnaitre, cette méthode se justifie par les services qu'elle a rendus" (De Faye, *Clement d'Alexandrie*, p. 209). Rich thoughts were conveyed even by this inadmissible method; as De Faye further says: "Elle a été un instrument de progress véritable." Through the writings of such men as Jerome and Augustine, this method of interpretation became the accepted way for all. In the next generation after Gildas, Pope Gregory the Great, in *Homil.* xxi, finds the facts of the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ in what the Book of Judges relates about Samson (*illius facta significant*). Samson signifies our Redeemer, Gaza means infernum. "Samson vero media nocte non solum exiit, sed etiam portas tulit: quia videlicet Redemptor noster ante lucem resurgens non solum liber de inferno exiit, sed et ipsa etiam inferni claustra destruxit." The same in *Hom.* xl, shows a saner mind than Gildas: "In the words of Holy Writ we must first preserve the truth of history, and then seek out the spiritual meaning of the allegory."

For Gildas, in common with such men before and after him, there is in every narrative a symbolical meaning (*tropicus sensus*), a moral signification (*moralis intelligentia*), a way of interpreting morally (*moraliter interpretari*). Hidden meanings are thus found in very odd places, as the present chapters show.

[2] *Hoc est trinitatis sacramento*, that is, as a type of the Trinity. The leading meaning of the word *sacramentum* is *mystery*, and Gildas has in the next section *mysterium trinitatis*. With this signification it still holds its place in the Vulgate, *e.g.*, I Tim. iii, 16, "great is the mystery of godliness" (*pietatis sacramentum*): Eph. i, 9, "having made known to us the mystery of his will" (sacramentum voluntatis suae): Rom. xvi, 25, "according to the revelation of the

exercitus ferales vincentibus et nequaquam aliena cupientibus sacrificium offerens, ut Melchisedech, benedixit?

Quis sponte proprium in altari capite caedendum, ut Habraham, Deo iubente optulit filium, ut simile quoddam huic impleret [*Matth.* v, 29.] Christi mandatum dicentis oculum dextrum scandalizantem evelli [*Ierem.* xlviii, 10.] debere et prophetae praecaveret se maledictum esse gladium et [*Gen.* l, 19.] sanguinem prohibentem? Quis memoriam malefacti de corde [*Exod.* xix, 16.] radicitus, ut Ioseph, evulsit? Quis in monte cum Domino locutus [*Exod.* xxxiv, 29.] et nequaquam concrepantibus tubis exinde perterritus duas tabulas cornutamque faciem aspectu incredulis inhabilem et horrendam tropico sensu, ut Moyses, advexit? Quis eorum pro peccatis populi exorans imo de pectore clamavit, ut ipse, Domine, inquiens [*Exod.* xxxii, 31, 32.] *peccavit populus iste peccatum grande: quod si dimittis eis, dimitte: alioquin dele me de libro tuo?*

Quis zelo Dei accensus mirabili ad ultionem fornicationis sine [*Num.* xxv, 7.] dilatione, sanando paenitentiae medicamine[1] stupri affectum, ne

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mystery" (*secundum revelationem mysterii*, Vg., but *revel. sacramenti* in Cod. Aug. *f*), etc. A meaning derived from this is common in Cyprian's writings, i.e., *type*. In the *De Dominica Oratione*, 34, Cyprian says that along with Daniel, *three* young men, strong in faith, observed *three* hours of prayer: *sacramento scilicet trinitatis*. Cyprian's *three* men out of four is not more apt than the number *three* hundred with Gildas, yet for both, the number itself furnishes a *type* or *symbol*.

[1] *Paenitentiae medicamine*. Cf. *coelestis medicina*, *De Paenit.* I. It is quite possible that these words may refer to penance as imposed by a priest for sins committed after baptism, or, as might be said, in a sacramental sense. Can. 18 of *Stat. Eccl. Antiqua* directs: "ut sacerdos paenitentiam imploranti absque personae acceptione paenitentiae leges iniungat." But here, in a writing of Gildas, as we remember the peculiar penitential usages of the very next generation, we are led to adopt another view. According to that view, this mention of the "remedy of penance," opens out a characteristic feature of the history of the Church in Britain and Ireland. The *Life of Columbanus* (who was a disciple of Comgall, first Abbot of Bangor) relates that when he came from Ireland into Gaul with twelve companions, "the power of religion had well-nigh disappeared in that country at the time. Only the Christian faith remained, for *the remedies of penance* and the desire of mortification were scarcely to be found, or only in a few of those places" (c. 11); but after the founding of the monastery of Luxeil, it is said that "the people from all sides flocked there for the *remedies of penance*" (c. 17). In both these extracts Jonas has the very words of Gildas —*paenitentiae medicamenta*—and they suggest to us that such a penitential discipline as was introduced from Ireland into Gaul by Columbanus, was in the mind of the British writer as he penned the sentence we are noticing. The letter of Columbanus to Pope Gregory I, in which he mentions the correspondence between Vinnianus and Gildas, refers to this very sin of adultery,

of their victorious troops, and have no desire for the goods of
others? Who, like Abraham, at the command of God, has volun-
tarily offered his own son to be slain on the altar, so that he should
fulfil a command similar to that given by Christ when he says that *Matt.* v, 29.
the offending right eye must be plucked out, and should guard *Jerem.* xlviii, 10.
against the prophet's warning, that cursed is he who keepeth back *Gen.* l, 19.
the sword and blood? Who, like Joseph, has rooted out of his *Exod.* xix, 16.
heart the memory of an injury? Who, to speak in figure, like *Exod.* xxxiv, 29.
Moses, has spoken with the Lord on the mountain and then, without
being terrified by the sounding trumpets, has brought to the people,
as Moses did, the two tables and a covered face impossible (unbear-
able) to look at and awful to unbelievers? Which of them,
praying for the sins of the people, has cried out from the depths
of his heart, as he, saying: Lord *this people hath sinned a great sin,* *Exod.* xxxii, 31, 32.
*which if thou forgive them forgive, otherwise blot me out of thy*
70 *book?* Who, burning with an extraordinary zeal for God, has
risen strongly to the immediate punishment of adultery, applying *Num.* xxv, 7.
the medicine of penance for the healing of filthy lust; lest anger

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quite in the way that the "Penitential" of Vinnianus also refers to it. Further, there is printed in our present volume a "Penitential" of Gildas; we know also of the Penitential canons of a British Synod (perhaps the Senedd Vrevi, mentioned in the *Buchedd Dewi*, p. 112, *Elucidarium*, ed. by John Morris Jones); of another Synod at Lucus Victoriae, and similar canons from "*The Book of David.*" The four fragments just named have been published by Wasserschleben in his *Bussordungen der Abendländ. Kirche*; the Fécamp MS., from which they are taken, is fully described by Maassen (*Geschichte der quellen u. der Lit. des canonischen Rechts*, s. 784). When the "De Paenitentia" of Gildas, the seven canons of *Sinodus Aquilonalis Britanniae*, the nine of *Sinodus Luci Victoriae*, and the sixteen given as *Excerpta quaedam de Libro Davidas*, are compared with the Penitentials of Vinnianus and Columbanus, they reveal to us a new phase of Church discipline, of which the cloister, not the bishop's church, is the centre. The position is novel, so also is the penance; both are Celtic.

The book of such a discipline would contain an enumeration of sins, together with the penance imposed in the case of each, for the healing of the soul. The usage itself of resorting to an abbot for "the medicine of penance," is, some two or three times, mentioned as taking place at Iona under Columba (Adamnan, *Vita Columb.*, i, 22; ii, 39), but the defect deprecated by Gildas in the present passage, shows that anything like a general use of Penitentials had not, when he wrote, established itself in Britain.

On the question of Penitentials see Seebass, *Das Poenitentiale Columbani*, *Zeitschrift für Kirchengesch.*, xiv, 430; *Realencyklopädie* of Herzog, 3rd edition, iii, 581; and for a very different opinion, Schmitz, *Die Bussbucher und die Bussdisciplin der Kirche*.

*Psalm.* cv, 31. ira populo inardesceret, sicut Finees sacerdos, ut per hoc *in aevo*[1]
*Ios.* xxiv, 11. *reputaretur illi iustitia*, strenue consurrexit? Quis vero eorum
vel in extirpationem usque ad internicionem de terra repromis-
sionis septem gentium morali intelligentia, vel ad constabili-
*Ios.* xxi, 22. tionem spiritalis Israel pro eis Iesum Nave imitatus est? Quis
eorum populo Dei finales terminos trans Iordanem, ut sciretur quid
cui tribui conveniat, sicut supradicti, Finees scilicet et Iesus,
sagaciter divisere, ostendit?

*Iud.* xi. Quis ut adversariorum plebi Dei innumera prosterneret gentium
milia, unicam filiam, quae propria voluptas intellegitur, imitans et
I *Cor.* x, 33. in hoc apostolum dicentem: *non quaerens quod mihi utile est, sed quod
multis, ut salvi fiant*, obviantem victoribus cum tympanis et choris, id
est carnalibus desideriis, in sacrificium votivae placationis, ut Iepte,
*Iud.* vi, 7. mactavit? Quis eorum ad conturbanda fuganda sternendaque
superbarum gentium castra, mysterii trinitatis,[2] ut supra diximus,
cum lagoenas viris tenentibus egregias in manibus sonantesque
tubas, id est propheticos et apostolicos sensus,[3] ut dixit Dominus
*Isai.* lviii, 1. prophetae: *exalta quasi tuba vocem tuam.* Et psalmista de apos-
*Psalm.* xviii, 4. tolis: *in omnem terram exivit sonus eorum* et lagoenas splendidis-
simo ignis lumine noctu coruscantes, quae accipiuntur in sanctorum
corporibus bonis operibus annexis et Sancti Spiritus igni ardenti-
*Cor.* iv, 7. bus, ut apostolus, *habentes*, inquit, *thesaurum istum in vasis fictili-
bus*, post idolatriae luci, quod moraliter interpretatum condensae
et fuscae cupiditatis, succisionem silvae[4] et evidentia signa Iudaici
velleris imbris caelestis expertis et gentilis rore Sancti Spiritus
madefacti fide non dubia, ut Gedeon, processit?

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[1] *In aevo* = *in aevum.* Cf., as previously, Rönsch, *Itala u. Vulgata*, p. 406. *Aevum* does not appear in the Latin Bible of the Vulgate version except in Ecclesiasticus, which, it is well known, was not revised by Jerome. Tert., *Ap.* 8, writes: *consignatus vivis in aevum.* We have thus in this quotation another piece of the Old Latin Psalter used in Britain, yet the wording is very different from that of Sabatier's Old Latin. Cod. Am. reads *in aeternum.* With "Finees sacerdos" we may compare "Finees pontifex" in Prosper's *Chron.*, 65.

[2] *Mysterii trinitatis.* The genitive is difficult to explain unless we take it as in apposition with *eorum.* This long and confused sentence may serve as an example of the mass of foreign ideas that were frequently introduced into plain narrative by the abuse of allegory. We have, in the 300 men of Gideon (so far a stock example that Gildas has forgotten to mention the number) a type of the Trinity; in the trumpets they carried a symbol of the voices of prophets and apostles, attested by Isaiah and the 19th Psalm; their lanterns typify that light which the saints carry in the body; the groves destroyed by Gideon signify desire; the wet fleece, Judaism, the dry, the Gentile world.

should burn against the people, as Phineas the priest did, so that *for*
*ever it might be counted unto him as righteousness?* Which of them *Psalms* cvi, 31.
has imitated Joshua, son of Nun, in moral understanding, either *Jos.* xxiv, 11.
to root out unto their utter destruction from the Land of Promise
the seven nations, or to establish in their stead a spiritual Israel?
Which of them has shown to the people of God their farthest *Jos.* xxi, 22.
boundaries beyond Jordan, so that they might know what is suitable
for each tribe, just as the above-named Phineas and Joshua made
a wise division of the country? Who, in order to overthrow the *Judges* xi.
innumerable throngs of the Gentiles, the enemies of God's people,
has, as Jephtha, offered up his only daughter—by which is under-
stood his own will, in this imitating the apostle when he says:
*Not seeking mine own profit but the profit of many, that they may* I *Cor.* x, 33.
*be saved*—offered her as a sacrifice of vow and propitiation when
she was coming to meet the victors with timbrel and dance, that
is, the carnal desires? Which of them, in order to disturb, put to *Judges* vi, 7.
flight and overthrow the camp of the proud Gentiles, went forth
with undoubting faith as Gideon? Went forth, showing the
mystery of the Trinity as was said above, with men holding in
their hands the extraordinary pitchers and sounding trumpets—
by which is meant the thoughts of prophets and apostles, as the
Lord said to the prophet, *Lift up thy voice like a trumpet;* and the *Isaiah* lviii, 1.
Psalmist said of the apostles, *Their sound is gone forth to all the* *Psalms* xix, 4.
*earth*—waving also the pitchers in the night with brightest light of
fire, which are understood of the bodies of the saints joined to
good works and glowing with the fire of the Holy Spirit, *Having*, II *Cor.* iv, 7.
as the apostle says, *this treasure in earthen vessels?* went forth,
after cutting down the wood in the grove of idolatry, which, in its
moral interpretation, means thick and dark desire, and after
the clear signs of the Jewish fleece without the moisture from
heaven, and of the Gentile fleece made wet by the dew of the
Holy Spirit?

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[3] *Apostolicos sensus.* The meaning implied in *sensus* here, where it seems to be almost identical with *sententia*, is not given in Du Cange. It may, however, be found in some ecclesiastical writers: the Tome of Leo, c. 6, for instance, in a reference to the heresy of Eutyches, reads as follows: "ut . . . . imprudentia hominis imperitietiam ab hac *sensus* sui peste purgetur." Faustus, *De Gratia*, Prol.: "Cum autem mentionem de opere et labore fecerimus, prophetae evangelistae, apostoli *et verbis utemur et sensibus*."

[4] *Succisionem silvae*: in Exod. xxxiv, 14; Deut. vii, 5: II Reg. viii, 4, we have *lucos succidere* for the work of destroying groves = τὰ ἄλση ἐκκόπτειν. (Cf. *in succisione lignorum*, Deut. xix, 5.)

*Phil.* i, 23. *Iud.* xvi, 24. *Col.* iii, 5. *Iud.* xvi, 30.

Quis eorum mori exoptans mundo et vivere Christo luxuriosos 71 gentium convivas laudantes deos suos, id est, sensus, extollentes divitias (ut apostolus *et avaritia,* inquit, *quae est simulacrorum servitus*), concussis duabus virtute brachiorum columnis, quae intelleguntur in voluptatibus nequam animae carnisque, quibus domus humanae omnis nequitiae quodammodo pangitur ac fulcimentatur, tam innumerabiles, ut Sampson, prostravit? Quis orationibus holocaustoque lactantis agni Philistinorum metum depellens insperatas tonitruorum voces nubiumque imbres concitans absque adulatione regem constituens, eundem Deo non placentem abiciens, uncto pro illo meliore in regno, ut Samuel, valedicturus populo astabit hoc modo dicens: *Ecce praesto sum, loquimini coram Domino et christo eius, utrum bovem cuiusquam tulerim an asinum, si quempiam calumniatus sum, si oppressi aliquem, si de manu cuiusquam munus accepi? cui a populo responsum est dicente: non es calumniatus nos neque oppressisti neque tulisti de manu alicuius quippiam.*

I *Sam.* vii, 9. I *Sam.* xii, 18. I *Sam.* x. I *Sam.* xv, 28; xvi, 13. I *Sam.* xii, 2-4.

II *Reg.* i, 9, 12. I *Reg.* xviii, 40. *Iac.* v, 17. I *Reg.* xix, 10.

Quis eorum, igne caelesti centum superbos exurens, quinquaginta humiles servans et absque adulationis fuco, non Deum per prophetas, sed idolum Accaron consulenti, mortem imminentem iniquo regi annuntians, omnes prophetas simulacri Baal, qui interpretati accipiuntur sensus humani invidiæ avaritae, ut iam diximus, semper intenti, mucrone corusco, hoc est verbo Dei, ut Helias[1] egregius vates, prostravit et zelo Dei commotus, iniquorum terrae imbres adimens aetherales, ac si fortissimo penurii clustello tribus annis sexque mensibus obseratos, fame siti moribundus in deserto conquestus est: Domine, inquiens, *prophetas tuos occiderunt et altaria tua suffoderunt et ego relictus sum solus et quaerunt animam meam?*

II *Reg.* v.

Quis eorum carissimum discipulum terrenis extra solitum 72 ponderibus oneratum, quae ante ea a se magnopere licet rogato ut acciperet despecta fuissent, etsi non perpetua lepra, ut Helisaeus, saltim expulsione multavit?

II *Reg.* vi, 15-17.

Et quis ex illis puero in vitae desperatione aestuanti atque inproviso super bellico hostium apparatu civitatem, in qua erant, obsidentium tremefacto inter nos, ut ille, animae visus, ferventi exoratione ad Deum facta, ita ut intueri poterit auxiliarium caelestis exercitus, armatorum curruum ceu equitum ignito vultu fulgentium montem plenum, patefecit, et credere quin fortior fortior

[1] *Helias, Helisaeus.* The forms *Elias* and *Elisaeus* of the Erasmian and Clementine editions of the Vulgate, are now abandoned in critical editions of the Latin New Testament.

71 Which of them, desiring to die to the world and live unto *Phil.* i, 23.
Christ, has made prostrate such innumerable luxurious banqueters *Judges* xvi, 24.
(that is, the senses), praising their gods, exalting riches (in the *Col.* iii, 5.
words of the apostle, *and covetousness which is idolatry*), as Samson *Judges* xvi, 30.
did, when he, by the strength of his arms, clashed the two columns,
which mean the vain pleasures of soul and flesh, by which the
house of every human wickedness is, in a manner, fixed and
established? Which of them, as Samuel, driving away fear of I *Sam.* vii, 9.
the Philistines by prayers and the offering of a sucking lamb as a I *Sam.* xii, 18. I *Sam.* x.
whole burnt-offering, brought on sudden thunder and rain from I *Sam.* xv, 28; xvi, 13.
the clouds, and appointing a king without flattery, casting away I *Sam.* xii, 2-4.
the same when not pleasing unto God, after anointing a better man
for the throne, stood to bid adieu to the people, speaking as follows:
*Here I am: speak before the Lord and His anointed: have I taken
anyone's ox or ass? have I made false accusation against any one?
have I oppressed any one? have I taken a reward from any man's
hand?* To him answer was made by the people: *Thou hast not
made false accusation against us, nor oppressed us, nor hast thou taken
anything from the hand of any man.*

Which of them, burning a hundred proud ones by fire from II *Kings* i, 9, 12.
heaven, while preserving fifty humble ones, and without the deceit
of flattery, announcing to the unrighteous king his impending
death, when he was taking counsel, not of God by his prophet, but
of the idol Accharon, which—like Elias, the illustrious prophet—
has overthrown with a gleaming sword, that is, the word of God,
all the prophets of the idol Baal, who, when interpreted, are under- I *Kings* xviii, 40.
stood to be the human emotions (as we have already said), ever
intent upon envy and covetousness? Who, as he, moved by zeal
for God, depriving the land of the unrighteous of rain from heaven, *James* v, 17.
as if it were shut up in the stronghold of want for three years and
six months, was about to die of famine and thirst in the wilderness,
and made his lament, saying, Lord, *they have slain thy prophets* I *Kings* xix, 10.
*and have thrown down thine altars, and I am left alone, and they
seek my life?*

72 Which of them, as Elisaeus, punished a beloved disciple, when II *Kings* v.
burdened beyond his wont by the weight of earthly things which
had previously been despised by himself, though earnestly entreated
to accept them, not by perpetual leprosy, it is true, yet by dismissal? II *Kings* vi, 15-17.
Which of them, as he, has opened the eyes of the soul for a ser-
vant, when, in despair of life, he was excited and trembling at the
sudden warlike preparations of the enemies, besieging the city in
which they were? Who among us, as he, has done this with

II *Reg.* iv. esset ad salvandum quam inimici ad pugnandum? Et quis eorum corporis tactu mortui scilicet mundo, viventis autem Deo, alii diverso funere occubanti procul dubio mortuo Deo, vitiis vero viventi quasi supra dictus proficiet, ita ut statim prosiliens Christo grates pro sanitate agat cunctorum paene mortalium ore desperata?

*Esai.* vi, 6, 7. II *Reg.* xix = *Esai.* xxxvii. Cuius eorum, carbone ignito de altari forcipe Cherubin advecto, ut peccata sua delerentur humilitate confessionis, labia, ut Esaiae, mundata sunt et efficaci oratione sibi adiuncta pii regis Ezechiae, supplantatione centum octoginta quinque milia exercitus Assyriorum nullo apparente vulneris vestigio angeli manu, ut supra dicti, prostrata sunt? *Jer.* xx, 2; xxxvii, 15; xxvi, 8. Quis eorum ob praecepta Dei et minas caelitus datas veritatemque vel non audientibus proferendam squalores pedoresque carcerum, ut momentaneas mortes, ut beatus Ieremias excepit? Et ne multa: quis eorum, ut magister gentium dixit, *Hebr.* xi, 37, 38. *errare in montibus et in speluncis, et in cavernis terrae, lapidari secari*, totius mortis genere pro nomine Domini *attemptari*, sicut sancti prophetae, perpessus est?

### (*b*) *Compared with New Testament examples.*

Sed quid immoramur in exemplis veteribus, ac si non essent in novo ulla? Audiant itaque nos, qui absque ullo labore angustum hoc iter Christianae religionis praetento tantum sacerdotali nomine intrare se putant, carpentes paucos flores veluti summos de extento sanctorum novi testamenti tironum[1] amoenoque prato. 73 Quis vestrum,[2] qui torpetis potius quam sedetis legitime in sacerdotali sede,[3] *Act.* xvi, 23. eiectus de consilio impiorum, post diversarum plagas virgarum ut sancti apostoli, quod dignus habitus est pro Christo vero Deo[4] contumeliam pati, toto corde trinitati gratias egit?

*Rufinus h. e.* ii, 23. Quis ob testimonium verum Deo ferendum fullonis vecte cerebro percussus, ut Iacobus primus in novo dumtaxat episcopus[5] testa-

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[1] *Tironum.* See the meaning of "Tirones," p. 8.

[2] *Quis vestrum? Quis eorum* is now abandoned for the more direct *Quis vestrum?*

[3] Cf. c. 66.

[4] *Christo vero Deo.* See p. 191, n. 1.

[5] *Iacobus . . . primus episcopus.* This story respecting the death of "James, the brother of the Lord," may have been derived by Gildas from the Latin version of Eusebius, *H. E.*, ii, 23, by Rufinus, or from Jerome's *De viris illustribus*, 2. As to the mode of death, we have a very early tradition preserved by Clement of Alexandria in his *Hypotyposes*, so Eusebius tells us, who may, according to Zahn's conjecture, have found it in the "Gospel according to the Egyptians." Almost the very words of Gildas may be read

fervent prayer offered unto God, so that he could see the mountain full of the heavenly army of allies, and of armed chariots or horsemen flashing with fiery countenances, and that he might believe that God was stronger to save than the enemies to fight? Which *II Kings* iv. of them also by contact with his body, when dead to the world, yet living unto God, shall profit, as the above-named did, another lying in a different death, that is, dead unto God, but living unto sins, so that he should forthwith leap forth and give thanks to Christ for a healing despaired of in the conversation of almost all men? Of which of them, with live coal carried from off the altar in the tongs of the cherubs, so that his sins should be blotted *Isaiah* vi, 6, 7. out, were the lips purified, as those of Isaiah, by humble con- *II Kings* xix = *Isaiah* xxxvi. fession? Was it not by those lips, with the help of the efficacious prayer of the pious king Hezekiah, that 185,000 of the Assyrian army, like the men mentioned above, were thoroughly overthrown, with no trace of wound, by the hand of the angel? Which of them, like blessed Jeremiah, because of the commands of *Jerem.* xx, 2; xxxvii, 15; xxvi, 8. God and his public utterance of threats given from heaven, and the truth even to men who heard not, experienced the squalor and filth of prisons, equivalent to death for a time? To be brief, who of them, as the teacher of the gentiles has said, suffered the *wandering on mountains, in caves and holes of the earth*, the *stoning*, *Hebr.* xi, 37, 38. the *cutting asunder*, the *trial* by every kind of death for the Lord's name, like the holy prophets?

### (*b*) *Compared with New Testament examples.*

73 Why do we delay in ancient examples as if there were not any in the New Testament? Let those men, therefore, who think that without any hardship they can enter this narrow way of the Christian religion merely by claiming the name of priest, listen to me as I cull a few flowers, the chiefest in a way, from the extensive and pleasant meadow of the holy soldiery of the New Testament.

Which of you, who loll listlessly rather than sit in a legitimate way in the priestly chair, was cast out from the council of the *Acts* xvi, 23. wicked, and, like the holy apostles, gave thanks with full heart to the Trinity, after blows from diverse rods, that he was held worthy to suffer contumely for Christ, the true God?

Who, through bearing true testimony to God, had his brains *Rufinus h. e.* ii, 23.

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in the narrative of Jerome, which is taken from Hegesippus. The coincidence between Gildas and Jerome appears too marked to be quite accidental:

mento, corporaliter interiit? Quis gladio vestrum ab iniquo prin-
*Act.* xii, 2. cipe, ut Iacobus Iohannis frater, capite caesus est? Quis, ut proto-
*Act.* vii, 58. minister[1] martyrque euangelicus, hoc solum criminis habens, quod
viderit Deum, quem perfidi videre nequiverant, nefandis manibus
lapidatus est? Quis inversis pedibus crucis affixus[2] pro reverentia
Christi patibulo, quem non minus morte quam vita honoraturus,
ut clavicularius ille[3] caelorum regni idoneus, extremum halitum
fudit? Quis ex vobis gladii ictu veridicantis pro confessione
Christi post vincula *carceris*,[4] naufragia *marum*, *virgarum* caedem,
II *Cor.* xi, 13, 23-29. post *fluminum latronum gentium* Iudaeorum *pseudoapostolorum*
continua *pericula*, post *famis ieiunii vigiliarum* labores, post per-
petem *sollicitudinem omnium ecclesiarum*, post *aestum* pro *scan-
dalizantibus*, post *infirmitatem* pro *infirmis*, post admirabilem
*Rom.* xv, 19 praedicando *Christi evangelium* orbis paene *circuitum* ut *vas
Act.* ix, 15. *electionis magisterque gentium* electus capite plexus est.

### (*c*) *Compared with examples furnished by Church History.*

Quis vestrum, ut sanctus martyr Ignatius Antiochiae urbis epis- 74
copus,[5] post admirabiles in Christo actus ob testimonium eius

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*fullonis fuste . . . . . in cerebro percussus interiit;* such are the words of Jerome, corresponding exactly to those of Gildas, with the exception of *fuste* for *vecte*, which is also found in Rufinus, who writes: *Et unus ex ipsis fullo, arrepto fuste*, etc. That James was the first bishop of Jerusalem, or in any way bishop, is not mentioned in the New Testament, where he is only known as "apostle," and, probably, an apostle holding some unique relation to that Church. Neither is this mentioned by Clement, as quoted by Eusebius; but Hegesippus, who about A.D. 156 travelled from Asia Minor by way of Corinth to Rome, and there devoted himself to draw up a list of the succession of bishops (Eus., *H. E.*, iv, 22, 3), mentions the tradition. "Suscepit ecclesiam Hierosolymae post apostolos frater Domini, Iacobus, cognomento Justus" (Jerome, from Euseb., *H. E.*, ii, 23, 4). Gildas, no doubt, records the universal belief of his own age.

[1] *Protominister.* Koffmanne (*Gesch. d. Kirchenlateins*, 34) mentions a number of similar hybrid words, showing the influence of Greek upon ecclesiastical Latin, *e.g.*, *protoplastus*, *protolapsus*, *primigenes* being an instance of a contrary direction: minister = diaconus.

[2] *Inversis pedibus.* Gildas, in his mention of this mode of crucifixion, is following again the familiar belief of his time. He may have read of it in the *De viris illustribus* of Jerome, or in Rufinus.

[3] *Clavicularius ille.* The use of this epithet almost leads one to the supposition that Gildas was acquainted with representations, mural or otherwise, of Peter bearing the keys. Krauss's *Real-Encycl.* informs us that the oldest known were on mosaics in apses of churches—St. Paolo, for instance, built A.D 441 by Leo the Great; the oldest statues belong to the end of the

dashed out with a fuller's club, and suffered bodily death, like
James, though the first bishop in the New Testament? Who
among you was beheaded, by an unjust prince as James the *Acts* xii, 2.
brother of John? Who, like the first deacon and martyr of the *Acts* vii, 58.
gospel, with no crime but this that he saw God, whom the unbe-
lieving could not have seen, has been stoned by impious hands?
Who, fixed to the cross-bar with feet up because of his reverence
for Christ, whom he intended to honour no less by death than by
life, breathed his last breath, like that fit keeper of the keys of the
kingdom of heaven? Who of you, as the *chosen vessel* and elect
*teacher of the gentiles*, was beheaded by a stroke of the sword,
for the confession of the Christ that spoke the truth, after *prison* II *Cor.* xi, 13,
chains, *shipwrecks at seas*, blows with *rods;* after continuous 23-29.
*perils of rivers*, of *robbers*, of Gentiles, of Jews, of *false apostles*,
after sufferings of *famine, fasting, watchings*, after constant *anxiety*
*for all the churches*, after *burning* for them that *cause stumbling*,
*after weakness* for the *weak*, after wonderful compassing of the *Rom.* xxv, 19.
world, almost, to preach *the gospel of Christ?* *Acts* ix, 15.

(*c*) *Compared with examples furnished by Church History.*

74 Who of you, like the holy martyr Ignatius, bishop of the city of Antioch, after wonderful deeds in Christ, was torn to pieces at

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fourth or beginning of fifth century. In this way such representations *may* have been not uncommon in Britain. Nevertheless, the word expresses the idea that was universal when Gildas wrote: the chief of the apostles (*princeps apostolorum*) as he names him (c. 106), received the keys of the kingdom to be bestowed through him upon others: Claves solus Petrus accepit (Opt. *Milet*, i, 10, 12). But as such, the epithet applied to him is *claviger regni coelorum*. The Irish *Liber Hymnorum*, however, gives instances of *clavicularius*, as in the Hymn of Cummineus Longus in *Laudem Apostolorum*, vv. 3, 4, vol. i, 18.

"exultans memoria
Clauiculari Petri primi pastoris,
Piscium rete euangelii captoris."

St. Cummain the Tall was born about thirty years after the death of Gildas, if we believe the Chronologies, which place it in 590, and his death in 661 or 662 (*ibid.*, vol. ii, 109).

"*Clavicularius* Ambros. d. Joseph, 5: concederet munere *clavicularius*, (ἀρχιδεσμοφύλαζ), Genes. (39, 22), 6: commendati . . . ab ipso carceris *clavicu-lario* (*ib.*, 40, 4)"; Rönsch, *Itala und Vulg.*, 134. Here it is used of the keeper of Joseph's prison.

[4] *Post vincula carceris*, etc. This passage is a series of allusions to II Cor. xi, 13, 23-29; and Rom. xii, 19; Acts ix, 15.

[5] *Ignatius Antiochiae urbis episcopus.* Here Gildas is certainly borrowing from Eusebius, *H. E.*, iii, 36, 7, in the version of Rufinus. Jerome has also, in

leonum molis Romae confractus est? Cuius verba cum ad passionem duceretur audientes, si aliquando vultus vestri rubore confusi sunt, non solum in comparatione eius vos non putabitis sacerdotes, sed ne mediocres quidem Christianos esse. Ait enim in *Rufinus hist. eccl.* iii, 36 (=*Ignatius ad Rom.* 5). epistola, quam ad Romanam ecclesiam misit: *a Syria usque Romam cum bestiis terra marique depugno die ac nocte conexus et colligatus decem leopardis, militibus dico ad custodiam datis, qui ex beneficiis nostris saeviores fiunt. Sed ego eorum nequitiis magis erudior, nec tamen in hoc iustificatus sum. O salutares bestias, quae praeparantur mihi, quando venient? Quando emittentur? Quando eis frui licebit carnibus meis? Quas ego exopto acriores parari et invitabo ad devorationem mei et deprecabor, ne forte, ut in nonnullis fecerunt, timeant attingere corpus meum: quin immo, et si cunctabuntur, ego vim faciam, ego me ingeram. Date, quaeso, veniam; ego novi, quid expediat mihi: nunc incipio esse Christi discipulus: facessat invidia vel humani affectus, vel nequitiae spiritalis, ut in Iesum Christum adipisci merear ignes, cruces, bestias, dispersiones ossium discerptionesque membrorum ac totius corporis poenae et omnia in me unum supplicia diaboli arte quaesita compleantur, dummodo Iesum Christum merear adipisci.*

Quid ad haec dormitantibus animae oculis aspicitis? Quid talia surdis sensuum auribus auscultatis? Discutite, quaeso, tenebrosam atramque cordis vestri caliginem teporis, ut veritatis et humilitatis praefulgidum lumen videre possitis. Christianus non mediocris,[1] sed perfectus, sacerdos non vilis, sed summus, martyr non segnis, sed praecipuus dicit: *nunc incipio esse Christi discipulus.* *Esai.* xiv, 12. Et vos, ac si Lucifer ille de caelo proiectus, verbis, non potestate erigimini et quodammodo sub dente ruminatis et gestibus *Esai.* xiv, 13, 14. praetenditis, quae antea actor vester depinxerat, *in caelum*, inquiens, *conscendam et ero similis altissimo.* Et iterum: *Ego fodi et bibi*

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the *De viris illust.*, c. 16, a Latin version of the passage, but an entirely different one from that in Gildas' quotation. The facts recorded are naturally the same.

It is well to remind ourselves that Gildas is comparing, not the simoniacal, immoral clergy with such an example as Ignatius, but those against whom he has no wish to make any charge in respect of their life. These blameless ones, when placed side by side with the fervid Antiochene martyr, cannot regard themselves as priests; barely are they Christians, and of an indifferent type. Of the same scathing severity, are the words in which he declares that they sleep rather than worthily take their seat in the priest's chair.

Eusebius quotes the whole of c. 5 in the Letter of Ignatius to the Roman church, written by him when on his way, as a prisoner, from Antioch to Rome and martyrdom, during the reign of Trajan, about A.D. 110-120.

Rome by the teeth of lions, because of his testimony? When you hear his words as he was being led to his passion, if ever you have—with blushing—felt confusion of face, you will not only not consider yourselves priests in comparison with him, but will barely regard yourselves as middling Christians. In the epistle which he sent to the Roman Church he says: *From Syria unto Rome I fight with* *Rufinus hist. eccl.* iii, 26 *wild beasts, by land and sea, day and night, being bound and tied* (=*Ignatius* *to ten leopards, I mean the soldiers appointed as guards, who wax* *ad Rom.* 5). *more cruel by our kindnesses. Howbeit by their wickednesses I grow more instructed, yet am I not hereby justified. O! the beasts of salvation, that are being prepared for me, when will they come? When shall they be let out? When will it be free for them to enjoy my flesh? These I wish to be made more prompt, and I will entice them to devour me, and pray that they will not, as they have done in the case of some, fear to touch my body. Yea, even if they delay, I will force them to it; I shall rush upon them. Bear with me; I know what is expedient for me. Now am I beginning to be a disciple of Christ. Let the envy, whether of human feeling or spiritual wickedness, cease, that I may be worthy to attain unto Jesus Christ; may fires, crosses, beasts, wrenchings of bones, hacking of limbs, and pains in my whole body, and all tortures devised by the art of the devil be fulfilled in me alone, provided I be worthy to attain unto Jesus Christ.*

Why do you look at these things with the sleepy eyes of your soul? Why listen to such with the dull ears of your senses? Disperse, I pray, the dark black mist of your heart's slothfulness, so that ye may be able to see the beaming light of truth and humility. A no common Christian but a perfect one, a no mean but most excellent priest, a martyr not sluggish but distinguished, says: *Now am I beginning to be a disciple of Christ.* And you, just like that Lucifer, cast down from heaven, are puffed up with words, *Isaiah* xiv, 12. not power, and ruminate under your teeth, and allege by gestures the things which your advocate had formerly pictured, saying: *I* *Isaiah* xiv, 13, 14. *will ascend unto heaven, and will be like to the Most High;* and again: *I have digged and drunk water, and with the print of my*

[1] *Christianus non mediocris.* Gildas' picture of Ignatius describes what he could wish his priest to be—no mean, but perfect Christian; no common, but high-minded priest; a distinguished martyr, not sluggish; and such a one that, as he nears his noble end, says: "I am but beginning to be a disciple of Christ."

*Esai.* xxxvii, 25. *aquam et exsiccavi vestigio pedum meorum omnes rivos aggerum.* Multo rectius oportebat vos imitari illum et audire, qui totius bonitatis et humilitatis vere invictum exemplar est, dicentem per prophetam : *Psalm.* xxi, 7. *Ego autem sum vermis et non homo, opprobrium hominum et abiectio plebis.* O mirabile quoddam dixisse eum opprobrium hominum, cum omnis mundi opprobria deleverit : et iterum in euangelio. *Ioh.* v, 30. *Non possum ego a me ipso facere quicquam ;* cum ipse coaevus Patri ac Spiritui Sancto,[1] communis eiusdemque substantiae, caelum et terram cum omni eorum inaestimabili ornamento fecerit, non alterius sed propria potestate ; et vos arroganter verba exaltasse, propheta dicente : *Ecclus.* x, 9. *Quid superbit terra et cinis ?*

*Rufinus h. e.* iv, 15. Sed ad propositum revertar : Quis, inquam, ex vobis, ut Smyr- 75
nensis ecclesiae pastor egregius Polycarpus[2] Christi testis, mensam humane hospitibus ad ignem eum avide trahentibus apposuit et obiectus flammis pro Christi caritate dixit : *Qui dedit mihi ignis ferre supplicium, dabit, ut sine clavorum confixione flammas immobiliter perferam.*

Unum adhuc praeter magnam verbis volans sanctorum silvam *Rufinus h. e.* xi, 5. exempli gratia ponam, Basilium scilicet Caesariensem episcopum,[3] qui, cum ab iniquo principe minae huiuscemodi intentarentur, quod, nisi in crastinum Arriano caeno,[4] ut ceteri, macularetur, esset omnino moriturus, dixisse fertur : *Ego sane ero cras, qui hodie sum :*

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[1] *Cum ipse coaevus Patri*, etc. This is about the only theological passage in Gildas, unless we add *Christo vero Deo* of the last chapter. But two terms not often met with in Creeds and Formulas of faith appear here. The first is *coaevus*, instead of *coaeternus* or *consempiternus*, in which we are reminded that Gildas employs *in aevum* for *in aeternum*, c. 25 and c. 70. The other is *communis eiusdemque substantiae ;* we generally find *unius substantiae cum Patre* (*e.g.*, Creed of Damasus, Hahn's *Bibliothek*, p. 272) : but the Creed of Toledo, A.D. 675, says, *hoc est eiusdem cum Patre substantiae* (Hahn, p. 243). Gildas could not have in mind the so-called Nicene Creed, which employs *consubstantialis*.

[2] *Smyrnensis ecclesiae pastor egregius Polycarpus.* This brief account of the last days of Polycarp, who died A.D. 155, is taken from Rufinus' version of the extracts made by Eusebius in Book vi, 15, of his *History*, from the *Martyrium Polycarpi*.

[3] *Basilium Caesariensem episcopum.* The two previous examples are those of early martyrs, whose bold and steadfast spirit Gildas would fain find in the respectable clergy of his time. Now he brings forward a different case : a man who by his firm dignified bearing (A.D. 371), bewildered a cruel praefect—Modestus—and struck awe into the soul of Valens, the persecuting emperor. Valens, as is said, had made an oath to convert all his Christian subjects to Arianism. He is the *iniquus princeps* mentioned above ; but the fearless bishop, who knew how to speak with princes, filled him with admiration and terror, and was almost able to save the province of Cappadocia.

*feet have dried up all the rivers of the banks.* Far more rightly ought ye to imitate and hear him who is the victorious example of goodness and humility when he says by the prophet : *But I am a worm and no man, a reproach of men and rejected of the people.* O ! something wonderful for Him to say that He was the reproach of men, when He blotted out the reproaches of the whole world. Again, in the gospel : *I can of myself do nothing*, when He Himself, coeternal with the Father and the Holy Spirit, of common and the same substance, made heaven and earth with all their priceless ornamentation, not by the might of another, but by His own. And wonderful that you should arrogantly have held high words, though the prophet says : *Why is earth and ashes proud?*

*Isaiah* xxxvii, 25. *Psalms* xxii, 6 *Jo.* v, 30. *Eccl.* x, 9.

75 But let me return to my theme. Who of you, I say, like noble Polycarp, the pastor of the church at Smyrna, witness of Christ, placed a table with kindliness to guests that were violently dragging him to the fire, and when exposed to the flames for his love of Christ said : *He who gave me to bear the torture of fire will give me to endure the flames unshaken without any fastening by nails?* One more, swiftly flying in my words past the thick forest of the saints, will I put forth by way of example. I mean Basil, the bishop of Caesarea, who, when threats were pressed by an unjust prince to the effect that unless, by the morrow, he would, like the rest, defile himself with the Arian filth, he should die without fail, is said to have answered : *I in sooth shall to-morrow be the man I am to-day : as for thee, mayest thou not change.* Again, he

*Rufinus h. e.* iv, 15. *Rufinus h. e.* xi, 5.

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The two sayings of Basil, and probably the bulk of what is narrated, Gildas owes to Rufinus, xi, 9, where he continues the *History* of Eusebius ; but there are some details found here which indicate a wider knowledge than could be procured from Rufinus. The account of the persecution of Basil at the hands of Valens is found in Theodoret, iv, 19 ; Socrates, iv, 26 ; Sozomen, vi, 16 ; as well as in the work of Rufinus. The facts are more fully given by Theodoret than by the others, and he appears to have had Gregory of Nazianz' *Oratio in laudem Basilii Magni* as an independent source ; the *Orationes* of Gregory were also translated into Latin by Rufinus, as he himself states in the very chapter from which Gildas quotes. Is it not possible that Gildas was acquainted with the incidents of the persecution from either Theodoret or Gregory, *as well as* from Rufinus? There is no mention in Rufinus of what is implied in the words *Arriano caeno* ; whereas, Theodoret expressly says that the emperor had commanded the Praefect Modestus either to persuade Basil to communicate with Eudoxius (the Arian bishop of Constantinople), or in case he refused, to exile him.

[4] *Arriano caeno* ; with Arian filth : that is, the demand that he should enter into communion with the Arian Eudoxians.

*tu te utinam non mutares.* Et iterum: *utinam haberem aliquid digni muneris, quod offerrem huic, qui maturius Basilium de nodo follis huius absolveret.*[1] Quis ex vobis[2] apostolici sermonis regulam, quae ab omnibus semper sanctis sacerdotibus quibusque temporibus extantibus humanam suggestionem praecipitanter ad nequitiam festinantem, recutientibus servata est, in concussione tyrannorum
Act. v, 29. indirupte custodivit, hoc modo dicens: *Oboedire oportet magis Deo quam hominibus.*

3. *Quotations of incriminatory passages directed against "lazy and unworthy priests" (a) from the Old Testament,* cc. 76-91; *(b) from the New,* cc. 92-105; *(c) from the selections of Scriptural Lessons found in the British Ordinal, or Service-book used in ordinations,* cc. 106-107.

### (*a*) *Old Testament passages.*

Igitur confugientes solito more[3] ad Domini misericordiam sanc- 76
torumque prophetarum eius voces, ut illi pro nobis oraculorum suorum iacula inperfectis pastoribus, ut antea tyrannis, quis compuncti sanentur, librent, videamus quid Dominus per prophetas ad desides et inhonestos sacerdotes et non bene populum tam exempla quam verba docentes minarum loquatur. Nam et Heli ille sacerdos in Silo pro eo, quod non digno Deo zelo severe in filios contemnentes Deum ultus fuerat, sed molliter et clementer, utpote paterno affectu, admonuerat, tali animadversione damnatur, dicente
I Sam. ii, 27, 28. ad eum propheta: *Haec dicit Dominus:*[4] *manifeste ostendi me ad domum patris tui, cum essent in Aegypto servientes in domo Pharaonis, et elegi domum patris tui ex omnibus tribubus Israel mihi in sacer-*

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[1] *De nodo follis hujus; follis* means "bellows," by which probably Basil means his own frail body. Sozomen (vi, 16) gives us the true meaning: "Basil replied that it would be a great gain to him to be delivered from the bondage of the body, and that he should consider himself under obligation to whoever would free him from that bondage."

[2] *Quis ex vobis*: This last question sums up the writer's complaint against this class: they are not souls that dare; they will not say, "it behoves us to obey God rather than men."

[3] *Solito more.* We have now a repetition of the method adopted in c. 38, that is, long quotations of the words spoken by prophets; let us note, however, that Gildas is swayed not simply by a spirit of invective; he appeals to Divine compassion in the hope that "slothful and unworthy priests" may feel

said : *Would that I had some worthy reward to offer him who would free Basil from the bond of this frame.* Who of you, amid the distraction of tyrants, has inviolably kept the rule given in the apostolic word ? I mean the rule which has been observed always by all the holy priests, in all times that have been, rejecting the intimation of men which hurried them headlong to vanity, speaking after this manner : *We ought to obey God rather than men.* *Acts* v, 29.

3. *Quotations of incriminatory passages directed against "lazy and unworthy priests"* (*a*) *from the Old Testament*, cc. 76-91 ; (*b*) *from the New*, cc. 92-105 ; (*c*) *from the selections of Scriptural Lessons found in the British Ordinal, or Service-book used in ordinations*, cc. 106-107.

### (*a*) *Old Testament passages.*

76 Let us therefore make our flight to the Lord's mercy and the words of His holy prophets, so that they for us may poise the javelins of their oracles against imperfect pastors, as heretofore against tyrants, in order that through compunction they may be healed. Let us see what threats the Lord utters by the prophets against slothful and unseemly priests, and such as did not teach the people well by example and words. Eli, that priest in Shiloh, because he had not with a zeal worthy of God punished his sons when they held God in contempt, but mildly and gently admonished them, certainly with the feelings of a father, is condemned in such a censure as the following. The prophet says to
him : *Thus saith the Lord,—Plainly did I show myself to the house* I *Sam.* ii, 27,
*of thy father when they were in Egypt, slaves in the house of Pharaoh.* 28.
*And I chose the house of thy father out of all the tribes of Israel for*

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compunction and be saved. As before, he begins with Samuel and ends, after long tarrying with the Minor Prophets, with Ezekiel. See p. 97, on the order of extracts.

[4] *Haec dicit Dominus.* None of these six verses, quoted from I Sam. ii, are from the Vulgate version ; on the other hand, the quotations from the same Book in cc. 38, 71, follow that version closely. *We may thus conclude that Gildas possessed codices of I Samuel in both Old and New versions.*

Jerome quotes v. 27 in *Ep. ad Marcell.*, in exactly the same words as Gildas here : from that quotation, and the LXX ὄντων δούλων τῷ οἴκῳ Θαραώ, as well as the MS. A, I have ventured to supply *in domo* before the Genitive *Pharaonis.* Polydore Virgil printed Pharaoni.

I *Sam.* ii, 29. *dotio.* Et post pauca : *Quare respexisti in incensum meum et in
sacrificium meum improbo oculo et honorificasti filios tuos plus quam
me, ut benediceres eos a primordio in omnibus sacrificiis coram me ?*[1]
I *Sam.* ii, 30, 31. *Et nunc sic dicit Dominus : quoniam qui honorificant me, honorabo
eos : et qui pro nihilo habent me, ad nihilum redigentur. Ecce dies
venient et disperdam nomen tuum et semen domus patris tui. Et*
I *Sam.* ii, 34. *hoc tibi signum sit, quod veniet super duos filios tuos Ofni et Finees ;
in uno die morientur ambo in gladio virorum.*[2] Si haec itaque
patiuntur, qui verbis tantum subiectos et non condigna ultione
emendant, quid ipsis fiet, qui ad mala hortantur peccando et tra-
hunt ? Quid illi quoque perspicuum est vero vati post expletionem 77
signi ab eodem praedicti et restitutionem aridae manus impio regi
misso a Iudaea prophetare in Bethel prohibitoque, ne quid ibidem
cibi gustaret, ac decepto ab alio, ut dicebatur, propheta, ut parum
quid panis et aquae sumeret, obtigit, dicente ad eum suo hospite :
I *Reg.* xiii, 21-24. *Haec dicit Dominus Deus : quia inoboediens fuisti ori Domini et non
custodisti mandatum, quod praecepit Dominus Deus tuus et reversus
es et comedisti panem et bibisti aquam in hoc loco, in quo mandaveram
tibi, ne manducares panem nec biberes aquam, non ponetur corpus
tuum in sepulcro patrum tuorum. Et factum est,* inquit, *postquam
manducavit panem et bibit aquam, stravit sibi asinam suam et abiit ;
et invenit eum leo in via et occidit eum ?*

*Esai.* iii, 11-15. Esaiam quoque sanctum prophetam de sacerdotibus hoc modo 78
loquentem audite : *Vae impio in malum, retributio enim manuum
eius fiet ei. Populum meum exactores sui spoliaverunt et mulieres
dominatae sunt eius. Popule meus, qui beatum te dicunt, ipsi te
decipiunt et viam gressuum tuorum dissipant. Stat ad iudicandum
Dominus et stat ad iudicandos populos. Dominus ad iudicium
veniet cum senibus populi sui et principibus eius. Vos depasti estis
vineam meam, rapina pauperis in domo vestra. Quare atteritis
populum meum et facies pauperum commolitis ? dicit Dominus exer-*
*Esai.* x, 1-3. *cituum.* Et item : *Vae qui condunt leges iniquas et scribentes inius-
titiam scripserunt, ut opprimerent in iudicio pauperes et vim facerent
causae humilium populi mei, ut essent viduae praeda eorum et pupil-
los diriperent. Quid facietis in die visitationis et calamitatis de*
*Esai.* xxviii, 7, 8. *longe venientis ?* Et infra : *Verum hi quoque prae vino nescierunt
et prae ebrietate erraverunt, sacerdotes nescierunt prae ebrietate, ab-*

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[1] V. 29 is quoted by Lucifer of Cagliari as we find it in Gildas.

[2] *In gladio virorum.* This strange addition, and strong Hebraism, though not found in either the LXX or the Vulgate, is attested by Lucifer's quotation of the same verse, as an Old Latin reading.

*me in the priesthood.* After a few words: *Why didst thou look upon* 1 *Sam.* ii, 29.
*my incense and my sacrifice with an evil eye, and didst honour*
*thy sons more than me, so as to bless them from the beginning in*
*all the sacrifices before me?* And now thus saith the Lord: 1 *Sam.* ii, 30, 31.
*Because them that honour me will I honour, and they that despise*
*me shall be brought to nought, behold the days shall come that I*
*shall destroy thy name and the seed of thy father's house. And let* 1 *Sam.* ii, 34.
*this be a sign unto thee, which shall come upon thy two sons Hophni*
*and Phineas: in one day shall they both die by the sword of men.* If
therefore they who merely correct those subject to them by words,
and not by deserved punishment, suffer these things, what shall
be to those who incite and draw men to wicked deeds by sinning?

77 What happened also to that true prophet, after the fulfilment
of the sign foretold by himself and the restoration of the withered
hand to the impious king, when he was sent to prophesy in Bethel,
and was forbidden to take any food there, but was deceived by
another prophet, as he was called, to take a little bread and water,
is evident. His host says to him: *Thus saith the Lord God,* 1 *Kings* xiii, 21-24.
*Forasmuch as thou wert disobedient to the mouth of the Lord and*
*hast not kept the commandment which the Lord thy God commanded,*
*and camest back and hast eaten bread and drunk water in this place*
*in which I had commanded thee not to eat bread nor to drink water,*
*thy body shall not be placed in the sepulchre of thy fathers. And it*
*came to pass,* it is said, *after he had eaten bread and had drunk*
*water, that he saddled his ass for him and he departed. And a lion*
78 *found him in the way and slew him.* Hear also the holy prophet
Isaiah, speaking of the priests in the following manner: *Woe unto* *Isaiah* iii, 11-15.
*the wicked for evil! for the reward of his hands shall be unto him.*
*Their overseers have spoiled my people and women have ruled over*
*them. O! my people, they who call thee blessed, themselves deceive*
*thee and destroy the way of thy paths. The Lord standeth to judge*
*and standeth to judge the peoples. The Lord will come to judgment*
*with the elders of his people and the princes thereof. Ye have eaten*
*up my vineyard, the spoil of the poor is in your house. Why crush*
*ye my people and grind the face of the poor? saith the Lord of hosts.*
Again: *Woe unto them that decree unrighteous laws and as writers* *Isaiah* x, 1-3.
*have written unrighteousness, to oppress the needy in judgment and*
*make violence to the cause of the poor of my people, that widows may*
*be their prey, and that they may rob the fatherless. What will ye*
*do in the day of visitation and of the calamity that cometh from afar?*
Below also: *But these have also been ignorant through wine, and* *Isaiah* xxviii, 7, 8.
*have erred through drunkenness; priests have been ignorant by*

*sorpti sunt a vino, erraverunt in ebrietate, nescierunt videntem, igno-*
*raverunt iudicium. Omnes enim mensae repletae sunt vomitu sordium,*
*Is.* xxviii, 14, 15. *ita ut non esset ultra locus. Propterea audite verbum Domini, viri* 79
*illusores, qui dominamini super populum meum, qui est in Hieru-*
*salem. Dixistis enim: Percussimus foedus cum morte et cum*
*inferno fecimus pactum. Flagellum inundans cum transierit, non*
*veniet super nos, quia posuimus mendacium spem nostram et mendacio*
*Is.* xxviii, 17-19. *protecti sumus.* Et post aliquanta: *Et subvertet grando spem*
*mendacii et protectionem aquae inundabunt, et delebitur foedus vestrum*
*cum morte et pactum vestrum cum inferno non stabit: Flagellum*
*inundans cum transierit, eritis et in conculcationem: quandocumque*
*Esai.* xxix, 13-16. *pertransierit, tollet vos.* Et iterum: *Et dixit Dominus: eo quod*
*appropinquat populus iste ore suo et labiis glorificant me, cor autem*
*eorum longe est a me: ideo ecce ego addam, ut admirationem faciam*
*populo huic miraculo grandi et stupendo. Peribit enim sapientia*
*a sapientibus eius et intellectus prudentium eius abscondetur. Vae*
*qui profundi estis corde, ut a Domino abscondatis consilium, quorum*
*sunt in tenebris opera ei dicunt: quis videt nos? et quis novit nos?*
*Esai.* lxvi, 1-3. *perversa enim haec vestra cogitatio.* Et post aliquanta: *Haec dicit*
*Dominus: caelum sedes mea et terra scabellum pedum meorum est.*
*Quae ista est domus, quam aedificabitis mihi? Et quis erit locus*
*quietis meae? Omnia haec manus mea fecit et facta sunt universa*
*ista, dicit Dominus. Ad quem autem aspiciam nisi ad pauperculum*
*et contritum spiritu et trementem sermones meos? Qui immolat*
*bovem, quasi qui interficiat virum: qui mactat pecus, quasi qui ex-*
*cerebret canem: qui offert oblationem, quasi qui sanguinem suillum*
*offerat: qui recordatur thuris, quasi qui benedicat idolo. Haec*
*omnia elegerunt in viis suis et in abominationibus suis anima eorum*
*delectata est.*

Hieremias quoque virgo[1] prophetaque quid insipientibus loquatur 80
*Ier.* ii, 5. pastoribus, attendite: *Haec dicit Dominus: quid invenerunt patres*
*vestri in me iniquitatis, quia elongaverunt a me et ambulaverunt*
*Ier.* ii, 7-9. *post vanitatem et vani facti sunt?* Et paulo post: *Et ingressi*
*contaminastis terram meam et hereditatem meam posuistis in abomi-*

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[1] *Hieremias quoque virgo.* See c. 47. As early as Origen, Jeremiah is regarded as the distinguished example of the ascetic, and, particularly, the celibate, life. This is the fanciful Alexandrian explanation of Jerem. xx, 8: "I cry violence and spoil"; or, according to the LXX: "I shall summon faithlessness and hardship": ἀθεσίαν καὶ ταλαιπωρίαν ἐπικαλέσομαι. Origen asks whether anyone will imitate the prophet in abstaining from marriage, etc. ἐν ταῖς ἀσκήσεσιν. He thus became, for subsequent writers also, the leading instance of an ascetic.

*reason of drunkenness; they are swallowed up of wine, they have erred in drunkenness; they have not known Him that seeth, they have been ignorant of judgment. For all tables were filled with the vomit of their filthiness, so that there was no more room.*

79 *Wherefore hear the word of the Lord, ye scoffing men, that rule* [*Isaiah* xxviii, 14, 15.] *over my people which is in Jerusalem. For ye have said, We have made a covenant with death and with hell we are in agreement; when the overflowing scourge shall pass through, it shall not come upon us, for we have made falsehood our hope, and under falsehood have we hid ourselves.* A little further: *And the hail shall upset the* [*Isaiah* xxviii, 17-19.] *hope of falsehood, and the waters shall overflow the hiding-place, and your covenant with death shall be disannulled and your agreement with hell shall not stand: when the overflowing scourge shall pass through, ye shall be trodden down. Whenever it shall pass through, it shall sweep you away.* Again: *And the Lord said, Foras-* [*Isaiah* xxix, 13-16.] *much as this people draw near me with their mouth and glorify me with their lips, but their heart is far from me, therefore, behold, I will proceed to cause a wondering in this people by a great and amazing marvel. For wisdom shall perish from its wise men, and the understanding of its prudent men shall be hid. Woe unto you who are deep of heart to hide your counsel from the Lord, whose works are in the dark and they say, Who seeth us? and, Who knoweth us? persevere in this your thought.* Somewhat further: [*Isaiah* lxvi, 1-3.] *Thus saith the Lord, Heaven is my throne and the earth my footstool: which is the house that ye will build unto me? and which is the place of my rest? All these things hath mine hand made, all those things came to pass, saith the Lord. To whom will I look except to him that is poor and of a contrite spirit, and that trembleth at my words? He that sacrificeth an ox is as he that slayeth a man; he that killeth a sheep is as he that beateth out the brains of a dog; he that offereth an oblation is as he that offereth swine's blood; he that remembereth frankincense is as he that blesseth an idol. These things have they chosen in their own ways, and in their abominations their soul delighteth.*

80 Jeremiah also, celibate and prophet, listen what he says to foolish pastors: *Thus saith the Lord, What unrighteousness have* [*Jer.* ii, 5.] *your fathers found in me that they are gone far from me, and have walked after vanity and have become vain?* A little further: *When* [*Jer.* ii, 7-9.] *ye entered, ye defiled my land and placed mine heritage an abomination. The priests said not, Where is the Lord? And they that handle the law knew me not, and the pastors transgressed against me. Wherefore I will hereafter plead with you in judgment, saith* [*Jer.* v, 30, 31.]

P

*nationem. Sacerdotes non dixerunt : ubi est Dominus? Et tenentes
legem nescierunt me et pastores praevaricati*[1] *sunt in me. Propterea
adhuc iudicio contendam vobiscum, ait Dominus, et cum filiis vestris*
*Ier.* v, 30, 31. *disceptabo.* Item post aliquanta : *Stupor et mirabilia facta sunt in
terra : prophetae praedicabant mendacium et sacerdotes applaudebant
manibus suis et populus meus dilexit talia. Quid igitur fiet in no-*
*Ier.* vi, 10. *vissimis eius? Cui loquar et contestabor, ut audiat? ecce incircum-
cisae aures eorum et audire non possunt. Ecce verbum Domini fac-*
*Ier.* vi, 12-15. *tum est illis in opprobrium et non suscipiunt illud : Quia extendam
manum meam super habitantes terram, dicit Dominus. A minore
quippe usque ad maiorem omnes avaritiae student, et a propheta usque
ad sacerdotem cuncti faciunt dolum. Et curabant contritionem filiae
populi mei cum ignominia dicentes : pax, pax, et non erit pax. Con-
fusi sunt, qui abominationem fecerunt. Quin potius confusione non
sunt confusi et erubescere nescierunt. Quam ob rem cadent inter
ruentes, in tempore visitationis eorum corruent, dicit Dominus.* Et
*Ier.* vi, 28-30. iterum : *Omnes isti principes declinantium ambulantes fraudulenter
aes et ferrum universi corrupti sunt, defecit sufflatorium in igne,
frustra conflavit conflator, malitiae autem eorum non sunt consump-
tae, argentum reprobum vocate eos, quia Dominus proiecit illos.* Et
*Ier.* vii, 11-15. post pauca : *Ego sum, ego sum, ego vidi, dicit Dominus. Ite ad
locum meum in Silo, ubi habitavit nomen meum a principio, et videte
quae fecerim ei propter malitiam populi mei Israel. Et nunc quia
fecistis omnia opera haec, dicit Dominus : et locutus sum ad vos mane
consurgens et loquens et non audistis, et vocavi vos et non respondistis,
faciam domui huic, in qua invocatum est nomen meum et in qua vos
habetis fiduciam, et loco, quem dedi vobis et patribus vestris, sicut*
*Ier.* x, 20, 21. *feci Silo et proiciam vos a facie mea.* Et iterum : *Filii mei exierunt* 81
*a me et non subsistunt, et non est qui extendat ultra tentorium meum
et erigat pelles meas, quia stulte egerunt pastores et Dominum non
quaesierunt. Propterea non intellexerunt et grex eorum dispersus*
*Ier.* xi, 15, 16. *est.* Et post aliquanta : *Quid est quod dilectus meus in domo mea
facit scelera multa? Numquid carnes sanctae auferent a te malitias
tuas, in quibus gloriata es? Olivam uberam pulchram fructiferam
speciosam vocavit Dominus nomen tuum. Ad vocem loquelae grandis*
*Ier.* xii, 9, 10. *exarsit ignis in ea et combusta sunt fruteta eius.* Et iterum : *Ve-
nite, congregamini, omnes bestiae terrae, properate ad devorandum.
Pastores multi demoliti sunt vineam meam, conculcaverunt partem
meam, dederunt portionem meam desiderabilem in desertum solitudi-*
*Ier.* xiv, 10 *nis.* Itemque loquitur : *Haec dicit Dominus populo huic, qui dilexit*

[1] On *praevaricari* as Biblical Latin for παραβαίνειν, see c. 1. Instead of *erit* (l. 13) and *declinantium* (l. 17) the ordinary Vulgate reads *erat*, *declinantes*.

*the Lord, and with your children will I dispute.* Also, after some-
what more: *An amazement and wonderful things have been com-* *Jer.* v, 30, 31.
*mitted in the land; the prophets prophesied falsehood and the priests*
*applauded with their hands, and my people have loved such things.*
*What therefore shall be done in the end thereof? To whom shall I* *Jer.* vi, 10.
*speak and testify that he may hear? behold their ears are uncircum-*
*cised and they cannot hearken; behold the word of the Lord is*
*become unto them a reproach and they receive it not. For I will*
*stretch out my hand upon the inhabitants of the land, saith the Lord.* *Jer.* vi, 12-15.
*For from the least of them even unto the greatest of them, every one is*
*given to covetousness, and from the prophet even unto the priest every*
*one dealeth falsely. They have healed also the hurt of the daughter of*
*my people meanly, saying, Peace, peace; and there will be no peace.*
*They were put to shame, they who have committed an abomination.*
*Nay, they were not at all ashamed and could not blush. Therefore*
*they shall fall among them that fall; at the time of their visitation*
*they shall be cast down, saith the Lord.* Again: *They all are* *Jer.* vi, 28-30.
*princes of men that turn aside; they walk fraudulently; brass and*
*iron are they; they have been all together corrupted; the bellows have*
*failed in the fire; in vain hath the founder melted, but their wicked-*
*nesses have not been consumed: call them refuse silver because the*
*Lord hath rejected them.* A short space after: *I am, I am, I have* *Jer.* vii, 11-15.
*seen, saith the Lord. Go ye unto my place in Shiloh where my*
*name dwelt from the first, and see what I did to it for the wickedness*
*of my people Israel. And now, because ye have done all these works,*
*saith the Lord, and I spake unto you, rising up early and speaking,*
*but ye heard not, and I called you but ye answered not, I shall do*
*unto this house in which my name was invoked, and in which ye trust,*
*and unto the place which I gave to you and to your fathers, as I have*
*done unto Shiloh, and I will cast you out of my sight.*

81 Again: *My children are gone forth from me, and they are not;* *Jer.* x, 20, 21.
*there is none to stretch forth my tent any more, and to set up my*
*curtains, for the pastors have done foolishly, and have not sought the*
*Lord, therefore they have not understood, and their flock is scattered.*

Somewhat further: *Why is it that my beloved hath in mine house* *Jer.* xi, 15, 16.
*committed many crimes? Will the holy flesh take away from thee*
*thy sins in which thou hast gloried? A rich olive tree, fair, fruitful,*
*goodly hath the Lord called thy name; to the sound of speech a great*
*fire hath burnt in her and her groves are consumed.* Again: *Come,* *Jer.* xii, 9, 10.
*assemble all ye beasts of the earth, hasten to devour. Many pastors*
*have destroyed my vineyard, they have trodden my portion under foot,*
*they have rendered my desirable portion a wilderness of solitude.* He

*movere pedes suos et non quievit et Domino non placuit. Nunc re-*
Ier. xiv, 13-16. *cordabitur iniquitatum eorum et visitabit peccata illorum.*[1] *Prophetae*
*dicunt eis: non videbitis gladium et fames non erit in vobis, sed*
*pacem veram dabit Dominus vobis in loco isto. Et dixit Dominus ad*
*me: falso prophetae vaticinantur in nomine meo, non misi eos et non*
*praecepi eis, visionem mendacem et divinationem et fraudulentiam et*
*seductionem cordis sui prophetant vobis. Ideo haec dicit Dominus:*
*in gladio et fame consumentur prophetae illi et populi, quibus pro-*
*phetaverunt, proiecti erunt in viis Hierusalem prae fame et gladio,*
Ier. xxiii, 1, 2. *et non erit qui sepeliat.* Et iterum: *Vae pastoribus, qui disperdunt* 82
*et dilacerant gregem pascuae meae, dicit Dominus. Ideo haec dicit*
*Dominus Deus Israel ad pastores qui pascunt populum meum: vos*
*dispersistis gregem meum et eiecistis eos et non visitastis illos. Ecce,*
*ego visitabo super vos malitiam studiorum vestrorum, dicit Dominus.*
Ier. xxiii, 11-20. *Propheta namque et sacerdos polluti sunt et in domu mea inveni*
*malum eorum, dicit Dominus: et idcirco via eorum erit quasi lubri-*
*cum in tenebris, impellentur enim et corruent in ea, afferam enim*
*super eos mala, annum visitationis eorum, dicit Dominus. Et in*
*prophetis Samariae vidi fatuitatem, et prophetabant in Baal et deci-*
*piebant populum meum Israel. Et in prophetis Ierusalem vidi simi-*
*litudinem adulterium et iter mendacii: et confortaverunt manus*
*pessimorum, ut non converterentur unusquisque a malitia sua: Facti*
*sunt mihi omnes Sodoma et habitatores eius quasi Gomorrha.*
*Propterea haec dicit Dominus ad prophetas: ecce ego cibabo eos*
*absinthio et potabo eos felle. A prophetis enim Ierusalem est egressa*
*pollutio super omnem terram. Haec dicit Dominus exercituum:*
*nolite audire verba prophetarum, qui prophetant vobis et decipiunt*
*vos: visionem enim cordis sui loquuntur, non de ore Domini. Dicunt*
*enim his, qui me blasphemant, Locutus est Dominus: pax erit vobis:*
*et omni, qui ambulant*[2] *in pravitate cordis sui, dixerunt: Non veniet*
*super eos malum. Quis enim affuit in consilio Domini et vidit et*
*audivit sermonem eius? Quis consideravit verbum illius et audivit?*
*Ecce, turbo Dominicae indignationis egreditur et tempestas erumpens*
*super caput impiorum veniet: non revertetur furor Domini, usque*
*dum faciat et usque dum compleat cogitationem cordis sui. In novis-*
*simis diebus intellegetis consilium eius.*

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[1] *Illorum.* In c. 50 this verse is quoted in exactly the same words, with the exception of *eorum* for *illorum.* D. here reads *eorum.*

[2] *Ambulant* (Vg. *ambulat*). This variant seems a remnant of the version as made originally from the LXX, with its τοῖς πορευομένοις and τῷ πορευομένῳ in two clau es, which would so gi e *qui ambulant* and *qui ambulat.*

also speaks: *Thus saith the Lord unto this people, that loved to move its feet, and hath not rested, and hath not pleased the Lord. Now will we remember its iniquities and visit its sins.* [*Jer.* xiv, 10.] *The prophets say unto them, Ye shall not see the sword, and famine shall not be among you, but the Lord will give you true peace in that place. And the Lord said unto me, The prophets prophesy falsely in my name: I sent them not, and have not commanded them: they prophesy unto a lying vision, and divination and fraud, and the deceit of their own heart. Therefore, thus saith the Lord, By sword and famine shall those prophets be consumed, and the people to whom they have prophesied shall be cast out in the streets of Jerusalem because of the famine and the sword, and there shall be none to bury them.* [*Jer.* xiv, 13-17.]

82 Again: *Woe unto the pastors that destroy and scatter the sheep of my pasture, saith the Lord. Therefore, thus saith the Lord God of Israel to the pastors that feed my people, Ye have scattered my flock and driven them away, and have not visited them; behold I will visit upon you the evil of your inclinations, saith the Lord.* [*Jer.* xxiii, 1, 2.] *For prophet and priest are polluted, and in my house have I found their wickedness, saith the Lord. Wherefore their way shall be as a slippery place in darkness, for they shall be driven on and fall therein, for I will bring evils upon them, even the year of their visitation, saith the Lord. And I have seen folly in the prophets of Samaria, they both prophesied by Baal and deceived my people Israel. In the prophets of Jerusalem also I have seen a similar thing, adultery and the way of falsehood, and they have strengthened the hands of evildoers so that no one returned from his wickedness; they are all become unto me as Sodom, and the inhabitants thereof as Gomorrah. Therefore, thus saith the Lord unto the prophets, Behold I will feed them with wormwood, and make them drink water of gall. For from the prophets of Jerusalem is pollution gone forth over all the land. Thus saith the Lord of hosts, Hearken not unto the words of the prophets that prophesy unto you and deceive you; they speak a vision of their own heart, not from the mouth of the Lord. For they say unto them that blaspheme me, The Lord hath said, Peace shall be unto you, and unto every one that walketh in the depravity of his own heart, they have said, No evil shall come upon you. For who hath been in the council of the Lord and hath seen and heard his word? Who hath marked his word and heard it? Behold the whirlwind of the Lord's fury goeth forth, and a tempest bursting upon the head of the wicked shall come. The anger of the Lord shall not return until he have done, and until he have completed the intent of his heart. In the last days ye shall understand his counsel.* [*Jer.* xxiii, 11-20.]

Parum[1] namque cogitatis vel facitis, quod sanctus quoque Ioel monens inertes sacerdotes[2] ac deflens detrimentum populi pro 83
*Ioel* i, 5, 9-12. iniquitatibus eorum edixit: *Expergiscimini, qui estis ebrii a vino vestro, et plorate et lamentamini omnes, qui bibitis vinum in ebrietatem, quia ablata est ab ore vestro iucunditas et gaudium. Lugete, sacerdotes, qui deservitis altario,*[3] *quia miseri facti sunt campi. Lugeat terra, quia miserum factum est frumentum et siccatum est vinum, diminutum est oleum, aruerunt agricolae. Lugete, possessiones, pro tritico et hordeo, quia periit vindemia ex agro, vitis arefacta est, ficus diminutae sunt: granata et palma et malum et omnia ligna agri arefacta sunt, quoniam confuderunt gaudium filii hominum.* Quae omnia spiritaliter intellegenda erunt vobis,[4] ne tam pestilenti fame
*Ioel* ii, 17. verbi Dei animae vestrae arescerent. Et iterum: *flete, sacerdotes, qui deservitis Domino,*[5] *dicentes: parce, Domine, populo tuo et ne des hereditatem tuam in opprobrium et ne dominentur eorum gentes, uti ne dicant gentes: ubi est Deus eorum?* Sed haec vos nequaquam auditis, sed omnia, quibus propensius divini furoris indignatio inardescat, admittitis.

Quid etiam sanctus Osee propheta sacerdotibus vestri moduli 84
*Os.* v, 1. dixerit, signanter attendite: *Audite haec, sacerdotes, et intendat domus Israel et domus regis, infigite auribus vestris, quoniam ad vos est iudicium, quia laqueus facti estis speculationi et velut retiaculum extensum super Thabor, quod indicatores venationis confinxerunt.*[6]

Vobis etiam a Domino alienatio huiuscemodi intendatur per 85
*Amos* v, 21-23. prophetam Amos dicentem: *Odio habui et repuli dies festos vestros et non accipiam odorem in sollemnibus conventionibus vestris, quia*

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[1] At this point, where Gildas makes lengthened extracts from the Minor Prophets, the Vulgate version is abandoned, his codices being Old Latin. On this curious and interesting fact, see Additional Notes, pp. 94, 95. The order of the prophetic books is, as indicated on p. 97, Joel (Habakkuk), Hosea, Amos, Micah, Zephaniah (Haggai), Zechariah, Malachi, Ezekiel (Daniel). The books placed in brackets are not quoted, but, judging from the order of Gildas' previous quotations, and from lists of scriptural books, we are probably correct in assigning them the position indicated (see p. 137). As in cc. 38-62, the peculiarities of words and constructions found here, cc. 83-91, belong not to Gildas himself, but to the awkward, unwieldy literalness of the Old Latin version, with its frequent Graecisms and provincialisms. We are, in fact, reading a production of the second century. A. reads: *quid quoque sanctus Johel propheta.*

[2] *Inertes sacerdotes.* This application of Biblical language proves that Gildas regarded the "priesthood" of the Christian church, as priesthood in the Jewish sense.

83 Little do you think or do what the holy prophet Joel also has said in admonition of lazy priests, and lamenting the people's loss through their iniquities : *Awake ye that are drunk through your wine,* *Joel* i, 5-12. *and weep and lament all who drink wine unto drunkenness, because joy and gladness is taken away from your mouth. Mourn, ye priests, that serve the altar, because the fields have become wretched. Let the earth mourn because the corn is become wretched and the vine dried up, the oil is diminished, the husbandmen have become languish. Mourn, ye estates, for the wheat and barley, because the vine harvest is perished from the field, the vine is dried up, the fig-trees have become fewer: the pomegranates, palms, apple-tree, and all trees of the field are withered, because the sons of men have thrown joy into confusion.* All these words must be understood by you in a spiritual sense, lest your souls be withered by so destructive a famine for the Word of God.

Again : *Weep ye priests that serve the Lord, saying, Spare, Lord,* *Joel* ii, 17. *thy people ; give not thine inheritance to reproach, and let not the Gentiles rule over them, lest the Gentiles say, Where is their God?* Yet ye in no wise hear these things, but permit all things by which the indignation of the divine anger is kindled.

84 Give express heed to what the holy prophet Hosea also says to priests of your small stature : *Hear this, ye priests and hearken,* *Hosea* v, 1. *thou house of Israel, and thou, house of the king, fasten them in your ears, since judgment is toward you, because ye have been made a snare unto watchfulness, and like a net spread upon Tabor, which they who have set the hunt have fixed.*

85 To you also there is signified an alienation of this kind from the Lord by the prophet Amos, when he says : *I have hated and* *Amos* v, 21-23. *thrust away your feast-days, and I will not accept a sweet savour in your solemn assemblies, because, though ye offer your burnt offerings*

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[3] *Altario.* The Latin of the Biblical and Ecclesiastical language, by metaplasm, employs the second declension in this word, as with many others, for the third, *altare.* Yet in c. 108 we have *altari astitistis.*

[4] *Spiritaliter intelligenda erunt vobis.* By the method of interpretation, to which allusion has been already made, Gildas will have the desolation described by the prophet understood in a spiritual sense ; but the best motive of his work is also made evident thereby : he warns lest the souls of the priests themselves should become dried up in such a general spiritual drought.

[5] *Qui deservitis Domino.* As in *qui deservitis altario*, the original here is *οἱ λειτουργοῦντες*, denoting ritual service.

[6] This last sentence represents the reading of the LXX. The Vulgate implies a different Hebrew original.

*etsi obtuleritis holocaustomata*[1] *et hostias vestras, non accipiam ea. Et salutare declarationis vestrae*[2] *non aspiciam, transfer a me sonum cantionum tuarum, et psalmum organorum*[3] *tuorum non audiam.* Famis etenim evangelici cibi, culina ipsa[4] vestrae animae viscera excomedens grassatur in vobis, sicut supra dictus propheta prae-
*Amos* viii, 11. dixit. *Ecce,* inquiens, *dies veniunt, dicit Dominus et inmittam famem in terram, non famem panis neque sitim aquae, sed famem in audiendo verbum Dei et movebuntur aquae a mari usque ad mare et ab aquilone usque ad orientem, percurrent quaerentes verbum Domini, et non invenient.*

Auribus quoque percipite sanctum Micheam ac si caelestem 86
quandam tubam adversus subdolos populi principes concisius[5]
*Mich.* iii, 1-12. personantem : *Audite nunc,* inquiens, *principes domus Iacob : nonne vobis est, ut cognoscatis iudicium odientibus bona et quaerentibus maligna, rapientibus pelles eorum ab eis et carnes eorum ab ossibus eorum? Quemadmodum comederunt carnes plebis meae et pelles eorum ab eis excoriaverunt, ossa eorum confregerunt et laniaverunt quasi carnes in olla? Succlamabunt ad Deum et non exaudiet eos et avertet faciem suam ab eis in illo tempore, propter quod malitiose gesserunt in adinventionibus*[6] *suis super ipsos. Haec dicit Dominus super prophetas, qui seducunt populum meum, qui mordent dentibus suis et praedicant in eum pacem, et non est data in os eorum: excitavi in eum bellum. Propterea nox erit vobis ex visione et tenebrae vobis erunt ex divinatione et occidet sol super prophetas et contenebrescet*[7] *super eos dies; et confundentur videntes somnia et deridebuntur divini et obtrectabunt adversus omnes ipsi, quoniam non erit, qui exaudiat eos, si non ego implevero*[8] *fortitudinem in spiritu Domini et iudicio et potestate, ut annuntiem domui Iacob impietates suas et Israel peccata sua. Audite haec itaque, duces domus Iacob, et residui domus Israel, qui abominamini iudicium et omnia recta pervertitis, qui aedificatis Sion in sanguine et Hierusalem in iniquitatibus :*

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[1] *Holocaustomata* = ὁλοκαυτώματα.

[2] *Salutare declarationis vestrae.* Again the literal for σωτηρίου ἐπιφανείας ὑμῶν, which is the reading of Codex Alex. (A.)

[3] *Psalmum organorum.* I have adopted this reading in agreement with the LXX ψαλμὸν ὀργάνων σου, and because *tuorum* seems to demand it. It is, moreover, the reading of A.

[4] *Culina ipsa.* This phrase gives good sense if taken as in apposition to *fames :* the very food which they, in wicked thoughts, consume, is itself spiritual hunger.

[5] *Concisius.* D. reads *consicius,* A. *fidutius* ; perhaps, as Gildas quotes

*and sacrifices, I will not accept them. And I will not regard the salvation proclaimed by you. Take away from me the sound of thy songs, and the (psalm) melody of thy instruments I will not hear,* because famine of Gospel food, the very fare which eats away the bowels of your soul, is raging among you, as the prophet named above has foretold. *Behold,* he says, *the days come, saith the Lord,* *Amos* viii, 11. *that I will send a famine in the land—not a famine of bread nor a thirst for water, but a famine of hearing the word of the Lord, and the waters shall be moved from sea to sea, and from the north unto the east; they shall run to and fro, seeking the word of the Lord and shall not find it.*

86 Understand also with your ears the holy Micah as he, like a heavenly trumpet, sounds forth very concisely against the crafty princes of the people. *Hear now,* he says, *ye princes of the house* *Micah* iii, 1-12 *of Jacob. Is it not for you to know judgment, though ye hate the good and seek the evil, plucking their skin from off them, and their flesh from off their bones? How have they eaten the flesh of my people and flayed their skins from off them, have broken their bones and chopped them as flesh in the cauldron? They shall cry unto God and he will not hear them, and he will hide his face from them at that time, because they have behaved themselves ill in their imaginings. Thus saith the Lord concerning the prophets that make my people to err, that bite with their teeth and cry unto them, Peace, though it (peace) is not put into their mouth; I have stirred up war against them* (i.e., *people*). *Therefore night shall be unto you in consequence of your vision and darkness shall be unto you in consequence of divining, and the sun shall go down upon the prophets and the day shall be dark over them, then shall the seers of dreams be confounded and the diviners mocked, and they themselves shall decry against all because there shall not be that heareth them. I shall surely fill my strength with the Spirit of the Lord, and with judgment and might, to declare unto the house of Jacob its impieties and to Israel his sins. Hear this therefore ye leaders of the house of Jacob and the residue of the house of Israel, that abhor judgment and pervert equity, that build up Zion with blood and Jerusalem with*

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Micah and Malachi at greater length than any other of the minor Prophets, the word implies that even Micah speaks with greater brevity than might be expected.

[6] *Adinventionibus* = ἐν τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν. [7] *Contenebrescet* = συσκοτάσει.

[8] *Si ego non implevero.* See c. 36 and p. 93, on a different form of this verse; the Hebraism *si non implevero* is in imitation of ἐὰν μὴ ἐμπλήσω, implying strong affirmation: cf. Heb. iv, 3, as an instance of the contrary.

*duces eius cum muneribus iudicant et sacerdotes eius cum mercede
respondebant et prophetae eius cum pecunia divinabant et in
Domino requiescebant dicentes: nonne Dominus in nobis est? non
venient super nos mala. Ideo propter vos Sion sicut ager arabitur, et
Hierusalem sicut specula pomarii erit et mons domus sicut locus*
*Mich.* vii, 1-3. *silvae.* Et post aliquanta: *Heu me, quia factus sum qui colligit
stipulam in messe et sicut racemus in vindemia, cum non sit botrus
ad manducandum primitiva.*[1] *Heu me anima, quia periit terrenis
operibus, semper peccatorum reverentia exoritur reverens a terra, et
qui corrigat inter homines, non est. Omnes in sanguinem iudicio
contendunt, et unusquisque proximum suum tribulatione tribulavit, in
malum manus suas praeparat.*

Quid Sophonias etiam propheta egregius de vestris olim comes- 87
soribus[2] disceptaverit, attendite, de Hierusalem namque loquebatur,
*Soph.* iii, 1, 2. quae spiritaliter ecclesia vel anima intellegitur: *O*, inquiens, *quae
erat splendida et liberata civitas, confidens columba, non obaudivit
vocem nec percepit disciplinam, in Domino non confisa est et ad Deum*
*Soph.* iii, 3-5. *suum non accessit.* Et id quare, ostendit: *Principes eius sicut leo
rugientes, iudices sicut lupi Arabiae*[3] *non relinquebant in mane, pro-
phetae eius spiritum portantes viri contemptoris, sacerdotes eius
profanabant sancta et impie agebant in lege. Dominus autem iustus
in medio eius et non faciet iniustum: mane mane dabit iudicium
suum.*

Sed et beatum Zachariam prophetam monentem vos in verbo 88
*Zach.* vii, 9-12. Dei audite: *Haec enim dicit omnipotens Dominus: iudicium iustum
iudicate et misericordiam et miserationem facite unusquisque ad
fratrem suum, et viduam et orfanum et advenam et pauperem per
potentiam nolite nocere et malitiam unusquisque fratris sui non
reminiscatur in corde suo: et contumaces fuerunt, ne observarent, et
dederunt dorsum stultitiae et aures suas degravaverunt, ut non
audirent, et cor suum statuerunt insuadibile, ne audirent legem meam
et verba, quae misit Dominus omnipotens in spiritu suo in manibus
prophetarum priorum et facta est ira magna a Domino omnipotente.*
*Zach.* x, 2, 3. Et iterum: *Quoniam qui loquebantur, locuti sunt molestias et divini*

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[1] *Primitiva.* I have followed the sense and punctuation of the LXX here, Οὐκ ὑπάρχοντος βότρυος τοῦ φαγεῖν τὰ πρωτόγονα. Οἴμοι ψυχή.—κ. τ. λ, the Latin for which is *ad comedendum primitiva. Vae mihi anima. Quia periit pius de terra.* The Mommsen edition punctuates, *ad manducandum: primitiva, heu me anima quia, etc.*, but Gildas' Latin, or the original upon which it is based, seems to be a variation of Οἴμαι ψυχή, ὅτι ἀπόλωλεν εὐσεβὴς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, with a full stop after ἀπόλωλεν. From *terrenis operibus* to *a terra* is a very strange interpolation, not traceable in either Vulgate or LXX (see c. 64).

*iniquities. The leaders thereof judge for rewards and the priests thereof gave answer for hire, and the prophets thereof were divining for money, yet did they rest in the Lord, saying: Is not the Lord in the midst of us; evils shall not come upon us. Therefore shall Zion for your sake be plowed as a field, and Jerusalem shall be like the watch-tower of an orchard, and the mountain of the house as a place of forest.* After a while: *Woe is me because I have become as one* Micah vii, 1-3. *that gathereth stubble in harvest, and as a bunch of grapes in the vintage, when there is not a cluster to eat of its first fruits; woe is my soul! it perisheth in works of earth, always doth reverence for sinners rise reverently from the earth, and he that amendeth among men is not. All contend in judgment for blood, and everyone hath greatly troubled his neighbour, he prepareth his hands for evil.*

87 Hearken again to what Zephaniah, distinguished prophet, has treated of respecting your fellows of old. He spoke of Jerusalem, which, spiritually, is understood to be the church or the soul: *O! the city that was splendid and set free, the trusting dove, she* Zeph. iii, 1, 2. *heard not the voice nor learnt correction, she trusted not in the Lord, and to her God she drew not near.* He shows the reason why: *Her* Zeph. iii, 3-5. *princes are like a roaring lion; her judges, like the wolves of Arabia, left not until the morning, her prophets carry the spirit of a scornful man, her priests pollute the sanctuary, and have dealt impiously in the law. But the righteous Lord is in the midst of her and will not do unrighteousness. Morning by morning will he give his judgment.*

88 But hear also the blessed prophet Zechariah admonishing you by the word of God. *For thus saith the Lord Almighty: Execute* Zech. vii, 9-12. *righteous judgment, and do mercy and compassion every man to his brother; and injure not the widow, the orphan, the stranger and the poor, and let none remember malice against his brother in his heart. But they were stubborn to heed, and turned their foolish back, and made their ears heavy that they should not hear. Their heart they have set up impossible to persuade, lest they should hear my law and the words which the Lord Almighty hath sent by his Spirit at the hands of the former prophets, and a great wrath hath come from the Lord Almighty.* Again: *Because they that spoke, spoke vexation, and* Zech. x, 2, 3.

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[2] *Comessoribus*, vide c. 67.

[3] *Lupi Arabiae*, vide c. 68. *In mane.* This use of a preposition governing an adverb is an attempt to imitate the LXX Greek *εἰς τὸ πρωί.*

*visa falsa et somnia falsa loquebantur et vana consolabantur, propter hoc aridi facti sunt sicut oves, et afflicti sunt quoniam non erat sanitas. Super pastores exacervata est iracundia mea et super agnos*
*Zach.* xi, 3-6. *visitabo.* Et post pauca: *Vox lamentantium pastorum, quia misera facta est magnitudo eorum. Vox rugientium leonum, quoniam miser factus est decursus Iordanis.*[1] *Haec dicit Dominus omnipotens: qui possidebant, interficiebant, et non paenituit eos. Et, qui vendebant eas, dicebant: benedictus Dominus, et ditati sumus: et pastores earum nihil passi sunt*[2] *in eis propter quod non parcam iam super inhabitantes terram, dicit Dominus.*

Quid praeterea sanctus Malachias propheta vobis denuntiaverit, 89
*Malach.* i, 6-9. audite.[3] *Vos,* inquiens, *sacerdotes, qui spernitis nomen meum et dixistis: in quo sprevimus nomen tuum? offerendo ad altare meum panes pollutos: et dixistis: in quo polluimus eos? in eo quod dixistis: mensa Domini pro nihilo est, et quae superposita sunt, sprevistis. Quoniam, si adducatis caecum ad victimam, nonne malum? si ammoveatis claudum aut languidum, nonne malum? Offer itaque illud praeposito tuo, si suscipiet illud, si accipiet*[4] *personam tuam, dicit Dominus omnipotens. Et nunc exorate faciem Dei vestri et deprecamini eum: in manibus vestris facta sunt haec, si accipiam ex vobis personas vestras.*
*Malach.* i, 13; ii, 3. Et iterum: *Et intulistis de rapina claudum et languidum et intulistis munus. Numquid suscipiam illud de manu vestra? dicit Dominus. Maledictus dolosus, qui habet in grege suo masculum et votum faciens immolat debile Domino, quia rex magnus ego sum, dicit Dominus exercituum, et nomen meum horribile in gentibus. Et nunc ad vos mandatum hoc, o sacerdotes, si nolueritis audire et ponere super cor, ut detis gloriam nomini meo, ait Dominus exercituum, mittam in vos egestatem et maledicam benedictionibus vestris, quoniam non posuistis super cor. Ecce ego proiciam vobis brachium et dispergam super vultum vestrum stercus sollemnitatum vestrarum.* Sed interea ut avidius organa nequitiae praeparetis ad bona, quid de sancto sacerdote dicat, si quantulumcunque adhuc interni auditus in vobis
*Malach.* ii, 5-7. remanet, auscultate: *Pactum meum,* inquiens, *fuit cum eo,* de Levi

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[1] *Decursus Iordanis* = τὸ φρύαγμα τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, LXX.

[2] *Passi sunt.* The Mommsen edition reads *parsi*, with the note, "*parsi* scripsi, *passi* libri, *parcebant* vers. vulg." The LXX reading is ἔπασχον, which supports the MS. reading *passi*, adopted in the present text.

[3] The quotations from Malachi show an interesting, if not puzzling, variation: the first quotation from Mal. i, 6-9, cannot be in the Latin of the Vulgate; the rest, however, are from that version, with just the same slight various readings as are found in MSS. of the Vulgate itself. As in the case of I Samuel, we may conclude that Gildas possessed codices of *both* versions for this book.

*the diviners spoke false visions and false dreams, and gave vain comfort, therefore, they have become parched like sheep, and were troubled because there was no health. Mine anger is kindled against the shepherds and I will visit the lambs.* After a few words: *There is* *Zech.* xi, 3-6. *a voice of the lamentations of the shepherds because their greatness has become wretched; a voice of roaring lions, because the course of Jordan has become wretched. Thus saith the Lord Almighty: They who possessed slew and did not repent, and they that sold them said: Blessed be the Lord for we have been made rich, and their shepherds have not been spared among them; wherefore I will no more have pity upon the inhabitants of the land, saith the Lord.*

89 Hear, moreover, what proclamation the holy prophet Malachi has made against you. *You priests who despise my name, and have* *Mal.* i, 6-9. *said: Wherein have we despised thy name? By offering polluted loaves upon mine altar, and ye have said: Wherein have we polluted them? in that ye say: The table of the Lord is as nothing, and what was spread upon it ye have despised; because, if ye bring the blind for sacrifice, is it not evil? If ye bring forth the lame or weak, is it not evil? Offer it now to thy chief; Will he receive it? Will he accept thy person? saith the Lord Almighty. And now intreat ye the face of your God and beseech him: these things were done by your hand, will I accept your persons among you?* Again: *And ye have* *Mal.* i, 13; ii, 3. *brought of your plunder the lame and weak, and have brought it as a gift. Shall I accept that of your hand? saith the Lord. Cursed be the deceiver which hath in his flock a male, and in fulfilling a vow sacrificeth the weak unto the Lord; for I am a great king, saith the Lord of hosts, and my name is terrible among the gentiles. And now this commandment is for you, O ye priests. If ye will not hear and put it to heart, to give glory unto my name, saith the Lord of hosts, I will send poverty unto you, and will curse your blessings, because ye have not laid it to heart. Behold I will stretch forth my arm against you and will spread over your face the dung of your solemn feasts.*

But meanwhile that you may the more eagerly prepare the instruments of evil for good, listen to what he says of the holy priest, if there remains ever so little of the inner hearing in you. *My covenant was with him*—he spoke of Levi or Moses in *Mal.* ii, 5-7.

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[4] *Si accipiet: si* stands as literal imitation of εἰ in the Greek of LXX, used even in direct interrogative questions; so also *si accipiam.* The same literalness is seen in *exorate* for ἐξιλάσκεσθε.

namque vel Moyse secundum historiam[1] loquebatur, *vitae et pacis, dedi ei timorem, et timuit me, a facie nominis mei pavebat. Lex veritatis fuit in ore eius et iniquitas non est inventa in labiis eius, in pace et in aequitate ambulavit mecum et multos avertit ab iniquitate. Labia enim sacerdotis custodient scientiam et legem requirent ex ore eius, quia angelus Domini exercituum est.* Nunc item mutavit *Malach.* ii, 8-10. sensum et malos increpare non desinit, *vos*, inquiens, *recessistis de via et descandalizastis plurimos in lege et irritum fecistis pactum cum Levi, dicit Dominus exercituum. Propter quod et ego dedi vos contemptibiles et humiles in omnibus populis, sicut non servastis vias meas et accepistis faciem in lege. Numquid non pater unus omnium nostrum? Numquid non Deus unus creavit nos? Quare ergo despicit* *Malach.* iii, 1-3. *unusquisque fratrem suum?* Et iterum: *Ecce veniet Dominus exercituum et quis poterit cogitare diem adventus eius? et quis stabit ad videndum eum? Ipse enim egredietur*[2] *quasi ignis ardens et quasi poa lavantium, et sedebit conflans et emundans argentum, et purgabit filios Levi, et colabit eos quasi aurum et quasi argentum.* Et post *Malach.* iii, 13-15. pauca: *Invaluerunt super me verba vestra, dicit Dominus, et dixistis: vanus est qui servit Deo, et quod emolumentum, quia custodivimus praecepta eius et quia ambulavimus coram Domino exercituum tristes? Ergo nunc beatos dicemus arrogantes, si quidem aedificati sunt facientes iniquitatem, temptaverunt Deum et salvi facti sunt.*

Quid vero Ezechiel propheta dixerit,[3] attendite: *Vae, inquiens,* 90
*Ezech.* vii, 26. *super vae veniet et nuntius super nuntium erit et quaeretur visio a propheta et lex peribit a sacerdote et consilium de senioribus.* Et *Ezech.* xiii, 8-10. iterum: *Haec dicit Dominus: eo quod sermones vestri sunt mendaces et divinationes vestrae vanae, propter hoc ecce ego ad vos, dicit*

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[1] *Secundum historiam.* From Origen the western church, especially through the writings of Jerome and Augustine, had come to recognise three senses in the words of Scripture: the literal, the historical, and the moral or spiritual. At the end of c. 93, Gildas speaks of his attempt to interpret all things in their "historical or moral sense" (*utcumque historico vel morali sensu*); here he finds that Malachi is speaking of Levi or Moses in the first—the historical—sense, but at the next quotation he represents him as having changed into the second (*mutavit sensum*).

[2] *Egredietur*, *ardens*, *poa lavantium*, *iniquitatem*, are variants from the ordinary Vulgate.

[3] In Ezekiel we have again Old Latin of a marked, rugged type. Jerome himself appears to have found great variation in the exemplars of the—to him—*vulgata eius editio*, which, he says, did not differ much from the Hebrew. See his *Praefatio in Ezechielem*, in Tischendorf's edition, p. lxi. The text underlying the version used by Gildas seems to be closely similar to that of the Codex Vat. (B.) printed in Swete's edition (1894); it presents frequent

point of history—*of life and peace; I gave him fear and he feared me, and stood in awe before my name. The law of truth was in his mouth and iniquity was not found in his lips; in peace and equity walked he with me, and did turn many from iniquity. For the priest's lips shall keep knowledge, and they shall seek the law at his mouth, because he is the messenger of the Lord of hosts.* Now he changes his meaning, and ceases not to rebuke the evil ones, saying: *Ye have departed out of the way; ye have caused many to* *Mal.* ii, 8-10. *stumble in the law, and ye have made the covenant with Levi of no effect, saith the Lord of hosts. Wherefore I have also made you contemptible and base before all the people, according as ye have not kept my ways, and have had respect of person in the law. Have we not all one father? Hath not one God created us? Why doth every one despise his brother?* Again: *Behold the Lord of hosts will come,* *Mal.* iii, 1-3. *and who can think of the day of his coming? And who shall stand to see him? For he himself shall come forth like burning fire, and as the washers' soap, and he shall sit refining and purifying silver, and he shall purge the sons of Levi, and shall cleanse them like gold and like silver.* After a while: *Your words have become strong against* *Mal.* iii, 13-15. *me, saith the Lord, and ye said: Vain is he that serveth God, and what profit is it that we have kept his precepts, and that we have walked mournfully before the Lord of hosts? Therefore, now we will call the proud blessed, because they that work wickedness are built up; they have tempted God and have been delivered.*

90 Listen, however, to what the prophet Ezekiel said: *Woe shall* *Ezek.* vii, 26. *come upon woe, and messenger upon messenger, and the vision shall be sought from the prophet, and the law shall perish from the priest and counsel from the elders.* Again: *Thus saith the Lord: Because* *Ezek.* xiii, 8-10. *your words are falsehoods, and your divinations vain, on this account behold I am against you, saith the Lord. I will stretch forth my hand*

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variations from the text of Codex Alex. (A.). *Adonai Dominus*, frequent in Sabatier's text and in the Greek of Cod. Alex., does not appear once in Gildas. For the most part, Sabatier has printed his *Antiqua versio* from these extracts of Gildas; and where he gives other examples, as from Jerome's Commentary, the text of Gildas, because older, shows far closer affinity with the LXX. Our natural conclusion is, here as before, that our author has preserved for us an especially old type of text. See, on one aspect of this subject, two books that may be named anew: Schöl, *De Eccles. Brit. Scoto. Historiae Fontibus*, p. 17, and Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, p. 185; neither the statement made in the former work, that Gildas had a copy of the Greek version itself (the LXX) for Ezekiel and other Books, nor in the latter, that the Latin version is "peculiar to himself," seem to be borne out by the facts. Gildas is quoting a version that is very ancient even for the Old Latin.—See p. 95.

*Dominus, extendam manum meam super prophetas, qui vident mendacia et eos qui loquuntur vana : in disciplina populi mei non erunt et in scriptura domus Israel non scribentur et in terram Israel non intrabunt et scietis quia ego Dominus. Propterea populum meum seduxerunt dicentes : pax Domini, et non est pax Domini. Hic struit parietem et ipsi ungunt eum et cadet.* Et post aliquanta : *Vae his, qui concinnant cervicalia subtus omnem cubitum manus et faciunt velamina super omne caput universae aetatis ad subvertendas animas. Animaeque subversae sunt populi mei et animas possidebant et contaminabant me ad populum meum propter manum plenam hordei et propter fragmentum panis ad occidendas animas, quas non oportebat mori, et ad liberandas animas, quas non oportebat vivere, dum loquimini populo exaudienti vana eloquia.* Et infra : *Fili hominis dic, tu es terra quae non compluitur neque pluvia facta est super te in die irae, in quae principes in medio eius sicut leones rugientes rapientes rapinas, animas devorantes in potentia et pretia accipientes et viduae tuae multiplicatae sunt in medio tui et sacerdotes eius despexerunt legem meam et polluebant sancta mea. Inter sanctum et pollutum non distinguebant et intermedium inmundi et mundi*[1] *non dividebant et a sabbatis meis obvelabant oculos suos et polluebant in medio eorum.*

*Ezech.* xiii, 18-19. — *Ezech.* xxii, 24-26.

91 Et iterum : *Et quaerebam ex eis virum recte conversantem et stantem ante faciem meam omnino in tempora terrae, ne in fine delerem eam, et non inveni. Et effudi in eam animum meum in igne irae meae ad consumendum eos : vias eorum in caput eorum dedi, dicit Dominus.* Et post aliquanta : *Et factus est sermo Domini ad me dicens : fili hominis, loquere filiis populi mei et dices ad eos : terra in quam ego gladium superinducam, et acceperit populus terrae hominem unum ex ipsis et dederit eum sibi in speculatorem et viderit gladium venientem super terram et tuba canuerit et significaverit populo et audierit qui audit vocem tubae et non observaverit, et venerit gladius et comprehenderit eum, sanguis eius super caput eius erit : quia, cum vocem tubae audisset, non observavit, sanguis eius in ipso erit : et hic, quia custodivit animam suam, liberavit. Et speculator si viderit gladium venientem et non significaverit tuba et populus non observaverit, et veniens gladius acceperit ex eis animam et ipsa propter iniquitatem suam capta est et sanguinem de manu speculatoris requiram. Et tu, fili hominis,*

*Ezech.* xxii, 30-31. — *Ezech.* xxxiii, 1-9.

[1] *Intermedium immundi et mundi.* This is an instance of the frequent attempt to reproduce literally such a Hebraism as ἀνὰ μέσον ἀκαθάρτου καὶ τοῦ καθαροῦ ; so also *in speculatorem* for εἰς σκοπόν (l. 29), instead of the simple accusative.

*against the prophets that see lies, and those who speak vain things. They shall not be in the discipline of my people, and shall not be written in the writing of the house of Israel, and they shall not enter into the land of Israel, and ye shall know that I am the Lord. Wherefore they have led astray my people, saying: The Peace of the Lord, and there is no Peace of the Lord. This man buildeth a wall, and they daub it, and it shall fall.* After some more words: *Woe unto those that* Ezek. xiii, 18-19. *sew pillows beneath every elbow, and fashion veils upon every head of every age, to subvert souls. Subverted are the souls of my people, they took possession of their souls, and profaned me to my people for a handful of barley and a piece of bread to slay the souls that should not die, and to free the souls that should not live, while ye speak to the people as they listen to vain speeches.* Below also: *Son of man* Ezek. xxii, 24-26. *say: Thou art the land that is not watered, nor hath rain come upon thee in the day of wrath, the land in which the princes are like raging lions in the midst of her, ravening the prey, devouring souls by their might and taking rewards; thy widows have been made many in the midst of thee, and her priests have despised my law and were polluting mine holy things. They distinguished not between the holy and the profane, and discerned not between the unclean and clean, and veiled their eyes from my sabbaths, and I was profaned in the midst of them.*

91 Again also: *And I sought for a man from among them that* Ezek. xxii, 30-31. *walked uprightly, and stood before my face wholly for the times of the land, that I should not in the end destroy it, and have not found. And I have poured out against it my soul in the fire of my anger to consume them. Their ways have I brought upon their head, saith the Lord.* After a while: *And the word of the Lord came* Ezek. xxxiii, 1-9. *unto me saying, Son of man, speak to the children of my people, and say unto them: The land into which I bring a sword, and the people of the land take a man from among themselves, and place him for them as a watchman, if he see the sword coming over the land, and blow the trumpet and signify unto the people, and he that heareth hear the voice of the trumpet and not observe, and the sword come and seize him, his blood shall be upon his own head. Because, when he heard the voice of the trumpet, he did not observe, his blood shall be upon himself. And this man who watched over his own soul hath delivered it. And the watchman, if he see the sword coming, and signify not by the trumpet so that the people observe not, and the sword coming take a soul from among them, and that soul is taken away on account of its own iniquity, yet its blood will I require at the watchman's hand. And thou, son of man, a watchman have I*

*speculatorem te dedi domui Israel et audies ex ore meo verbum, cum dicam peccatori: morte morieris, et non loqueris, ut avertat se a via sua impius, et ipse iniquus in iniquitate sua morietur, sanguinem autem eius de manu tua requiram. Tu vero si praedixeris impio viam eius, ut avertat se ab ea, et non se averterit a via sua, hic sua impietate morietur et tu animam tuam eripuisti.*

Sed sufficiant haec pauca de pluribus prophetarum testimonia, 92
quis retunditur superbia vel ignavia sacerdotum contumacium, ne putent nos propria potius adinventione[1] quam legis sanctorumve auctoritate eis talia denuntiare. Videamus igitur quid euangelica tuba mundo personans inordinatis sacerdotibus[2] eloquatur: non enim de illis, ut iam diximus, qui apostolicam sedem[3] legitime obtinent quique bene norunt largiri spiritalia conservis suis in tempore cibaria,[4] si qui tamen multi in praesentiarum sunt, sed de pastoribus imperitis, qui derelinquunt oves et pascunt vana et non habent verba pastoris periti, nobis sermo est. Evidens ergo indicium est non esse eum legitimum pastorem, sed ne mediocrem quidem Christianum, qui haec non tam nostra, qui valde exigui sumus, quam veteris novique testamenti decreta recusarit vel infitiatus fuerit, sicut bene quidam nostrorum ait[5]: *Optabiliter cupimus, ut hostes ecclesiae sint nostri quoque absque ullo foedere*

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[1] *Adinventio* = ἐπιτήδευμα. See cc. 4, 37, 67.

[2] *Inordinatis sacerdotibus.* These bishops have obtained their office in an irregular way, as described above, through simony, or, without due election, by the tyrannous influence of some prince or other. According to the view held by Gildas, though they be consecrated, their orders, to use a more modern phrase, are invalid, because validity, no less than efficacy, depends on character: not one of them is a *legitimus pastor.* Contrasted with them are those who have obtained the "apostolic chair," in the regular way (*legitime*), and are able to provide spiritual food in the "words of an experienced pastor." The admission made in this passage, that this latter class was numerous, is significant, and in keeping with a similar admission previously made in c. 69.

[3] *Apostolicam sedem.* Just as "pope" (in Latin *papa*, Greek πάππας, both meaning "father"), *pontifex maximus* or *summus pontifex*, were in early times used of any bishop, so also was *apostolica sedes* used for the episcopal office generally. Hinschius quotes the letter written by Chlodwig to a Gallic council before 511: "Orate pro me, domini sancti et apostolica sede dignissimi papae." Venantius Fortunatus, bishop of Poictiers, who died about 609, writes to Felix of Nantes: "Domino sancto, et apostolica sede dignissimo patri, Felici papae." Several instances may be given from the *Historia Francorum* of Gregory of Tours, *e.g.*, ii, 27. Isidore, bishop of Seville in Spain, after giving explanations of such terms as *patriarch* and *archiepiscopus*, adds that "bishops are the successors of the Apostles, and have been appointed throughout the world in Apostolic sees (*in sedibus apostolorum*)." Both these writers lived after Gildas, so that this

*set thee for the house of Israel, and thou shalt hear the word from my mouth; when I say to the sinner: Thou shalt surely die, if thou speak not so that the wicked may turn aside from his way, the wicked himself shall die in his wickedness, but his blood will I require at thy hand. However, if thou warn the wicked of his way that he may turn aside from it, and he turn not from his way, this man shall die in his iniquity, and thou hast delivered thy soul.*

92 But let these few testimonies from the many of the prophets be sufficient. By them is the pride or sloth of stubborn priests restrained, that they may not think I make such denunciations against them by my own imaginings rather than by the authority of the law and the saints. Let us therefore see what the gospel trumpet, while sounding forth to the world, says to irregular priests (unordained priests). For as I have already said, my speech is not of those who obtain the apostolic throne in a lawful way, and who are well able to dispense spiritual food to their fellow servants in due season (if, in fact, there are many at the present day), but of the unskilled pastors who abandon the sheep, and give vain things as food, and have not the words of the skilled pastor. The evidence, therefore, is clear, that he is not a legitimate pastor; nay, not even an ordinary Christian man, who rejects and disowns these words, not so much words of mine, who am very insignificant, as decrees of the Old and New Testament. One of our own people says well: *We desire much that the enemies of the church be ours also and enemies without treaty, and that her friends and defenders be*

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application of *apostolica sedes* by him to the see of any bishop, is in no way singular. See Thomassinus, *Vetus et Nova Eccl. Discipl.*, Pt. I, Lib. I, 4, where many more instances may be found. We do not forget, that by the beginning of the sixth century, the two terms *papa* and *apostolica sedes* were very generally used exclusively of the Roman bishop and church; and long before that by individual writers, such as the great Popes themselves, the author or compiler of the *Liber Pontificalis*, etc.

[4] *Conservis suis in tempore cibaria.* Here again Gildas is found unconsciously falling to the use of the Old Latin Scriptural phraseology of his own earlier days. Had he the Vulgate in mind, he would have said: *familiae suae in tempore tritici mensuram*, with no mention of *conservis suis.* The Latin version of Irenaeus, iv, 26, 5, which may be as old as Tertullian, that is about A.D. 200, has preserved the passage almost as quoted by Gildas, *ad dandam eis cibaria in tempore.* Codex *e* of the Old Latin (fourth century) reads *cibaria conservis suis*, and Origen had τοῖς συνδούλοις in his text.

Gildas may have read in his codex: *ut largiatur conservis suis in tempore cibaria.*

[5] *Quidam nostrorum ait.* See cc. 38, 62.

*hostes, et amici ac defensores nostri non solum foederati, sed etiam patres ac domini habeantur.* Conveniant namque singuli vero examine conscientiam suam, et ita deprehendent, an secundum rectam rationem sacerdotali cathedrae insideant. Videamus,
*Matth.* v, 13. inquam, quid salvator mundi factorque dicat.[1] *Vos estis*, inquit, *sal terrae: quod si sal evanuerit, in quo salietur? ad nihilum valet ultra, nisi ut proiciatur foras et conculcetur ab hominibus.*

Hoc unum testimonium ad confutandos impudentes quosque 93
abunde sufficere posset. Sed ut evidentioribus adhuc astipulationibus,[2] quantis semetipsos intolerabilibus scelerum fascibus falsi hi sacerdotes opprimant, verbis Christi comprobetur, aliqua annectenda
*Matth.* v, 14, 15. sunt. Sequitur enim: *Vos estis lux mundi. Non potest civitas abscondi supra montem posita, neque accendunt lucernam et ponunt eam sub modio, sed supra candelabrum, ut luceat omnibus, qui in domo sunt.* Quis ergo sacerdotum huius temporis ita ignorantiae caecitate possessus, ut lux clarissimae lucernae in aliqua domu cunctis noctu residentibus scientiae simul et bonorum operum lampade luceat? Quis ita universis ecclesiae filiis tutum publicum conspicuumque refugium, ut est civibus firmissima forte ut editi montis civitas vertice constituta, habetur? Sed et quod
*Matth.* v, 16. sequitur: *Sic luceat lux vestra coram hominibus, ut videant opera vestra bona et magnificent patrem vestrum, qui in caelis est:* quis eorum uno saltim die potest implere? quin potius densissima quaedam eorum nebula atraque peccaminum omni insulae ita incumbit nox, ut omnes paene a via recta avertat ac per invios impeditosque scelerum calles errare faciat, quorum non modo

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[1] The quotations from the First Gospel (cc. 93-96), unlike those from the Old Testament, are for the most part short sentences, interspersed frequently with fervid ejaculations of the writer's own. The text is that of the Vulgate, though with many various readings known in MSS. of the Vulgate. Of such readings, as a collation with the Oxford edition shows, are the following; the designation letters are those used in that edition for Vulgate MSS.

v, 13. *Proiciatur*, found in F, instead of *mittatur*.
16. *Magnificent*, found in E R and *g*, instead of *glorificent*.
vii, 2. *Indicabitur de vobis*, found in E and *g*, instead of *indicabimini*.
3. *Consideras*, found in *a b*, instead of *vides*.
vii, 6. *Miseribis*, found in E and *g*, instead of *mittatis*.
x, 28. *Timete eum*, found in E R, instead of *potius eum timete*.
xv, 14. *Cadent*, found in L Q and *g*, instead of *cadunt*.
xxiii, 13. Om. *autem*, E R.
13. *Qui*, found in MSS., instead of *quia*, *g* D Q and others.

The quotation from xxiii, 13, 15, is characterised by the omission not only of *scribae et Pharisaei*, but also of the whole of v. 14. We thus see that the

*regarded ours, not only as allies but as fathers and lords.* For let each one meet his own conscience in true examination, and in this they shall discern whether they sit in the priestly chair according to right reason. Let us see, I say, what the Saviour and Creator of the world says : *Ye are,* he avers, *the salt of the earth ; because if* *Matt.* v, 13.
*the salt have vanished, wherewith shall it be salted ? It is thenceforth good for nothing but to be cast out and trodden by men.*

93 This single testimony might fully suffice to confute all those that are without shame. But in order that by still more manifest attestations, that is by the words of Christ, it may be proved by what unbearable burdens of crimes these false priests weight themselves, some words must be annexed. For there follows : *Ye are* *Matt.* v, 14, 15.
*the light of the world. A city set on a hill cannot be hid, nor do men light a lamp and put it under a bushel, but on the stand, that it may shine unto all that are in the house.* Who, then, of the priests of this time, thus possessed by the blindness of ignorance, as the light of a clear lamp, will shine in any house to all those sitting by night with the torch of both learning and good works ? Who is regarded such a safe, public, and conspicuous refuge for all the sons of the church, that he is what a strong city placed upon the summit of a high hill is for its citizens. But as to that which follows : *So let your* *Matt.* v, 16.
*light shine before men that they may see your good works and magnify your Father which is in Heaven :* Which of them can fulfil it even for a single day ? Nay rather a certain thick mist and black night of their offences sit upon the whole island, so that it draws away almost everyone from the right path, and causes them to err by impassable and obstructed paths of crimes ; by these men's works

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copies of the Vulgate read in Britain by Gildas did not contain the words : " Woe unto you scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites ! for ye devour widows' houses, even while for a pretence ye make long prayers : therefore ye shall receive greater condemnation." Critical editions, whether of the Greek or Latin New Testament, following the best attestation of Greek, Old Latin, and Vulgate MSS., all agree in this omission of v. 14. Besides such a fact as this of freedom from interpolation in the British New Testament, we must observe also that the text of the Gospel is a so-called mixed one, that is, it contains readings which depart from the Hieronymian revision : this is attested by the agreement shown above with *g* (*Old Latin Biblical Texts*, i), and other MSS. of the Vulgate regarded as Irish in origin, such as E R L D Q. "Ex una familia originem trahunt D E L Q (*Book of Kells*) R," say the editors of the Oxford edition, p. 21.

Gildas' agreement, in a very noteworthy reading, with Codex Brixianus *(f)* has been already mentioned, p. 92.

[2] *Astipulationibus.* See c. 39.

pater caelestis non laudatur per opera, sed etiam intolerabiliter
blasphematur. Velim quidem haec scripturae sacrae testimonia
huic epistolae inserta vel inserenda, sicut nostra mediocritas[1]
posset, omnia utcumque historico vel morali sensu[2] interpretari.

Sed, ne in inmensum modum opusculum hoc his, qui non tam 94
nostra quam Dei despiciunt fastidiunt avertunt, proteletur, sim-
pliciter et absque ullo verborum circuitio congesta vel congerenda
*Matth.* v, 19. sunt. Et post pauca: *Qui enim solverit unum de mandatis istis
minimis et docuerit sic homines, minimus vocabitur in regno*
*Matth.* vii, 1, 2. *caelorum.* Et iterum: *Nolite iudicare, ut non iudicemini: in quo
enim iudicio iudicaveritis, iudicabitur de vobis.* Quis, rogo, vestrum
*Matth.* vii, 3, 4. respiciet id quod sequitur? *Quid autem vides*, inquit, *festucam in
oculo fratris tui et trabem in oculo tuo non consideras? aut quomodo
dicis fratri tuo: sine eiciam festucam de oculo tuo et ecce, trabes in*
*Matth.* vii, 6. *oculo tuo est.* Vel quod sequitur: *Nolite dare sanctum canibus
neque miseritis margaritas vestras ante porcos, ne forte conculcent eas
pedibus suis et conversi disrumpant vos*, quod saepissime vobis
evenit. Et populum monens, ne a dolosis doctoribus, ut estis vos,
*Matth.* vii, 15-17. seduceretur, dixit: *Attendite vobis a falsis prophetis, qui veniunt ad
vos in vestimentis ovium, intrinsecus autem sunt lupi rapaces: a
fructibus eorum cognoscetis eos. Numquid colligunt de spinis uvas
aut de tribulis ficus? Sic omnis arbor bona bonos fructus facit et*
*Matth.* vii, 21. *mala malos.* Et infra: *Non omnis, qui dicit mihi: Domine,
Domine, intrabit in regnum caelorum, sed qui facit voluntatem
patris mei, qui in caelis est, ipse intrabit in regnum caelorum.*

*Es.* xxix, 13. Quid sane vobis fiet, qui, ut propheta dixit, *labiis tantum* 95
*et non corde Deum adhaeretis?* Qualiter autem impletis quod
*Matth.* x, 16. sequitur: *Ecce*, inquiens, *ego mitto vos sicut oves in medio luporum*,
*Matth.* x, 16. qui versa vice ut lupi in gregem ovium proceditis? Vel quod

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[1] *Nostra mediocritas* = "my humble self," is common in epistolary Latin of church writers. "Probant epistolae meae mediocritatis et libri rustico licet sermone descripti." Lucif. Cal., *De non parc.*, 274. Cf. Cypr., *Ad. Fort*, p. 317.

[2] *Historico vel morali sensu.* These terms are very old, and show how the thoughts of Gildas, as we have found in another note, are running in a stream of tradition. He is the inheritor of a leading principle of exegesis as introduced by Origen: "triplicem in scripturis divinis intelligentiae inveniri saepe diximus modum, *historicum*, *moralem*, *et mysticum*." Hom., v, 5, in Levit. "Of this moral sense he says that it is everywhere to be met with in Holy Scripture, and explains that it is the less difficult to find." Redepenning's *Origenes*, i, 309—der moralische Sinn.

It would seem that *vel*, as we found in the note to c. 65 where other instances are noticed, must be taken here as equivalent to *et*. These two senses are alternative; of the two, the latter is certainly the more important

the heavenly Father is so far from being praised that he is unbear-
ably blasphemed. I could indeed wish that these testimonies of
Holy Scripture inserted in this epistle, or to be inserted, as far as
my mean power would be able, should all be interpreted in a
94 historical or moral sense. But in order not to extend this little
work to too great a length for those men who despise, scorn and
turn aside, not so much my words as God's, the passages have
been, or will be, put together without any paraphrase. A little
further on: *For whosoever shall break one of these least command-* *Matt.* v, 19.
*ments and shall teach men so, shall be called least in the kingdom of
heaven.* Again: *Judge not that ye be not judged, for with what* *Matt.* vii, 1, 2.
*judgement ye judge it shall be judged to you.* Who of you, I ask, will
have regard to that which follows: *But why beholdest thou the mote* *Matt.* vii, 3, 4.
*in thy brother's eye, and considerest not the beam in thine own eye? Or
how sayest thou to thy brother: Let me cast the mote out of thine
eye; and lo! the beam is in thine own eye.* Or what follows: *Give* *Matt.* vii, 6.
*not that which is holy unto the dogs, neither cast your pearls before
swine, lest haply they trample them under their feet and turn and
rend you.* This very frequently happens to you. Admonishing
the people lest they be seduced by crafty teachers, such as you are,
he said: *Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheep's* *Matt.* vii, 15-17.
*clothing, but inwardly are ravening wolves. By their fruits ye shall
know them. Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?
Even so every good tree beareth good fruit, and a corrupt tree corrupt
fruit.* And below: *Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord,* *Matt.* vii, 21.
*shall enter into the kingdom of heaven, but he that doeth the will of my
Father which is in heaven, the same shall enter into the kingdom of*
95 *heaven.* What indeed shall become of you who, as the prophet *Isaiah* xxix, 13.
says, cling to God with your lips only, not with your heart? But
how do you fulfil what follows: *Behold I send you as sheep in the* *Matt.* x, 16.
*midst of wolves*, you who, on the contrary, go as wolves in a flock of
sheep? Or that which is said by him: *Be ye therefore wise as serpents* *Matt.* x, 16.

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in the eyes of Gildas, as when he explains words of the Sermon on the Mount to be spoken to "crafty teachers" and "depraved bishops." He is now correcting or restraining himself, so as not any further to mix his own words with those of Scripture, and so extend the length of his booklet (*opusculum*), for the readers he has in view. The work, which he modestly called in c. 1 an *admoniuncula*, is, with the same implication, now termed a "letter" (*epistola*), and the epithet used of the contents of cc. 27-36, viz.: "the tearful and plaintive narrative of the evils of this age" (*flebilis querelaque malorum aevi huius historia*), serves aptly to connect the supposed two parts, thus making the whole one book.

ait: *estote prudentes sicut serpentes et simplices sicut columbae?* Prudentes quidem estis, ut aliquem ore exitiabili mordeatis, non ut caput vestrum, quod est Christus, obiectu quodammodo corporis defendatis, quem totis operum malorum conatibus conculcatis.

Nec enim simplicitatem columbarum habetis, quin potius corvino assimilati nigrori ac semel de arca, id est ecclesia, evolitantes inventis carnalium voluptatum fetoribus nusquam ad
*Matth.* x, 28. eam puro corde revolastis. Sed videamus et cetera: *Nolite*, ait, *timere eos, qui occidunt corpus, animam autem non possunt occidere, sed timete eum qui potest et animam et corpus perdere in gehennam.* Quidnam horum feceritis, recogitate. Quem vero vestrum sequens testimonium non in profunda cordis arcana vulneret, quod de pravis
*Matth.* xv, 14. antistitibus salvator ad apostolos loquitur? *Sinite illos, caeci sunt duces caecorum: caecus autem si caeco ducatum praestet, ambo in foveam cadent.*

Egent sane populi, quibus praeestis vel potius quos decepistis, 96
audire. Attendite verba Domini ad apostolos et turbas loquentis, quae et vos, ut audio,[1] in medium crebro proferre non pudet. *Super*
*Matth.* xxiii, 2. *cathedram Moysi sederunt scribae et Pharisaei. Omnia ergo quaecumque dixerint vobis, servate et facite: secundum vero opera eorum nolite facere. Dicunt enim et ipsi non faciunt.* Periculosa certe ac supervacua sacerdotibus doctrina est, quae pravis operibus obfus-
*Matth.* xxiii, 13. catur. *Vae vobis, hypocritae, qui clauditis regnum caelorum ante homines, vos autem non intratis nec introientes sinitis intrare.* Non solum enim prae tantis malorum criminibus, quae geritis in futuro, sed etiam pro his, qui vestro cotidie exemplo pereunt, poenali poena plectemini: quorum sanguis in die iudicii de vestris manibus requiretur.

Sed quid mali, quod servi parabola praetenderit, inspicite,
*Matth.* xxiv, 49. dicentis in corde suo: *Moram facit Dominus meus venire.* Qui pro hoc forsitan *inceperat percutere conservos suos manducans et*
*Matth.* xxiv, 50, 51. *bibens cum ebriis. Veniet ergo*, inquit, *Dominus servi illius in die, qua non sperat, et hora, qua ignorat, et dividet eum*, a sanctis scilicet sacerdotibus, *partemque eius ponet cum hypocritis*, cum eis certe, qui sub sacerdotali tegmine multum obumbrant nequitiae, *illic*, inquiens, *erit fletus et stridor dentium*, quibus in hac vita non crebro evenit,

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[1] *Ut audio.* The monk is here retailing scornfully words which bishops were wont to quote as supporting authority in the Church.

*and simple as doves?* Wise, of course, you are to bite anyone with deadly mouth, not to defend your head, which is Christ, by any exposure of your body, whom by all the endeavours of evil deeds you tread under foot (trample upon). Neither have you the simplicity of doves, nay rather being like the black crow, once out of the ark, that is the Church, you fly away, and having found the carrion of carnal pleasures you never fly back to it with a pure heart. But let us see other words also: *Be not afraid of those which kill the body,* *Matt.* x, 28. *but are not able to kill the soul; but fear him which is able to destroy both soul and body in hell.* Which of these have you done?—consider. Which of you would not the following testimony, spoken by the Lord to the apostles of depraved bishops, wound in the deep secrecy of his heart? *Let them alone, they* *Matt.* xv, 14. *are blind guides of the blind. But if the blind guide the blind, both shall fall into a pit.*

96 The people, certainly, whom you guide, or rather whom you deceive, have need of hearing. Listen to the words of the Lord when he speaks to the apostles and the multitudes, words which, as I hear, you are not ashamed to put forth publicly and frequently. *The Scribes and the Pharisees sit on Moses' seat; all things, there-* *Matt.* xxiii, 2. *fore, whatsoever they say unto you, observe and do; but after their works do not, for they say and do not themselves.* The teaching that is darkened with evil deeds is certainly full of peril, and useless for priests. *Woe unto you, hypocrites, who shut the kingdom of* *Matt.* xxiii, 13. *heaven before men, but enter not in, neither suffer ye them that are entering in to enter.* For you shall have penal suffering inflicted upon you, not only on account of such huge crimes of sins as you bear for future time, but also because of those who daily perish by your example. The blood of these men in the day of judgment shall be required at your hands. Observe what evil is set forth in the parable of the servant who said in his heart: *My* *Matt.* xxiv, 49. *Lord tarrieth.* Before this probably he had *begun to beat his fellow servants, eating and drinking with the drunken. The Lord* *Matt.* xxiv, 50, 51. *of that servant,* it is said, *shall come in a day when he expecteth not, and in an hour when he knoweth not, and shall separate him*—that is to say, from the holy priests—*and place his portion with the hypocrites* (with those, no doubt, who beneath a veil of priesthood conceal much wickedness); *there,* says he, *shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth,* unto men to whom it does frequently come in this life, because of the daily loss of sons brought upon the

ob cotidianas ecclesiae matris ruinas filiorum vel desideria regni caelorum.[1]

Sed videamus, quid Christi verus discipulus magister gentium 97
Paulus, qui omni ecclesiastico doctori imitandus est, sicut ipse
1 *Cor.* xi, 1. hortatur: *Imitatores mei estote*, inquiens, *sicut et ego Christi*, in tali
*Rom.* i, 21, 22. negotio praeloquatur in prima epistola[2] dicens: *quia cum cognoverunt Deum, non sicut Deum magnificaverunt aut gratias egerunt, sed evanuerunt in cogitationibus suis et obcaecatum est insipiens cor eorum dicentes se esse sapientes, stulti facti sunt.* Licet hoc gentibus dici videatur, intuemini tamen, quia competenter istius aevi sacer-
*Rom.* i, 25, 26. dotibus cum populis coaptabitur. Et post pauca. *Qui commutaverunt*, inquit, *veritatem Dei in mendacium et coluerunt et servierunt creaturae potius quam creatori, qui est benedictus in saecula, propterea*
*Rom.* i, 28-32. *tradidit illos Deus in passiones ignominiae.* Et iterum: *Et sicut non probaverunt Deum habere in notitiam, tradidit illos Deus in reprobum sensum, ut faciant quae non conveniunt, repletos omni iniquitate malitia inpudicitia fornicatione avaritia nequitia, plenos invidia homicidio*, scilicet animarum populi, *contentione dolo malignitate, susurrones, detractores, Deo odibiles, contumeliosos,*

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[1] *Desideria regni caelorum.* The first clause of this passage probably refers to the mother, Rachel, weeping for her children (*fletus Rachel plorantis filios suos*); then the second *desideria* will correspond to "because they are not" (*quia non sunt*). For such a sense of *desiderium* = *need, want, loss*, one may compare: "Nec desiderium absentiae eius ferre non possumus, non illius sed nostram vicem dolentes" (Jerome, *Ep.*, 60, 7). These men have no experience of tears shed in this life on account of the daily ruin of the Church's children, or the grave losses visible everywhere. Rönsch, on the verb *desiderare*, notices how it has the meaning "to suffer loss" or "to have need" = *mangel leiden*, χρείαν ἔχειν, as in 1 Thess., iv, 12: "have *need* of nothing;" and 1 Jo., iii, 17, as quoted by Cyprian: "et viderit fratrem suum *desiderantem*."

THE PAULINE EPISTLES.

The Pauline epistles are quoted in the following order: Romans, i and 2 Corinthians, Ephesians, 1 Thessalonians, *Colòssians* (n.b. *id quod sequitur*), 2 Timothy, Titus, 1 Timothy. The position of 2 Tim. is probably accidental; but Gildas may well have been acquainted with the order that places Coloss. after 1 Thess.; Gregory (p. 140) names three MSS.: Fuld., August., Ildef., as preserving the order Ro., Cor., Gal., Eph., Phil., Thess., Col., Tim., Tit. This is the very order which Gildas follows.

As to text, we have again in the main the Vulgate, with just such few various readings as may be found in different MSS. of that version itself. In many of these, though not in all, Gildas agrees with *Codex Fuldensis* (F). The most marked are: Rom., i, 21, 22, *magnificaverunt* for *glorificaverunt*, *obcaecatum* for *obscuratum*. Rom., i, 30, 31, *inoboedientes* for *non obedientes* (the same also in 2 Tim., iii, 3), *insensatos* for *insipientes*. Rom., ii, 5, *tu autem secundum*

mother church, or because of defections from the kingdom of heaven.

97 But let us see what a true disciple of Christ, Paul the teacher of the gentiles, utters in such a matter when he says in his first epistle—Paul, who should be imitated by every ecclesiastical teacher as he himself exhorts: *Be ye imitators of me as I also am* 1 *Cor.* xi, 1. *of Christ; because, when they knew God, they glorified him not as* *Romans* i, 21, 22. *God nor gave thanks, but became vain in their reasonings, and their senseless heart was blinded, saying that they were wise, they became fools.* Although this appears to be said to the gentiles, observe it nevertheless, as it will apply fully to the priest together with the people (Christians) of this age. After a few words we read: *Who exchanged the truth of God for a lie, and worshipped and* *Romans* i, 25, 26. *served the creature rather than the Creator, who is blessed for ever; for this cause God gave them up unto passions of vileness.* Again: *And even as they did not approve to have God in their knowledge,* *Romans* i, 28-32. *God gave them up to a reprobate mind to do those things which are not fitting; being fitted with all unrighteousness, wickedness, unchasteness, fornication, covetousness, maliciousness; being full of envy, murder*—that is of the souls of the people—*strife, deceit, malignity, whisperers, backbiters, hateful unto God, insolent, haughty, boastful,*

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*duritiam tuam*, with Cypr. Lucifer, for *secundum duritiam autem.* Rom., xiii, 14, *induite* for *induimini*, *concupiscentiis*, with Cypr. 426, for *desideriis.* 1 Cor., iii, 10, 13, *alter* for *alius autem*, *unumquodque* (which presupposes a Greek reading: ἕκαστον τὸ ἔργον, instead of ἑκάστου) for *uniuscuiusque*, *dies enim domini* for *dies enim.* 1 Cor., v, 11, *si quis nominatur frater et est fornicator*, for *si is qui frater nominatur est fornicator.* 2 Cor., iv, 1, 2, *deficiamus* for *deficimus*, *abiciamus* for *abdicamus* ( = *g*). 2 Cor., xi, 15, *igitur* for *ergo*, *ut angeli iustitiae* for *velut ministri iustitiae.* Eph., v, 17, 18, *voluntas dei* for *voluntas domini*, *replemini spiritu sancto* for *implemini spiritu.* 1 Thess., ii, 5-8, add. *apud vos* before *aliquando*, *ab hominibus gloriari* for *ab hominibus gloriam.* Coloss., iii, 6, *in filios diffidentiae*, with Fuld., for *in f. incredulitatis.* 2 Tim., ii, 5, *qui contendit in agone* for *qui certat.* Tit., ii, 8, *verbum sanum habens*, *irreprehensibile.*

[2] *Prima epistola.* "First epistle" must mean first of the series of epistles, as was becoming common through the influence of the Vulgate—the order, for instance, in the Codex Amiatinus—Gospels, Acts, Romans. Had Gildas the *old* order in mind, *prima epistola* would have meant, first of the Pauline epistles. The order in the list given by Cassiodorus, *secundum antiquam translationem*, places the Catholic epistles between Acts and Romans; so also Isidore of Seville, and, of course, the leading Greek codices except ℵ. An incidental mention of this kind, just as the position assigned to Isaiah and Jeremiah (though not to Ezekiel), in the Old Testament, shows how the Hieronymian Bible was gradually making its way into general use in Britain.

*superbos, elatos, inventores malorum, parentibus inoboedientes, insensatos, incompositos, sine misericordia, sine affectione, qui cum iustitiam Dei cognovissent, non intellexerunt, quoniam qui talia agunt, digni sunt morte.*

Quisnam supra dictorum his omnibus in veritate caruit? Si 98
*Rom.* i, 32. enim esset, forte caperetur subiecto sensu, in quo ait: *Non solum*
*qui faciunt ea, sed etiam qui consentiunt facientibus*, nullo scilicet
*Rom.* ii, 5, 6. hoc malo eorum exstante immuni. Et infra: *Tu autem secundum*
*duritiam tuam et cor impaenitens thesaurizas tibi iram in die*
*irae et revelationis iusti iudicii Dei, qui reddet unicuique secundum*
*Rom.* ii, 11-13. *opera sua.* Et iterum: *Non est enim acceptio personarum apud*
*Deum. Quicumque enim sine lege peccaverunt, sine lege et peribunt: quicumque in lege peccaverunt, per legem iudicabuntur.* Quid ergo severitatis ingruit his, qui non solum implenda non faciunt et prohibita non declinant, sed etiam ipsam verborum Dei lectionem[1] vel tenuiter auribus ingestam pro saevissimo angue refugiunt?

*Rom.* vi, 1, 2. Sed transeamus ad sequentia. *Quid ergo*, inquit, *dicemus?* 99
*permanebimus in peccato, ut gratia abundet? Absit. Qui enim*
*mortui sumus peccato, quomodo iterum vivemus in illo?* Et post
*Rom.* viii, 35. aliquanta: *Quis nos*, ait, *separabit a caritate Christi? tribulatio?*
*an angustia? an persecutio? an fames? an nuditas? an periculum? an gladius?* Quem vestrum, quaeso, talis intimo corde occupabit affectus, qui non modo pro pietate non laboratis, sed etiam ut inique agatis et Christum offendatis, multa patimini? Vel quod
*Rom.* xiii, 12-14. sequitur: *Nox praecessit, dies autem appropinquavit. Abiciamus*
*ergo opera tenebrarum et induamus arma lucis sic ut in die honeste ambulemus, non in comessationibus et ebrietatibus, non in cubilibus et impudicitiis, non in contentione et aemulatione, sed induite Dominum Iesum Christum et carnis curam ne feceritis in concupiscentiis.*

I *Cor.* iii, 10-17. Et iterum ad Corinthios in prima epistola. *Ut sapiens*, inquit, 100
*architectus fundamentum posui, alter superaedificat. Unusquisque autem videat, quomodo superaedificet. Fundamentum enim aliud nemo potest ponere praeter id quod est Iesus Christus. Si quis autem superaedificet super hoc aurum et argentum, lapides pretiosos, ligna, faenum, stipulam, unumquodque opus manifestum erit; dies*

[1] *Sed etiam ipsam verborum Dei lectionem.* These words mark the repugnance of one who loved the cloister life, in which the reading (*lectio*) of Scripture formed so important a part, against "secular" bishops who neglected it.

*inventors of evil things, disobedient to parents, without understanding, covenant-breakers, without mercy, without natural affection: who knowing the justice of God did not understand that those who do such things are worthy of death.*

98 Who of the men referred to above has in truth been without these all? For if there were he would be possibly included in the idea subjoined, where he says: *Not only they that do them, but also* (Romans i, 32.) *consent with them that do*, as undoubtedly not one of them is free from this evil. Below also: *But thou after thy hardness and* (Romans ii, 5, 6.) *impenitent heart treasurest up for thyself wrath in the day of wrath and revelation of the righteous judgment of God, who will render to every man according to his works.* And further: *For there is no* (Romans ii, 11-13.) *respect of persons with God. For as many as have sinned without law shall also perish without law: and as many as have sinned in the law shall be judged by the law; for not the hearers of the law are just before God, but the doers of the law shall be justified.*

99 What severity therefore awaits those who not only do not do what ought to be fulfilled, and turn not away from things prohibited, but even fly away from the very reading of God's words, even when slightly uttered in their ears, as if it were a serpent of the fiercest kind?

But let us pass on to the following words: *What shall we say* (Romans vi, 1, 2.) *then? Shall we continue in sin that grace may abound? God forbid. We who died unto sin, how shall we any longer live therein?* And after awhile: *Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? Shall* (Romans viii, 35.) *tribulation? Shall anguish? Shall persecution? Shall famine? Shall nakedness? Shall peril? Shall sword?* Who of you, may I ask, has been touched by such a feeling in the depth of your heart? You who, far from labouring to further godliness, do even suffer much in order to act unjustly and offend Christ. Or by what follows: *The night is far spent, but the day is at hand; let us there-* (Romans xiii, 12-14.) *fore cast off the works of darkness, and let us put on the armour of light; let us walk honourably as in the day; not in revellings and drunkenness, not in chambering aud wantonnesses, not in strife and jealousy, but put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and have no care for the flesh in concupiscence.*

100 Again, in the First Epistle to the Corinthians he says: *As a wise* (I Cor. iii, 10-17.) *master-builder I laid a foundation, another buildeth thereon. But let each man take heed how he buildeth thereon. For other foundation can no man lay than that which exists, even Christ Jesus. But if any man buildeth on this gold and silver, costly stones, wood, hay, stubble, every work shall be made manifest; for the day of*

*enim Domini declarabit illud, quia, in igne revelabitur et unius-*
*cuiusque opus quale sit, ignis probabit. Si cuius opus manserit,*
*qui superaedificaverit, mercedem accipiet. Si cuius opus arserit,*
*detrimentum patietur. Nescitis, quia templum Dei estis et spiritus*
*Dei habitat in vobis? Si quis autem templum Dei violaverit,*
I *Cor.* iii, 18, 19. *disperdet illum Deus.* Et iterum: *Si quis videtur apud vos sapiens*
*esse in hoc saeculo, stultus fiat, ut sit sapiens. Sapientia enim huius*
I *Cor.* v, 6, 7. *mundi stultitia est apud Deum.* Et post aliquanta: *Non bona*
*gloriatio vestra. Nescitis, quia modicum fermentum totam massam*
*corrumpit? Expurgate igitur vetus fermentum, ut sitis nova con-*
*spersio.* Quomodo expurgabitur vetus fermentum, id est peccatum,
quod a diebus in dies cunctis conatibus cumulatur? Et iterum:
I *Cor.* v, 9-11. *Scripsi vobis in epistola, ne commisceamini fornicariis, non utique*
*fornicariis huius mundi aut avaris aut rapacibus aut idolis servienti-*
*bus: alioquin debueratis de hoc mundo exire. Nunc autem scripsi*
*vobis non commisceri, si quis nominatur frater et est fornicator aut*
*avarus aut idolis serviens aut maledicus aut ebriosus aut rapax, cum*
*huiusmodi nec cibum quidem sumere.* Sed latro nequaquam pro
furto vel latrocinio furem alium damnat, quem potius opat tueter
amat utpote sui sceleris consortem.

II *Cor.* iv, 1, 2. Item in epistola ad Corinthios secunda: *Ideo,* inquit, *habentes* 101
*hanc administrationem, iuxta quod misericordiam consecuti sumus,*
*non deficiamus: sed abiciamus occulta dedecoris non ambulantes in*
*astutia neque adulterantes verbum Dei,* per malum exemplum
scilicet et per adulationem. In subsequentibus autem ita de malis
II *Cor.* xi, 13-15. doctoribus dicit: *Nam eiusmodi pseudoapostoli sunt operarii subdoli*
*transfigurantes se in apostolos Christi. Et non mirum: ipse enim*
*Satanas transfigurat se in angelum lucis. Non est magnum igitur,*
*si ministri eius transfigurentur ut angeli iustitiae, quorum finis erit*
*secundum opera eorum.*

Attendite quoque, quid ad Ephesios dicat. An nescitis vos pro 102
*Ephes.* iv, 17-19. hoc in aliquo reos teneri? *Hoc,* inquiens, *dico et testificor in*
*Domino, ut iam non ambuletis sicut gentes ambulant in vanitate*
*sensus sui, tenebris obscuratum habentes intellectum, alienati a via*
*Dei per ignorantiam, quae est in illis propter caecitatem cordis eorum,*
*qui desperantes semet ipsos tradiderunt impudicitiae in operationem*
*omnis immunditiae et avaritiae.*[1] Et quis vestrum sponte expleverit
*Ephes.* v, 17, 18. id quod sequitur: *Propterea nolite fieri imprudentes, sed intellegentes*
*quae sit voluntas Dei, et nolite inebriari vino, in quo est luxuria, sed*
*replemini Spiritu Sancto.*

[1] *Avaritiae* for *in avaritia* is an interesting non-Vulgate intrusion, for which there is evidence in Graeco-Latin MSS.

*the Lord shall declare it, because it shall be revealed in fire; and each man's work of what sort it is the fire shall prove. If any man's work shall abide, which he built thereon, he shall receive a reward. If any man's work shall be burned, he shall suffer loss. Know ye not that ye are a temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you? But if any man defile the temple of God, him shall God destroy.* Again: *If any man among you seemeth to be wise in this world, let* [I *Cor.* iii, 18, 19.] *him become a fool, that he may be wise. For the wisdom of this world is foolishness with God.* And after a while: *Your glorying* [I *Cor.* v, 6, 7.] *is not good. Know ye not that a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump? Purge out therefore the old leaven that ye may be new dough.* How shall the old leaven, that is sin, be purged out which increases from day to day by every endeavour? Again: *I have written to* [I *Cor.* v, 9-11.] *you by epistle to have no company with fornicators; not altogether with the fornicators of this world, or with the covetous and extortioners, or with idolaters; otherwise must ye needs go out of the world. But now I write unto you not to keep company if any man is named a brother and is a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolater, or a reviler, or a drunkard, or an extortioner; with such a man no, not to take food.* But a thief does not condemn another thief for theft or highway robbery: has rather a liking for him, defends and loves him as a partner of his crime.

101 In the Second Epistle to the Corinthians also he says: *There-* [II *Cor.* iv, 1, 2.] *fore seeing we have this ministry, even as we have obtained mercy, let us not faint, but let us renounce the hidden things of shame, not walking in craftiness, nor adulterating the word of God,* that is by evil example, and by flattery. In later passages he speaks thus of evil teachers: *For such false apostles are deceitful workers, transforming* [II *Cor.* xi, 13-15.] *themselves into apostles of Christ. And no marvel; for Satan himself transforms himself into an angel of light. It is no great thing, therefore, if his ministers also are transformed as angels of righteousness; whose end shall be according to their works.*

102 Listen also to what he says to the Ephesians. Are you ignorant that you are held guilty of something in this particular? *This I say and testify in the Lord, that ye no longer walk as the* [*Eph.* iv, 17-19.] *Gentiles walk, in the vanity of their mind, having their understanding darkened, alienated from the way of God through the ignorance that is in them, because of the blindness of their hearts, who being without hope gave themselves up to lasciviousness, to work all uncleanness and covetousness.* Which of you has willingly done what follows: *Wherefore be not foolish, but understanding what is the will of God,* [*Eph.* v, 17, 18.] *and be not drunken with wine in which is riot, but be filled with the Holy Spirit.*

I *Thes.* ii, 5-8. Sed et quod ad Thessalonicenses dicit : *Neque enim fuimus* 103
*apud vos aliquando in sermone adulationis, sicut scitis, neque in occasione avaritiae, nec quaerentes ab hominibus gloriari neque a vobis neque ab aliis, cum possumus oneri esse*[1] *ut ceteri apostoli Christi. Sed facti sumus sicut parvuli in medio vestrum vel tamquam si nutrix foveat parvulos suos, ita desiderantes vos cupide volebamus vobis tradere non solum euangelium, sed etiam animas nostras.* Si hunc vos apostoli retinetis in omnibus affectum, eius quoque cathedrae legitime insidere noscatis. Vel etiam quod sequitur:
I *Thes.* iv, 2-8. *Scitis*, inquit, *quae praecepta dederim vobis. Haec est voluntas Dei, sanctificatio vestra, ut abstineatis vos a fornicatione et sciat unusquisque vestrum vas suum possidere in honore et sanctificatione, non in passione desiderii, sicut et gentes quae ignorant Deum. Et ne quis supergrediatur neque circumveniat in negotio fratrem suum, quoniam vindex est Dominus de his omnibus. Non enim vocavit nos Deus in inmunditiam, sed in sanctificationem. Itaque qui haec spernit, non hominem spernit, sed Deum.* Quis etiam vestrum circumspecte
*Coloss*, iii, 5, 6. cauteque custodivit id quod sequitur: *Mortificate ergo membra vestra, quae sunt super terram, fornicationem immunditiam libidinem et concupiscentiam malam: propter quae venit ira Dei in filios diffidentiae.* Videtis enim pro quibus peccatis ira Dei potissimum consurgat.

Audite itaque, quid de vobis prophetico Spiritu Sanctus idem 104
apostolus vestrisque consimilibus praedixerit, ad Timotheum aperte
II *Tim.* iii, 1-5. scribens : *Hoc enim scitote, quod in novissimis diebus instabunt tempora*[2] *periculosa. Erunt enim homines semet ipsos amantes, cupidi, elati, superbi, blasphemi, parentibus inoboedientes, ingrati, scelesti, sine affectione, incontinentes, inmites, sine benignitate, proditores, protervi, tumidi, voluptatum amatores magis quam Dei, habentes quidem speciem pietatis, virtutem autem eius abnegantes. Et hos devita*, sicut et propheta dicit :[3]

*Ps.* xxv, 5. *Odivi congregationem malignorum*
*Et cum impiis non sedebo.*

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[1] *Oneri esse.* The documentary evidence here gives the reading *honori esse*, but there can hardly be any doubt that the true reading is *honeri = oneri*. MSS. frequently use this aspirated form, as may be seen in the notes of the Oxford edition of the Vulgate. For instance, many MSS. in Luke xi, 46, read *honeribus* in *quia oneratis homines oneribus*, and two have even the same error as has crept into the text in this place, and read *honoribus*. Other instances are *hodio = odio*, Jo. xv, 25, *ad hostium = ad ostium*, *ib.* xviii, 16, and v. 17, *hancilla = ancilla*. Vide Rönsch, *Itala u. Vulg.*, 462.

[2] *Instabunt tempora.* These five verses are again quoted in App. A, where either Gildas or his transcriber is using a very different text. See note to Frag. iii.

103 But listen also to that which he says to the Thessalonians: *For neither were we at any time among you with word of flattery, as* I *Thess.* ii, 5-8 *ye know, nor in occasion of covetousness; nor seeking glory of men, neither from you nor from others, when we might be a burden as other apostles of Christ. But we became like little ones, babes among you, or as when a nurse cherisheth her little ones, being affectionately desirous of you, we were well pleased to impart unto you, not the Gospel only, but also our souls.* If you preserve this feeling of the apostle, in all things, you know also how legitimately to sit in his chair. Or even what follows: *For ye know what* I *Thess.* iv, 2-8. *precepts I gave unto you. This is the will of God, even your sanctification, that ye abstain from fornication, and each one of you know how to possess his own vessel in honour and sanctification, not in the passion of lust, even as the Gentiles who know not God; and let no man over-reach or wrong his brother in the matter, because the Lord is avenger in all these things. For God called us not unto uncleanness but unto sanctification. Therefore he who despiseth these things, despiseth not man, but God.* Who also of you has circumspectly and carefully kept that which follows: *Mortify therefore your* *Coloss.* iii, 5, 6. *members which are upon earth; fornication, uncleanness, lust, evil desire, on account of which cometh the wrath of God upon the sons of unbelief.* For you see on account of what sins the wrath of God mostly rises.

104 Hear therefore what the same holy apostle predicted by the spirit of prophecy, respecting you and men like you, when plainly writing to Timothy. *For know this, that in the last days dangerous* II *Tim.* iii, 1-5. *times shall come. For men shall be lovers of self, covetous, boastful, haughty railers, disobedient to parents, unthankful, criminal, without affection, without self-control, fierce, without goodness, traitors, headstrong, puffed up, lovers of pleasures more than God; holding indeed a form of godliness, but denying the power thereof. From these also turn away*, as the prophet says: *I have hated the congregation of evil* *Psalm* xxvi, 5. *doers, and will not sit with the wicked.* After a while, mentioning

[3] *Sicut et propheta dicit.* The prophet is the author of Ps.xxv (xxvi), 5; but we have in this place again a piece of Old Latin, because Gildas, having before him a New Testament codex from which to copy his extracts from the Epistles, must be quoting a well-known verse of the Psalter from memory.

| Gildas. | Vulgate. |
|---|---|
| Odivi *congregationem malignorum:* | Odivi *ecclesiam malignantium:* |
| et cum impiis non sedebo. | et cum impiis non sedebo. |

The *Versio antiqua* of Sabatier, taken from *Cod. Sangerm.*, also gives *congregatio* for *ecclesia.*

Et post aliquanta: quod nostro tempore videmus pullulare, ait:
II *Tim.* iii, 7-9. *Semper discentes, et numquam ad scientiam veritatis pervenientes: quemadmodum enim Iamnes et Mambres restiterunt Moysi, ita et isti resistunt veritati: homines corrupti mente, reprobi circa fidem, sed ultra non proficient. Insipientia enim eorum manifesta erit omnibus, sicut et illorum fuit.* Etenim evidenter ostendit, qualiter
*Tit.* ii, 7, 8. se exhibeant suo officio sacerdotes, ita ad Titum scribens: *Te ipsum praebe exemplum bonorum operum, in doctrina, in integritate, in gravitate, verbum sanum habens, irreprehensibile, ut is qui ex adverso est vereatur, nullum malum habens dicere de nobis.* Et
II *Tim.* i 3-5. iterum ad Timotheum: *Labora,* inquit, *sicut bonus miles Christi Iesu. Nemo militans Deo implicat se negotiis saecularibus, ut placeat ei cui se probavit. Nam et qui contendit in agone, non coronatur, nisi legitime certaverit.* Haec quidem bonorum adhortatio. Quod vero item comprehendit, malorum hominum, ut vos
I *Tim.* vi, 3-5. quibusque intellegentibus apparetis, denuntiatio est: *Si quis,* inquiens, *aliter docet et non adquiescit sermonibus sanis Domini nostri Iesu Christi et ei, quae secundum pietatem est, doctrinae, superbus est, nihil sciens, sed languescens erga quaestiones et pugnas verborum, ex quibus oriuntur invidiae, contentiones, blasphemiae, suspiciones malae, conflictationes hominum mente corruptorum, qui veritate privati sunt, existimantium quaestum esse pietatem.*

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### British Rite of Ordination.

1. The passages hitherto quoted by Gildas have been selected from all parts of Scripture (*sparsim*); it might be that the bishops and other clergy whom the writer was desirous of influencing for good, would be inclined to cavil at the selection itself; Gildas, therefore, now appeals to authority, by bringing to their notice the parts of Scripture read in their hearing on the day of their ordination. The lessons (*lectiones*) for that office were excerpts made, not by himself, but by the Church, and consecrated, as an appropriate selection, by custom. Wherefore Gildas steps aside, and leaves the priests face to face with the authority of the Church, by quoting from the Church's own book. There may have been other parts of Scripture read during the ordination, inasmuch as we are informed that the readings were "excerpts" made from almost every text bearing specially upon the object in view (*ex omni paene sanctarum scriptarum textu merito excerptae sunt*). The book, or *Ordo*, from which Gildas quotes must have been generally known and acknowledged, otherwise his appeal to the priests of Britain would be vain; but it differs from others known to us in the prominence thus given to Scriptural texts. These, which are varied in several places for lectionary purposes, as, for instance, where the imperatives *succincti estote animas vestras castificate*, are used instead of the participles *succincti*, *animas vestras castificantes*.

2. It would be very rash to conclude, from the silence of Gildas, that the office

what we see on the increase in our time, he says : *Ever learning,* II *Tim.* iii, 7-9. *and never coming to the knowledge of the truth. For as Iamnes and Mambres withstood Moses, so do these also withstand the truth ; men corrupted in mind, reprobate concerning the faith ; but they shall proceed no further. For their folly shall be evident unto all men, as theirs also was.*

He indicates plainly how priests should show themselves in their office, when writing as follows to Titus: *Present thyself an* *Tit.* ii, 7, 8. *example of good works, in doctrine, in incorruptness, in gravity, holding a sound word that cannot be condemned ; that he that is of the contrary part may fear, having no evil to say of us.* Again, to Timothy *: Suffer hardship as a good soldier of Jesus Christ. No* II *Tim.* ii, 3-5. *man warring for God entangleth himself in the affairs of the world, that he may please him to whom he hath approved himself. For also the man who contendeth in the game is not crowned unless he hath contended lawfully.* These words are an exhortation to the good. But what the epistle likewise comprises is denunciation of bad men, such as you appear to all men of understanding. *If any man* I *Tim.* vi, 3-5. *teacheth differently and consenteth not to the sound words of our Lord Jesus Christ, and that doctrine which is according to godliness, he is haughty, knowing nothing, but weak about questions and disputes of words, whereof come envyings, strifes, railings, evil surmisings, wranglings of men corrupted in mind, who are bereft of the truth, supposing that godliness is gain.*

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of ordination in Britain consisted *only* of the symbolic act of anointing the hands of those ordained, with an accompanying special prayer regarded as the *benedictio*, or consecration, and the reading of appropriate Scriptural lessons. It was too common a practice, as Gildas informs us, for men to betake themselves beyond seas when there was opposition at home, for the sake of receiving ordination ; that Gildas represents this as being done by the bad, the dissolute, and simoniacal priests of his day, is indeed strong evidence for a sense of order in the British Church. *Transnavigare maria terrasque spatiosas transmeare non tam piget quam delectat* (c. 67) ; but when men are thus said to cross seas, and travel over vast tracts of country, we must suppose that the places resorted to by them would be somewhere in Gaul, perhaps Armorica, where their compatriots had been making settlements for two or three generations ; perhaps, further inland. The fact, however, that this was done by wicked priests, who dared not omit regular ecclesiastical forms, will in no way exclude the possibility and probability, that other men, of approved lives and motives, were at times also ordained abroad. Were we to believe the Welsh *Vitae*, such an occurrence was far from being rare. In this way we gather that intercourse with the continent would naturally tend to promote similarity in Church usages, and particularly in such a rite as ordination, which lay at the root of all com-

munion of churches. The silence of Gildas respecting "imposition of hands" *may* be due to the fact that a rite which he found used in so many other functions, such as the reconciliation of penitents, the ordination of exorcists by presbyters, and at the chrism of catechumens, had not the distinctive meaning, in his eyes, which the act of unction had. The omission is, nevertheless. striking. We are not discussing the position and significance attached by the Church to any symbolical act in the rite of ordination, as held in Britain about the year A.D. 540 ; we are endeavouring to understand the silence of a single writer—the only writer, as it happens, that has described for us the ordination of priests in that age. On the whole, it appears reasonable to conclude that ordination would be carried on in Britain, almost in the same way as the rite is prescribed in such Gallic *Ordines* as the *Missale Francorum*, Martène's *Ordines*, or, in a less degree, the *Sacramentarium Gelasianum.**

It is an equally probable conclusion that the canonical regulations, the due observance of which constituted that *legitime ordinari* upon which Gildas so frequently insists, would be the same as those found in the canons of the *Statuta Ecclesiae Antiqua*, though when we speak of similarity or identity, we should reserve something in favour of the presumption of greater simplicity in Britain. The silence of Gildas can in no way bar such a conclusion, though it must impress us as to the things which *he* regarded as having real importance and special meaning—the hands of bishops and presbyters received unction, there was a consecration of them, to which the stamp of authoritative sanction came from the words of Holy Scripture, specially selected for the occasion and read in their hearing.

It does not require any very extensive reading of liturgic documents, written in countries far apart, to notice that, in the midst of endless variety, which

* The *Missale Francorum* is a compilation of Gallic liturgic rites drawn up, according to Morinus, about the middle of the sixth century (before 560, but by others placed at a later date. It is generally agreed that it certainly contains materials considerably older than the time of compilation. The parts referred to in this note are in vol. ii, p. 661 *ff*, of Muratori's *Liturgia Romana Vetus*.

The *Ordines* of Martène mentioned above represent early usages of the Church in Gaul : they contain canons for ordination as well as formulae of service, and, in material, may represent a time approximating that of the *Missale Francorum*. They were printed by Martène in 1700, in a work entitled : *De Antiquis Ecclesiae Ritibus*. My references are to this edition, Liber I, c. viii, p. 351 *ff*.

*Sacramentarium Gelas*. This collection of liturgic formulae is regarded as representing seventh-century usages ; though chiefly Roman in source and character, it contains Gallic material. "Tout le rituel des ordres mineurs, tel qu'il se presente dans les sections i, 95, 96, du sacramentaire gélasien, est gallican d'un bout à l'autre," so we read in M. Dechesne's *Origines du Culte Chrétien* (p. 125) ; and here (95) appears the "misplaced" form, as to "consecration of hands"; Gildas' words in c. 106, and many of Martène's ordinals, would almost lead us to understand the form as, originally, a general one, introductory to the following rites of ordinations for deacon, presbyter and bishop. Vide *The Gelasian Sacramentary*, edited by Wilson (1894), pp. 144-149.

proves the freedom exercised by different countries, at first by individual churches, there grew certain definite points of agreement. These features of similarity suggest to us a universalism of order as well as of doctrine, which every student desirous to gain a true representation of Church life will keep in mind, as well as the points of difference. The presumption is that congregational worship with its liturgy on the Lord's Day, by the sixth century was the same in Gaul as in Ireland, in Spain as in Britain ; so also would be the rite of ordination for the ministry of the Church ; the same, yet with many variations. Organisation seems, in its advance, to have been more affected by geographical and political causes than ritual. Yet there was, on the whole, greater and more effective one-ness in the Church at that time than could be found in any social or political organization ; and this is one reason, it may be said in passing, how true it is that, "Church history is world history."

3. We must first gather all that can be gathered from the meagre references to be found in these chapters of Gildas. He speaks of *benedictio*—that is, the prayer, "by which the hands of priests or ministers (deacons ?) are consecrated." Properly speaking, the *benedictio*, in all the forms we have, is always a prayer, the words used being precative ; but there is assumed in all, that the peculiar blessing invoked, is also conferred by the special act of prayer. The mention of "hands" here implies a special rite. Duchesne, in his work *Origines du Culte Chrétien*, mentioning this very phrase, speaks as follows : "Gildas, Liber Querulus, parle d'une bénédiction *qua initiantur sacerdotum vel ministrorum manus.* Cette expression semble viser une rite special, probablement une onction, accompli sur les mains des prêtres et des diacres. L'onction des mains pour *ces deux ordres* se rencontre dans les livres liturgiques anglo-saxons du dixiéme et du onziéme siècles," p. 356 vi. I am led to think that the learned French writer has somehow not quite caught the whole meaning of Gildas' words ; he understands *sacerdotes vel ministri* as meaning presbyters and deacons. But we find that, unless otherwise limited, *sacerdos* in this work denotes bishop, or implies priesthood as including both bishop and presbyter. In any way, bishops must be included under *sacerdotes* in the present passage, because the words of Matth. xvi, 16-18, were read "on that day" (*audistis etiam illo die*, c. 109). These words, with their reference to the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and the power of binding and loosing, may, of course, apply to presbyters, yet Gildas generally connects such ideas with the office of bishops as "successors of Peter." Further, the men addressed by the writer, though ordained in the correctest manner as prescribed by the Church, are said to be "enemies to God, not bishops ; veterans in wickedness, not successors of the holy apostles." In seeking a more exact meaning of *sacerdotes vel ministri*, two interpretations are possible. In the first place, we bring to mind how instances are to be found in the Latin of the New Testament, and ecclesiastical writers, of *vel* as the equivalent of *et* (see p. 157); in that case, the meaning would be "priests (*i.e.*, bishops and presbyters) and deacons." The inclusion of *diaconi* in one of the lessons (c. 109) may well favour the explanation which sees a reference to the diaconate here in the term, frequently so used, *ministri*. In the second place, if *vel* have its usual meaning, we are tied to the meaning "priests or (if you prefer) ministers," which receives some confirmation from the more solemn "Dei ministri" of the same sentence.

The *Missale Francorum* prescribes unction of the hands in the case of

presbyters only, but two other *ordines* (ii and iii) printed by Martène in the second volume of his *De Antiquis Ecclesiae Ritibus*, prescribe it also for deacons. It is well known how rites differed in different countries even in the sixth and seventh centuries ; Augustine, the English missionary, was perturbed in mind at the variations of usages and ritual he had observed during his journey to Britain through Gaul, until reassured by his great master. " Since there is one faith," he asks, " how can there be different usages in the churches ? How is one use of masses observed in the Holy Roman Church and another in Gaul?" (Beda, *H. E.*, i, 27). Of such *ecclesiarum diversae consuetudines*, as observed by Augustine, might have been this very unction of hands ; because, as has been observed, two *ordines* at least prescribe it for the three orders, of which one, Martène's ii, is the English Pontifical of Egbert ; Pope Nicolas I is quoted by Martène (p. 315) as denying that it was ever a Roman rite. We gather from the words of Gildas that, in Britain, the rite formed part of the ordination of bishops, and to our author, with his strong scriptural—one might say, strong Old Testament—bent of mind, it was probably *the* significant act of the whole service. His mind would revert back to the " oil of holy ointment," as he saw bishop and presbyter anointed to a holier priesthood.

Another feature of the ordination service in Britain, preserved in these pages of Gildas, is an account of the Scriptural readings or lessons selected for that day (*lectiones excerptae ut recitentur*). It was these lessons that gave its seal to the act of consecration itself : such would seem to be the meaning of the words *ut adstipulentur benedictioni qua initiantur manus sacerdotum* ; and it certainly does appear strange that Gildas makes no further reference to the consecratory prayer itself which constituted the *benedictio* proper. It is difficult to determine how the readings were arranged : there were at least two lessons, which were, probably, distributed as follows :

First Lesson, I Peter i, ii, and Acts i, 15-26.
Second Lesson, I Timothy iii, and Matthew xxi, 13-19.

A third particular of the British service is made known to us here : during the service those to be ordained stood by the altar (*eodem die altari astitistis*), no doubt for the celebration of the *missa* connected with each ordination.

We have endeavoured to give, in the above account, all that can be gleaned from Gildas. Meagre as it is, there is no small interest attaching to it, inasmuch as what is found in this part of the QUERULUS LIBER is, probably, the earliest description in Latin of an ordination service, unless an exception be made of the simple beginnings witnessed in the *Statuta Ecclesiae Antiqua*, which, as Maassen concludes in his *Gesch. der Quellen und der Lit. des canon. Rechts*, i, 393, may have been compiled during the first half of the fifth century, that is, about a hundred years before this work was written. The canonical regulations of that collection seem to have been the norm of Church discipline and observance in the west during the sixth century. (*Migne*, Opp. S. Leonis, Tom. iii, 679 *ff.*) While this fact is certain in the case of Gaul and Spain, may it not be extremely probable for Britain also?

Certain Gallic forms have already been mentioned, such as, let us repeat, the *Missale Francorum*, those printed by Martène, and the *Sacramentarium Gelasianum* ; yet, as to time of compilation, they are later than Gildas. Their contents may be considerably older than his time, and on that account have a very special value for us ; otherwise it is his incidental references to the

consecration of priests that gives us about the earliest information respecting that ritual in the Latin tongue.

4. With the fact that Gildas omits all reference whatever to the prayers used, evidently feeling that the real weight of his appeal lay in the portions of Scripture quoted as read, we couple another. While prayers of prescribed form were used in the ordination service, there seems to have been no authority for uniformity beyond custom (*consuetudo*) and the strong conservative spirit of Christian communities, once a custom had begun its course. We find, also, that *the same* consecratory prayer was employed for both presbyter and bishop, and that a very short one. We can hardly suppose that Gildas had before him the words of such a consecratory prayer as that which begins : Deus honorum omnium, Deus omnium dignitatum quae gloriae tuae sacris famulantur ordinibus . . . . . . and proceeds : Comple, Domine, in sacerdotibus tuis mysterii tui summam, et ornamentis totius glorificationis instructos caelestis unguenti fluore sanctifica. Hoc, Domine, copiose in eorum caput influat, hoc in oris subiecta decurrat, hoc in totius corporis extrema descendat, ut tui Spiritus virtus et interiora horum repleat et exteriora circumtegat. Abundet in his constantia fidei, puritas dilectionis, sinceritas pacis. . . . . . . Odiant superbiam, diligant veritatem, nec eam unquam deserant aut lassitudine aut timore superacti, etc., etc. This prayer appears in the *Missale Francorum* and the *Gelasian Sacramentary*, both Gallic books. It is a prayer from which we should certainly have expected Gildas to quote rich appropriate words, strikingly adapted for his purpose. Excellent reasons, however, are forthcoming for regarding it as of Roman origin, and for the conclusion that the original Gallic formulary had no such prayer in this part; neither, presumably, had the British. Let us notice the exact words of Gildas : "The *benedictio*, that is, the prayer *by which* the hands of priests are consecrated;" here there can be no intimation of any prayer but that which accompanied the act of unction. Was no other prayer used? If so, and if the prayer customary in Britain was, as it might well be, similar to those found in the books named, then in no case does it seem quite suitable for quotation. The following was the prayer which accompanied the unction of the hands of deacons and presbyters :

> May those hands be consecrated and sanctified by that unction and our blessing, so that whatsoever things they bless may be blessed, and whatsoever things they sanctify be sanctified.

When the hands of bishops were anointed, the following prayer was said :

> May those hands be anointed with holy oil and the chrism of sanctification, as Samuel anointed David king and prophet ; may they be anointed and perfected in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, as we make the sign of the holy cross of the Saviour, our Lord Jesus Christ, Who redeemed us from death, and led us to the kingdom of heaven. Hear us, merciful Father, almighty eternal God, and grant us that which we ask and pray for.

5. These offer no material for quotation ; hence Gildas' silence. The frequent insistence on the part of Gildas in this work that ordination should be received *legitime*, may lead to a short account of the rite as possibly conducted in Britain during the sixth century. There can hardly be any doubt that, at the time he wrote, the ordination of Gildas had already taken place ; so also had that of the other disciples of Illtud, Dewi, Paul Aurelian, and Samson. But when we turn to the *Lives* of these men, we find nothing that

might help us to understand the simplest canons that regulated the conferring of orders in this island. In the *Vita Samsonis* there may be an echo of some special usage. The saint had already been duly ordained deacon and, two years afterwards, presbyter, the event being each time signalised by that "prodige classique," the dove which alighted on the head and was visible only to a select few. "Then the festival was at hand when it was necessary that bishops should come together in that monastery, for the ordination of a bishop, as was wont. . . . . . . And when the bishops who came for the ordination had arrived, bringing with them two to be ordained, and desiring to ordain a third, according to the custom handed down from antiquity, but as yet ignorant who he should be—*as it is the custom there that three should be ordained by three bishops*—during the following night the angel of the Lord came to bishop (papam) Dubricius, and said : 'Know ye that Saint Samson must be the third ordained by you.'"* He is, of course, ordained with great joy, the dove from heaven appearing again.

All this legendary colouring stands in strange contrast with the simple account given by Gildas as a contemporary, which may be supplemented here by the aid of the *Missale Francorum*† and the *Statuta Ecclesiae Antiqua*, as follows :

(*a*) When a deacon is ordained, the Bishop addresses the people :

> Beloved brethren . . . . . . it is my desire that our brother (name) should be promoted to the office of deacon in fellowship with us ; I desire to know whether you think him worthy of this office, and, if your choice agrees with mine, confirm your testimony by word of mouth (testimonium quod vultis vocibus adprobate).

When the people assent by the response "*He is worthy*," the bishop invites to common prayer. Holding his hands upon the head of the person ordained, the bishop (*qui eum benedicit*) pronounces the prayer of benediction, beginning: *Domine sancte, spei, fidei gratiae et profectuum munerator, &c., &c.*

Then follows the consecration of hands (*consecratio manuum*), accompanied by the prayer given above.

(*b*) At the ordination of a presbyter, there is a similar address to the people, but longer and more solemn. After the response *Dignus est*, the bishop invites to prayer.

> Let there be by us, brethren, common prayer, that this person, who is elected for the help and profit of your salvation, may, by the concession of a divine gift, attain to the blessing of the presbyterate ; that he obtain the priestly gifts by the favour of His powers, so that he be not found unequal to the position.

During the *benedictio* which now follows, all the bishops present place their hands upon the head of the ordinand ; and further, according to c. xci of *Statuta Eccl. Ant.*, two bishops hold an open codex of the Gospels over his head.

This consecratory prayer is as follows :

> Author of all holiness, whose true consecration is full benediction (*benedictio*), do Thou, Lord, spread over this thy servant (name), whom we have dedicated by the honour of the presbyterate, the hand of Thy benediction, so that in seriousness of actions and judgment of his life, he may prove himself to be an elder (*se esse*

* "Vita S. Samsonis, c. 14, in *Anal. Boll.*, Tom. vi, edited by Father Plaine, O.S.B.

† *Murat.*, vol. ii, p. 661 *ff.*

*seniorem*) ; trained in the ways of discipline which Paul set forth to Titus and Timothy ; so that, meditating day and night in thy law, Almighty One, he may believe what he reads, teach what he believes, follow what he teaches. May he show righteousness, constancy, mercy, strength in himself; may he convince by example, strengthen by admonition ; so that he may preserve thy gift pure and spotless, and through the observance of thy people transform the body and blood of Thy Son by a pure consecration (*immaculata benedictione*), and, with unchanging love may attain unto the perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of fulness, the fulness of Christ in the day of justice of the eternal judgment, with pure conscience, with full faith, filled with the Holy Spirit.

Then came the unction of hands, and the prayer given above.

(*c*) When a bishop was to be ordained, an examination was made as to his character and faith, and the unanimity of his election by the suffrages of the presbyters and clergy of the church over which he was to preside, as well as the people of the city and the surrounding district (*testimonio presbyterorum et totius cleri et consilio civium ac consistentium*). If satisfied, the audience exclaim : *Dignus est.* Then follows a long invitation to common prayer ; and after it the *benedictio*, which M. Duchesne believes to be Roman, not Gallic : "J'inclinerais donc," he says, "a croire que la formule est toute romaine et qu'il ne subsiste pas de formule gallicane pour cette partie de la cérémonie." May we not suppose that the *old* Roman custom prevailed in Gaul, until there was found a more excellent formulary in this later Roman prayer? That old Roman custom has, probably, been preserved in the so-called "Canons of Hippolytus," which contain the earliest-known form of prayer used at the ordination of a bishop. Dr. Hans Achelis has published these canons in parallel columns with the "Egyptian Church Order" and the corresponding passages of Book VIII of the Apostolic Constitution.* They represent, according to his view, the usage of the Roman Church, about A.D. 200, in the ordination and appointment of bishops, presbyters, deacons, lectors, subdeacons, widows and virgins. Now we find that the same form is here used for the ordination of bishop and presbyter, which would be the norm for the earliest usages of other Churches in the West ; so that, although the prayer itself might take new forms, this idea, that for presbyter there should be the same prayer as for bishop, held on with great tenacity.

[I am tempted to put this ancient type of the ordination rite into English, that the reader may himself see what must have been the basis of many later forms, among them, the British, in the time of Gildas.

Can. II. The bishop shall be chosen by all the people. Let him be temperate, as is written of him in the epistles. During the week in which he is ordained let the people say : "We have elected him."

Amid silence on the part of the whole people, after the confession, let all pray for him, saying :

O God, strengthen him whom Thou hast prepared for us.

Then let one from among the bishops and presbyters be elected to lay hands upon his head, and pray, saying :

O God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ ; the Father of mercies and God of all consolation, Who dwelleth on high and hath respect to the humble, Who knoweth

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* *Texte und Untersuchungen*, VI, 4. Die ältesten Quellen des orientalischen Kirchenrechts; see pp. 39, 150. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, xxiii.

all things before they come to pass; Thou Who hast fixed the limits observed by the Church, by Whose rule it comes to pass, that from Adam a righteous race perseveres, by reason of this (that?) bishop who is the great Abraham; Who hath constituted overseerships and sovereignties; look upon N. Thy servant, giving unto him thy strength and the Spirit of efficacy which Thou didst give to Thy holy apostles through our Lord Jesus Christ, Thy only Son, that is, to them who founded the Church in every place to the honour and glory of Thy holy name. Inasmuch as Thou knowest the heart of each one, grant unto him, that he without sin may have oversight of Thy people, so that he may be worthy to feed Thy great and holy flock. Do Thou cause his life to be superior to all the people without any declension. Effect Thou also, that on account of his excellence, reverence be paid him by all, and accept his prayers and his offerings which he offers to Thee day and night, and may they be unto Thee a sweet savour. Grant unto him, O Lord, the episcopate and spiritual kindness and authority to remit sins. Grant unto him power to break all bonds of unrighteousness wrought by demons, and to heal all diseases, and to tread Satan quickly under his feet, through our Lord Jesus Christ, through Whom be glory unto Thee with Him and the Holy Spirit, for ever. Amen.

Now follow directions for episcopal functions to be then and there performed.

Can. IV. But if a Presbyter is ordained, let all things be done with him as with the bishop, except that he sit not in the chair. Also let the same prayer in full be made over him as over the bishop, with the single exception of the name of the episcopate. A bishop in all things is to be likened to (put on a level with) a

## *Quotations from the Ordinal or Service Book used in the consecration of priests or ministers (deacons ?).*

Sed quid sparsim positis amplius utentes testimoniis sensuum 106
ac diversorum undis in despecta ingenii nostri cymbula fluctuabimur? recurrere tandem aliquando usque ad lectiones illas, quae ad hoc non solum ut recitentur, sed etiam adstipulentur benedictioni,[1] qua initiantur sacerdotum vel ministrorum[2] manus, eosque perpetuo doceant, uti ne a mandatis, quae fideliter continentur in eis, sacerdotali dignitate degenerantes recedant, ex omni paene

[1] *Benedictioni.* Strictly speaking, a *benedictio* is a prayer for benediction or blessing, just as *eucharistia* is a prayer of thanksgiving; but in both cases ecclesiastical language came to assume that a special consecration follows the utterance of such a prayer. Therefore, a *benedictio* being a consecratory prayer, the word is used for "consecration."

[2] *Sacerdotum vel ministrorum.* *Ministri* may here mean deacons, who are mentioned below in the lesson read "on that day." The earliest probable instance of the word in this sense is found in Pliny's correspondence with the Emperor Trajan. The Governor of Bithynia endeavoured to get information "from two maid-servants who were called deaconesses": ex duabus ancillis quae *ministrae* dicebantur, *Ep.* x, 96. Commodian, *Instr.*,

presbyter, excepting the name of his chair and ordination, because authority to ordain is not given him.]

6. When the suggestions furnished by Gildas are viewed in the light of the preceding outline of the manner in which ordinations were conducted in Western Europe about the sixth century, we may venture to draw the following conclusions as to the British Church: (1) The three offices of the Church's ministry were elective, at least in theory. (2) The formulae employed in ordination, amid a variety that implies a primarily independent life, had taken a somewhat fixed form. (3) The leading symbolical act in ordination, at that time, was the unction of hands, though such a conception would not exclude other acts that have a symbolical character, and the words, "on the same day ye stood by the altar", certainly imply the celebration of the *missae* as directed in such Ordinals as those mentioned above. (4) The same form, though accompanied by definitely different acts, was used in the ordination of both presbyter and bishop.

For Gildas, there seems no room to doubt, the prominent, almost the only, idea of the ministry is that of a ministry of teaching, guidance, and government; at the same time, his constant use of *altare* would suggest that Britain, just as Gaul, had entered upon the Mediaeval view of the priest's function, as witnessed in the words: *Ut . . . . corpus et sanguinem Filii tui immaculata benedictione transformet*, in the *Missale Francorum*.

## *Quotations from the Ordinal or Service Book used in the consecration of priests or ministers (deacons?).*

106 But why will I use at considerable length the testimonies of opinion, though expressed by various persons and scattered here and there? Why will I be tossed on the waves in the despicable craft of my own intellect. I have thought it necessary to recur finally to those lessons which have been extracted from almost every befitting text of the Holy Scriptures, not only to be repeated for this present object, but also to be a confirmation of the rite by which the hands of priests or ministers are consecrated, and to

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ii, 27, has the curious *zacones=diacones*, as well as *ministri*, under the title, MINISTRIS=TO DEACONS.

Mysterium Christi, Zacones, exercite caste,
Idcirco ministri facite praecepta magistri.

It seems, not infrequently, to be used for the *ordines minores* as a class. Thus, *ministri ecclesiae* in Cypr., *Ep.* 34, 4; also Sulp. Sev., *Vita S. Mart.*, 9, 5: *cum fortuito lector defuisset turbatis ministris*, etc. Gildas himself calls Stephen *proto-minister*, c. 73.

On the other hand, the context seems to favour the view that *vel* has its usual meaning, and therefoie *ministri* in its inclusive meaning is an alternative term for *sacerdotes*. It is so employed above: *quam plurimos ministros*, c. 66.

sanctarum scripturarum textu merito[1] excerptae sunt, necessarium
duximus; ut apertius cunctis pateat aeterna supplicia mansura
eos et non esse sacerdotes[2] vel Dei ministros, qui earum doctrinas
atque mandata opere secundum vires suas non adimpleverint.
Audiamus ergo quid princeps apostolorum[3] Petrus de tali negotio
I *Petr.* i, 3-5. signaverit: *Benedictus*, inquiens, *Deus et Pater Domini nostri Iesu
Christi, qui per magnam misericordiam suam regeneravit nos in
spem vitae aeternae per resurrectionem a mortuis Domini nostri Iesu
Christi in hereditatem incorruptibilem inmarcescibilem incontamin-
atam conservatam in caelis in vos, qui in virtute Dei custodimini*.
Quare enim insipienter a vobis violatur talis hereditas, quae non
sicut terrena decidua, sed inmarcescibilis atque aeterna est? Et
I *Petr.* i, 13. post aliquanta: *Propter quod succincti estote lumbos mentis vestrae,
sobrii, perfecte sperantes in eam, quae offertur vobis, gratiam in
revelatione Iesu Christi.* Rimamini namque pectoris vestri pro-
funda, an sobrii sitis et perfecte sacerdotalem gratiam examinan-
I *Petr.* i. 14-16. dam in Domini revelatione conservetis. Et iterum dicit: *Quasi
filii benedictionis non configurantes vos illis prioribus ignorantiae
vestrae desideriis, sed secundum eum qui vos vocavit sanctos, et vos
sancti in omni conversatione estote. Propter quod scriptum est:
sancti estote, quia ego sum sanctus.* Quis rogo vestrum ita sancti-
tatem toto animi ardore sectatus est, ut hoc, quantum in se est,
avide festinaret implere? Sed videamus, quid in eiusdem secunda
I *Petr.* i, 22, 23. lectione[4] contineatur: *Carissimi*, inquit, *animas vestras castificate*

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[1] *Textu merito.* *Textus* seems to mean what we express by "context;" from every part that *deserved* quotation, owing to its appropriateness for a particular purpose, these excerpts had been made: they were intended not only to be read as portions of Scripture, but to confirm the consecration of priests.

[2] *Non esse sacerdotes.* From this and other passages, such as: O inimici Dei et non sacerdotes, veterani malorum et non pontifices, traditores et non sanctorum apostolorum successores et non Christi ministri (c. 108), we must understand that Gildas regarded the grace of consecration to have been forfeited by the evil life of these men. They had ceased to be priests any longer. The principle "Mali enim sacerdotes veri sunt sacerdotes, tametsi indigni" is not that of Gildas; with him efficacy in ministration depends upon the character of him that ministers. The same may be gathered from his words in c. 108: "It is plain that the man who from his heart calls you priest is not a good Christian." Also c. 109: "How can you loose anything so that it shall be loosed in heaven, when you are shut out from heaven on account of your wickedness?"

[3] *Princeps apostolorum*, cf. *clavicularius*, c. 73. In assigning this exalted position to Peter, Gildas is following the common belief of the Western Church in his age. Cyprian, who regarded the unity of the Church as secured by its

teach them continually not to abandon the commandments that are faithfully contained therein by falling off from the dignity of priest. It will also become more evident to all that eternal punishments await them, and the men who do not, according to their powers, fulfil the teaching and commandments of those lessons, are not priests or ministers of God.

Let us therefore hear what Peter, the prince of the apostles, has pointed out, respecting such a matter: *Blessed be the God and* 1 *Peter* i, 3-5. *Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who by his great mercy begat us again unto hope of life eternal by the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ from the dead, unto an inheritance incorruptible, that fadeth not away, undefiled, reserved in heaven for you, who are guarded by the power of God.* Why indeed is such an inheritance foolishly defiled by you, which does not fall away like an earthly one, but is an inheritance that fades not away, and eternal.

After a while: *Wherefore gird up the loins of your mind, be* 1 *Peter* i, 13. *sober, hope perfectly for that grace which is brought unto you in the revelation of Jesus Christ.* Examine the depths of your heart, whether you are sober, and maintain perfectly the priestly grace that is to be searched in the revelation of the Lord. Again he says: *As children of blessing, not fashioning yourselves to those* 1 *Peter* i, 14-16. *former lusts of your ignorance, but according to him who hath called you to be holy, be ye holy in all manner of life. Because it is written, Be ye holy for I am holy.* Who of you, I ask, has so followed holiness with all ardour of soul, that he hastened to fulfil this command to the utmost of his power? But let us see what is contained in the second lesson from the same apostle. *Beloved,* 1 *Peter* i, 22, 23.

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being "built on Peter," seems not to have attributed to him any further primacy: "nam nec Petrus quem primum Dominus elegit . . . . . . vindicavit sibi aliquid insolenter aut adroganter adsumpsit ut diceret se primatum tenere," *Ep.* 71, 3; "hoc erant utique et ceteri apostoli quod fuit Petrus, pari consortio praediti et honoris et potestatis": "endowed with equal fellowship both of honour and power," *De Un.*, 4. But Optatus Milevitanus, who wrote in the stream of new power under Siricius (c. 375), speaks of St. Peter as "head of all the apostles," (omnium apostolorum caput) (ii, 2), praeferri omnibus apostolis meruit et claves regni coelorum communicandas ceteris solus accepit (vii, 3); Petrum principem scilicet nostrum (ii, 4). The fourth century is explicit on this belief in the pre-eminence of Peter.

Unus eligitur ut capite constituto schismatis tollatur occasio (Jerome, *Adv. Iov.*, i, 26).

[4] *In eiusdem secunda lectione.* The Gen. *eiusdem* must refer to the apostle, as *secunda lectio apostoli Pauli* (c. 108) suggests: We thus see that I Peter was read on twice, perhaps each time with some other portion of Scripture.

*ad oboediendum fidei per Spiritum in caritate, in fraternitate, ex corde vero invicem diligentes perseveranter, quasi renati non ex semine corruptibili, sed incorruptibili verbo Dei vivi et permanentis in aeternum.*

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### The Latin Text of the Ordinal.

The extracts made by Gildas from the lessons of his Ordinal bear, as has been observed, several marks of adaptation to suit the special purpose of public reading, just as other *Lectionaries* or Service-books of Churches. For instance, we have the Imperatives *succincti estote*, *sancti estote*, *castificate*, instead of *succincti*, *sancti sitis*, *castificantes:* but the interpolation of *carissimi* in 1 Pet. i, 22, and *fratres* in 1 Tim. iii, 1, is a still clearer mark of accommodation for ecclesiastical use. It will be found that what was said on p. 92 is too sweeping. The Service-book itself may very likely have been drawn up from separate volumes containing separate parts of Scripture, and, moreover, of very different type of text. It seems safe to conclude that the Lessons from 1 Peter and Acts in the volume were copied from a codex of which the Latin text was older than the Vulgate; on the other hand, the Lessons from 1 Timothy and Matthew xvi are in the Vulgate version, with various readings, that may nearly all be found in the MSS. of that version, together with certain of the old Latin codices.

Gildas, in this part, is somewhat more frequent and copious than elsewhere in interjectory vehement remarks. I have, therefore, printed the quotations made from the *Lectiones* consecutively. It will be quite evident that only sections of those regarded by him as most pertinent have been quoted, and that there are frequent intentional omissions. For the Gospel I have used the new Oxford edition.

| Gildas' Ordinal. | Vulgate. |
|---|---|
| Matth. xvi, 16. Tu es Christus filius Dei vivi. | |
| 17. beatus es, Simon Bar Iona, quia caro et sanguis non revelavit tibi, sed pater meus qui in caelis est. | |
| 18. tu es Petrus: super hanc petram aedificabo ecclesiam meam, et portae inferni non praevalebunt. | portae inferi. *a f* and many MSS. of Vulgate read inferni. |
| 19. et tibi dabo claves regni caelorum et quaecumque solveris super terram, erunt soluta et in caelis, et quaecumque ligaveris super terram, erunt ligata et in caelis. | et quodcumque ligaveris super terram erit ligatum in caelis, et quodcumque solveris super terram erit solutum in caelis. |
| c. 32 has the words: quibus suppedit supra mundum *alligandi* cum in mundo reos *alligaverint*, et *solvendi*, cum paenitentes *solverint*, potestas. | *f* and many MSS. of Vg. read *quaecumque*, *soluta*, *ligata*, as Gildas, but the clauses have the same order as in Vg. |
| | *et* in caelis twice found in many MSS. of Vg. |

he says, *purify your souls unto obedience of faith, by the Spirit in love, in love of the brethren, loving one another from a true heart fervently, as born again not of corruptible seed but of incorruptible, by the word of God who liveth and abideth for ever.*

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| Gildas' Ordinal. | Vulgate. |
|---|---|
| Acts i, 15. in medio discipulorum. | in medio fratrum. |
| 18. hic itaque adquisivit agrum. | hic quidem possedit agrum. |

*Actus* is evidently singular with Gildas: *in le ctione Actus Apostolorum* (c. 107).

| Gildas' Ordinal. | Vulgate. |
|---|---|
| I Tim. iii, 1. Fratres (again read by adaptation) fidelis sermo est et omni acceptione dignus, Si quis episcopatum cupit. | Fidelis sermo, Si quis episcopatum desiderat. |

Either the book from which Gildas quotes, or he himself, has evidently added, as some cursive MSS. do, *et omni acceptione dignus* from i, 15; but so also has Jerome in his comment on the reading *humanus sermo* (quoted *ad loc.* in Tregelles, Greek New Test.).

| Gildas' Ordinal. | Vulgate. |
|---|---|
| 2. oportet ergo huiusmodi irreprehensibilem esse, unius uxoris virum, sobrium, prudentem, hospitalem, ornatum, 3. non vinolentum, non percussorem, sed modestum, non litigiosum, non cupidum, | The Vulgate omits *huiusmodi*, but the emphasis with which it is noticed by Gildas proves that it must have been the reading of the Ordinal. prudentem, ornatum, hospitalem doctorem, non vinolentum. |
| 4. domum suam bene regentem, filios habentem subditos cum omni castitate, 5. Si quis autem domui suae praeesse nescit, quomodo ecclesiae Dei diligentiam adhibebit. | suae domui bene propositum. habebit. |
| 1 Tim. iii, 8. diaconos similiter pudicos, non bilingues, non vino multum deditos, non turpe lucrum sectantes, 9. habentes mysterium fidei in conscientia pura, 10. Hi autem probentur primum et sic ministrent nullum crimen habentes. | non multo vino deditos. Et hi autem. |
| 1 Pet. i, 3. in spem vitae aeternae. | in spem vivam. |
| resurrectionem a mortuis domini nostri Jesu Christi. | resurrectionem Jesu Christi ex mortuis. |
| inmarcesibilem incontaminatam. | incontaminateam et inmarcesibilem. |
| in vos. | vobis. |
| 13. perfecte sperantes. | perfecte sperate. |
| 14. filii benedictionis. | filii obedientiae. |
| non configurantes vos illis prioribus. | non configurati prioribus. |

| Gildas' Ordinal. | Vulgate. |
|---|---|
| 15. secundum eum qui vos vocavit sanctos et vos sancti in omni conversatione estote. | secundum eum qui vos vocavit sanctum et ipsi sancti in omni conversatione sitis. |
| 16. propter quod scriptum est : sancti estote, quia ego sum sanctus. | quoniam scriptum est : sancti estote (eritis), quia et ego (quoniam ego) sanctus sum. |
| 22. carissimi (added probably as preliminary salutation). | |
| castificate ad obedientiam fidei per spiritum, in caritate, in fraternitate, ex corde vero invicem diligentes perseveranter. | castificantes in obedientiam caritatis, in fraternitatis amore simplici, ex corde invicem diligite attentius. |
| 23. quasi renati . . . . sed incorruptibili verbo Dei vivi. | renati . . . . sed incorruptibili per verbum Dei vivi. |

107 Haec quidem ab apostolo mandata, et in die vestrae ordinationis lecta, ut ea indirupte custodiretis, sed nequaquam a vobis in iudicio impleta, sed nec multum cogitata vel intellecta sunt. Et infra : (I *Petr.* ii, 1-3.) *Deponentes igitur omnem malitiam et omnem dolum et simulationem et invidiam et detractiones sic ut modo geniti infantes rationabiles et sine dolo lac concupiscite, ut eo crescatis in salutem, quoniam dulcis est Dominus.* Recogitate, an haec quoque surdis auribus a vobis audita crebrius conculcentur. (I *Petr.* ii, 9.) Et iterum : *Vos autem genus electum, regale sacerdotium, gens sancta, populus in adoptionem, ut virtutes annuntietis eius, qui de tenebris vos vocavit in illud tam admirabile lumen suum.* Non solum enim per vos virtutes Dei non annuntiantur, sed etiam pravissimis vestris apud incredulos quosque despiciuntur exemplis. Audistis forte in eodem die, quod in lectione Actus Apostolorum lectum est, Petro *in medio* (*Act.* i, 15, 16.) *discipulorum* surgente qui dixit : *Viri fratres, oportet scripturam impleri, quam praedixit Spiritus Sanctus per os David de Iuda.* Et (*Act.* i, 18.) paulo post : *Hic itaque adquisivit agrum de mercede iniquitatis.* Hoc securo vel potius hebeti corde, quasi non de vobis lectum fuisset, audistis. Quis, quaeso, vestrum non quaerit agrum de mercede iniquitatis? Iudas namque loculos compilabat, vos ecclesiae donaria[1] filiorumque animas eius vastatis. Ille adiit Iudaeos, ut Deum venderet, vos tyrannos et patrem vestrum diabolum, ut Christum despiciatis. Ille triginta argenteis venalem habuit omnium Salvatorem, vos vel uno obolo.

[1] *Ecclesiae donaria.* The Church had, at this time, no possession or income except the free gifts of the faithful ; as a corporate body it could own any real property so given ; *donaria* would cover either kind. Can. xv of *Statuta*

| Gildas Ordinal. | Vulgate. |
| --- | --- |
| I Pet. ii. 1. Deponentes igitur omnem malitiam . . . . . . et simulationem et invidiam et detractiones, | simulationes et invidias et omnes detractiones, |
| 2. sic ut modo geniti infantes rationabiles, et . . . . . . . . . | sicut modo geniti infantes, rationabile et sine dolo lac, . . . . . . . . . |
| in salutem, quoniam dulcis est Dominus. | in salutem, si tamen gustastis quoniam dulcis est Dominus. |
| 9. vos autem genus electum, regale sacerdotium, gens sancta, populus in adoptionem, ut virtutes annuntietis eius, qui de tenebris vos vocavit in illud tam admirabile lumen suum. | populus adquisitionis. [Gildas' reading is literal for *λαὸς εἰς περιποίησιν.*] in admirabile lumen suum. |

107 These, without doubt, are things commanded by the apostle, and were read on the day of your ordination that you might keep them inviolably, but in no wise have they been kept by you with judgment, nay, hardly have they been thought of or understood. Below, he says: *Putting away therefore all wickedness and all guile* (I *Peter* ii, 1-3.) *and hypocrisy and envy and evil speakings, as new born babes, reasonable and without guile, desire milk that ye may grow thereby unto salvation, because the Lord is kind.* Consider also whether these words be trodden under foot because heard by you too frequently with deaf ears. Again: *But ye are an elect race, a royal* (I *Peter* ii, 9.) *priesthood, a holy nation, a people for adoption, that ye may shew the excellencies of Him who hath called you out of darkness into that very wonderful light of His.* Not only are the *excellencies* of God not *shown* through you, but even, by most corrupt examples, despised among all unbelievers. You heard, no doubt, on the same day, what was read in the lesson from the Acts of the Apostles. Peter, rising *in the midst of the disciples*, said: *Men and brethren, it is* (*Acts* i, 15, 16.) *needful that the Scripture should be fulfilled, which the Holy Ghost foretold by the mouth of David concerning Judas.* And shortly after: *This man obtained a field with the reward of iniquity.* (*Acts* i, 18.) This you heard heedlessly, or rather with obtuse heart, as if it had not been read of you. Who of you, I ask, does not seek a field with the reward of iniquity? For Judas was wont to thieve coffers; you waste the church gifts and the souls of her sons. He went to the Jews to sell God; you to tyrants and your father the devil, to despise Christ. He held the Saviour of all as one to be sold for thirty pieces of silver; you for even a single penny.

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*Eccl. Antiqua* directs: ut episcopus rebus ecclesiae tanquam commendatis non tanquam propriis utatur.

4. *Conclusion.*

Quid plura? fertur vobis in medium Matthiae in confusionem 108 vestram exemplum, sanctorum quoque apostolorum, electione vel iudicio Christi non propria voluntate sortiti, ad quod caeci effecti non videtis, quam longe a meritis eius distetis, dum in amorem et effectum Iudae traditoris sponte corruistis. Apparet ergo[1] eum, qui vos sacerdotes sciens ex corde dicit non esse eximium Christianum. Sane quod sentio, proferam.[2] Posset quidem lenior fieri increpatio, sed quid prodest vulnus manu tantum palpare unguentove ungere, quod tumore iam vel fetore sibi horrescens cauterio et publico ignis medicamine eget? Si tamen ullo modo sanari possit aegro nequaquam medelam quaerente et ab hoc medico longius recedente. O inimici Dei et non sacerdotes, veterani malorum et non pontifices, traditores et non sanctorum apostolorum successores et non Christi ministri, auscultastis quidem secundae lectionis apostoli Pauli verborum sonum, sed in nullo modo monita virtutemque servastis et simulacrorum modo, quae non vident neque audiunt, eodem die altari astitistis, tunc et
1 *Tim.* i, 15. cotidie vobis intonantis: *Fratres*, inquit, *fidelis sermo est et omni acceptione dignus.* Ille dixit fidelem et dignum, vos ut infidelem
1 *Tim.* iii, 1. et indignum sprevistis. *Si quis episcopatum cupit, bonum opus desiderat.* Vos episcopatum magnopere avaritiae gratia, non spiritalis profectus obtentu cupitis et bonum opus illi condignum
1 *Tim.* iii, 2. nequaquam habetis. *Oportet ergo huiusmodi irreprehensibilem esse.* In hoc namque sermone lacrimis magis quam verbis opus est, ac si dixisset apostolus eum esse omnibus irreprehensibiliorem debere. *Unius uxoris virum.* Quod ita apud nos quoque contemnitur, quasi non audiretur vel idem dicere et virum uxorum?[3] *Sobrium, prudentem.* Quis etiam ex vobis hoc aliquando inesse sibi saltem optavit? *Hospitalem:* id si forte casu evenerit, popularis aurae potius quam praecepti gratia factum, non prodest, domino salvatore

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[1] *Apparet ergo.* Cf. c. 106.

[2] *Sane quod sentio, proferam.* These and the following words well prove that Gildas was not an empty declaimer. "He will speak out his mind," but he is *conscious* that his words have been severe; that fact itself should save him from contempt. So also his words in the next section: quod non absque dolore cordis fateor.

[3] *Idem dicere et virum uxorum.* We need not, possibly, press these words so far as to understand them as implying that a bishop or presbyter could be living with women in unclean intercourse; "a husband of women" would be

4. *Conclusion.*

108 Why ply more words? You find brought before you the example of Matthias for your confusion, the example also of the holy apostles. The lot fell upon him by the election or judgment of Christ, not by his own will, to which fact you have become blind, and do not see how far apart you are from his merits, while of your own accord you sink to the desire and disposition of Judas the traitor. It is plain, therefore, that the man who consciously from his heart calls you priest, is not an excellent Christian. I shall certainly speak out my feelings. My rebuke might certainly be milder, but what benefit is it merely to stroke softly with the hand, or besmear with ointment a wound which by now, horrible in its foulness, has need of cautery and the public remedy of fire? If, indeed, it could be healed in any manner, as the patient does not seek cure, and the doctor is withdrawing further and further from him. O ye enemies and not priests of God, veterans in wickednesses and not bishops, traitors not successors of the holy apostles and not ministers of Christ, you have certainly listened to the sound of the apostle Paul's words contained in the second lesson, but in no wise have you observed their admonitions and strength. After the fashion of idols, which see not, neither do they hear, you stood the same day at the altar, while then and always he was thundering at you. *Brethren*, he (1 *Tim.* i, 15.) says, *faithful is the word and worthy of all acceptation.* He spoke of it as *faithful and worthy;* you have scorned it as not faithful and unworthy. *If a man desireth the office of a bishop, he desireth a* (1 *Tim.* iii, 1.) *good work.* You seek the office of bishop chiefly because of covetousness, without the pretence of spiritual profit, and by no means regard good work as suitable thereto. *Such a man must* (1 *Tim.* iii 2.) *therefore be without reproach.* Here there is, of a truth, more need of tears than of words, as if the apostle had said that he ought to be, beyond all men, without reproach: *The husband of one wife.* This saying is also so far despised with us, as if he were not heard to say the same, and were heard to say: *the husband of wives. Temperate, sober-minded.* Which of you has ever even wished this to dwell in him? *Given to hospitality.* If that has ever by accident come to pass, done rather for the sake of a breeze of popularity

found in those complained of by Leo the Great in his *Ep.* xii, 5. *Ad Episcopos Africanos*: "ut non solum laicos, sed etiam *secundarum uxorum* viros, aut viduarum maritos ad officium cognoscamus pastorale provectos."

S 2

Matth. vi, 2. ita dicente : *Amen dico vobis, receperunt mercedem suam.* I Tim. iii, 3. *Ornatum, non vinolentum, non percussorem, sed modestum, non litigiosum, non cupidum.* O feralis inmutatio! O horrenda praeceptorum caelestium conculcatio! Nonne infatigabiliter ad haec expugnanda vel potius obruenda actuum verborumque arma corripitis, pro quis conservandis atque firmandis, si necesse fuisset, et poena ultro subeunda et vita ponenda erat?

I Tim. iii, 4. Sed videamus et sequentia: *Domum,* inquit, *suam bene regentem, filios habentem subditos cum omni castitate.* 109 Ergo imperfecta est patrum castitas, si eidem non et filiorum adcumuletur. Sed quid erit, ubi nec pater nec filius mali genitoris exemplo pravatus I Tim. iii, 5. conspicitur castus? *Si quis autem domui suae praeesse nescit, quomodo ecclesiae Dei diligentiam adhibebit?*

Haec sunt verba, quae indubitatis effectibus approbantur. I Tim. iii, 8-10. *Diaconos similiter pudicos, non bilingues, non vino multum deditos, non turpe lucrum sectantes, habentes mysterium fidei in conscientia pura. Hi autem probentur primum et sic ministrent nullum crimen habentes.* His nimirum horrescens diu immorari unum veridice possum dicere, quin haec omnia in contrarios actus mutentur, ita ut clerici, quod non absque dolore cordis fateor, impudici, bilingues, ebrii, turpis lucri cupidi, habentes fidem et, ut verius dicam, infidelitatem in conscientia impura, non probati in bono, sed in malo opere praesciti ministrantes et innumera crimini habentes sacro ministerio adsciscantur.

Audistis etiam illo die, quo multo dignius multoque rectius erat, ut ad carcerem vel catastam poenalem[1] quam ad sacerdotium traheremini, Domino sciscitanti, quem se esse putarent discipuli, Matth. xvi, 16, 17. Petrum respondisse : *Tu es Christus filius Dei vivi* eique Dominum pro tali confessione dixisse : *Beatus es, Simon Bar Iona, quia caro et sanguis non revelavit tibi, sed Pater meus qui in caelis est.* Ergo Petrus a Deo Patre doctus recte Christum confitetur : Vos autem moniti a patre vestro diabolo inique salvatorem malis actibus Matth. xvi, 18. denegatis. Vero sacerdoti dicitur:[2] *Tu es Petrus et super hanc petram* Matth. vii, 26. *aedificabo ecclesiam meam :* vos quidem assimilamini *viro stulto, qui aedificavit domum suam super arenam.* Notandum vero est,

[1] *Catastam poenalem.* See p. 53.

[2] *Vero sacerdoti dicitur.* Here is implied that what was said to the apostle is said to every priest, provided he, by character, be a true priest. It is the doctrine found in the writings of Cyprian : "the Church is founded upon the bishops," *ecclesia super episcopos constituta, Ep.* 4, 4 ; 33, 1. The Cyprianic idea comes also a few lines below : "the Lord says to Peter and his successors ;" *every* bishop's chair was a chair of Peter. Cf. Harnack, *Texte und Unters.*, v, 1, s. 74. Sohm, *Kirchenrecht*, ss. 252 and 255.

than because it is commanded, it profits not, as our Lord the
Saviour says thus: *Verily I say unto you, they have received their* *Matt.* vi, 2.
*reward. A man equipped, not drunk with wine, no striker, but* I *Tim.* iii, 3.
*gentle, not contentious, not covetous.* O fatal change! O awful
treading under foot of the precepts of heaven! Do you not
indefatigably seize your armour of deeds and words to assault, or
rather to destroy, these precepts, for the preservation and strength-
ening of which, were it necessary, one ought to undergo suffering,
and lay down one's life?

109 But let us also see the following words: *Ruling his own house* I *Tim.* iii, 4.
*well, having his children in subjection with all chastity.* The chastity
of the fathers is therefore imperfect, if that of the children is not
added to it. But what shall be where neither father nor son
(depraved by the example of a wicked parent) is found to be
chaste? *But if a man knoweth not how to rule his own house, how* I *Tim.* iii, 5.
*shall he show care of the church of God?* Here are words that are
proved by effects that admit of no doubt. *Deacons in like manner* I *Tim.* iii, 8-10.
*must be chaste, not double-tongued, not given to much wine, not follow-
ing after filthy lucre, holding the mystery of the faith in a pure
conscience. But let these first be proved, and thus let them serve if
they are without reproach.* With a shudder, indeed, at having to
linger long at these things, I can with truth make one statement,
that is, all these are changed into the contrary deeds, so that the
clergy are (a confession I make not without sorrow of heart)
unchaste, double-tongued, drunk, greedy of filthy lucre, having the
faith, and, to speak with more truth, the want of faith, in an impure
conscience, ministering not as men proved good in work, but as
known beforehand in evil work, and, though with innumerable
charges of crime, admitted to the sacred ministry. You heard
also on that day, when it was far worthier and far more right for
you to be led to prison or the scaffold for punishment than to the
priesthood, that as the Lord asked whom the disciples thought
him to be, Peter answered, *Thou art the Christ, Son of the living* *Matt.* xvi, 16, 17.
*God;* and that the Lord for such a confession said: *Blessed art
thou, Simon Bar Jona, for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto
thee, but my Father which is in heaven.* Thus Peter, taught by
God the Father, rightly confesses Christ; but you, instructed by
your father the devil, iniquitously deny the Saviour by evil deeds.
To the true priest it is said: *Thou art Peter, and upon this rock* *Matt.* xvi, 18.
*will I build my church.* You, however, are likened *unto a foolish* *Matt.* vii, 26.
*man who built his house upon the sand.* But we must observe that
the Lord does not join in work with the foolish, in building a

quod insipientibus in aedificanda domo arenarum pendulae mobilitati Dominus non cooperetur, secundum illud : *Fecerunt sibi reges et non per me.* (*Hos.* viii, 4.) Itidemque quod sequitur eadem sonat dicendo : *Et portae inferni non praevalebunt* (*Matth.* xvi, 18.) eisque peccata intelleguntur. De vestra quid exitiabili structura pronuntiatur? *Venerunt flumina et flaverunt venti et impegerunt in domum illam et cecidit et fuit ruina eius magna.* (*Matth.* vii, 27.) Petro eiusque successoribus dicit Dominus : *Et tibi dabo claves regni caelorum :* (*Matth.* xvi, 19.) vobis vero : *Non novi vos, discedite a me, operarii iniquitatis, ut separati sinistrae partis cum haedis catis in ignem aeternum.* (*Luc.* xiii, 27., *Matth.* xxv, 32, 33, 41.) Itemque omni sancto sacerdoti promittitur : *Et quaecumque solveris super terram, erunt soluta et in caelis : et quaecumque ligaveris super terram, erunt ligata et in caelis.* (*Matth.* xvi, 19.) Sed quomodo vos aliquid solvetis, ut sit solutum et in caelis, a caelo ob scelera adempti et immanium peccatorum funibus compediti, ut Salomon quoque ait :

*Criniculis peccatorum*[1] *suorum unusquisque constringitur?* (*Prov.* v, 22.)

Quaque ratione aliquid in terra ligabitis, quod supra modum etiam ligetur praeter vosmetipsos, qui ita ligati iniquitatibus in hoc mundo tenemini, ut in caelis nequaquam ascendatis, sed infaustis tartari ergastulis, non conversi in hac vita ad Dominum, decidatis?

110 Nec sibi quisquam sacerdotum de corporis mundi solum conscientia supplaudat, cum eorum quis praeest, si qui propter eius imperitiam vel desidiam seu adulationem perierint, in die iudicii de eiusdem manibus, veluti interfectoris, animae exquirantur. Quia nec dulcior mors quae infertur a bono quoque homine quam malo : alioquin non dixisset apostolus velut paternum legatum suis successoribus derelinquens : *Mundus ego sum ab omnium sanguine. Non enim subterfugi, quo minus annuntiarem vobis omne mysterium Dei.* (*Act.* xx, 26, 27.) Multumque nam usa ac frequentia peccatorum inebriati et incessanter irruentibus vobis scelerum cumulatorum ac si undis quassati unum veluti post naufragium, in qua ad vivorum terram evadatis, paenitentiae tabulam toto animi nisu exquirite, ut avertatur furor Domini a vobis misericorditer dicentis : *Nolo mortem peccatoris, sed ut convertatur et vivat.* (*Ezech.* xxxiii, 11.)

Ipse omnipotens *Deus totius consolationis et misericordiae* (II *Cor.* i, 3.) paucissimos bonos pastores conservet ab omni malo et municipes

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[1] *Criniculis peccatorum.* This is a piece of Old Latin : the words may be read in Aug. Enarr. in Ps. 139, c. 39, Enarr. in Ps. 57, c. 4 ; it answers well to the LXX σειραῖς δὲ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἁμαρτιῶν. Vg., *et funibus peccatorum suorum constringitur.* Sabatier's Ant. versio reads *funiculis*

house upon the changing inconstancy of sand, according to that
saying: *They have made unto themselves kings and not by me.* Hosea viii, 4.
Similarly, what follows gives the same note when it says: *And the* Matt. xvi, 18.
*gates of hell shall not prevail*, whereby sins are understood. Of
your doomed building, what is announced? *The floods came and* Matt. vii, 27.
*the winds blew and beat upon that house, and it fell, and great was*
*the fall thereof.* To Peter and his successors the Lord says: *And* Matt. xvi, 19.
*unto thee will I give the keys of the kingdom of heaven;* but to you: Luke xiii, 27. Matt. xxv, 32,
*I know you not, depart from me, ye workers of iniquity*, so that, 33, 41.
separated with the goats of the left hand, ye go to everlasting
fire. To every holy priest it is also promised: *And whatsoever* Matt, xvi, 19.
*thou shalt loose on earth, shall be loosed also in heaven; and whatso-*
*ever thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound also in heaven.* But
how do you loose anything so that it shall be loosed in heaven
also, when, because of crimes, you are severed from heaven and
fettered by bands of monstrous sins, as Solomon also says: *Each* Prov. v, 22.
*one is holden with the cords of his own sins?* With what reason
shall you bind on earth anything that may be, in any extraordinary
degree, bound, besides your own selves, who, bound to iniquities,
are so held in this world, that in no wise do you ascend to heaven,
but, unless turned to the Lord in this life, are descending to the
unhappy prison of hell?

110 And let no one of the priests flatter himself solely on his con-
sciousness of a pure body, because the souls of those over
whom he rules, if any one of them perish through his ignorance,
or slothfulness, or flattery, shall be asked at the hands of the same
in the day of judgment, as their murderer. Because the death
which is inflicted by a good man is not milder than that caused
by a wicked man. Otherwise the Apostle would not have said, in
leaving a kind of paternal legacy to his successors: *I am clean* Acts xx, 26, 27.
*from the blood of all men. For I shrank not from declaring unto*
*you the whole mystery of God.* Seeing that you are intoxicated by
the habit and dense mass of your sins, and incessantly over-
whelmed as if by waves of crimes heaped on crimes rushing upon
you, seek with all effort of soul the one plank of penance, as if
after shipwreck, on which you may escape to the land of the living.
In this way the wrath of the Lord may be averted from you, inas-
much as He mercifully says: *I wish not the death of the sinner, but* Ezek. xxxiii, 11.
*that he may be converted and live.*

May the almighty *God of all consolation and mercy* Himself II Cor. i, 3.
preserve His very few good pastors from all evil, and make
them citizens of His city, the heavenly Jerusalem (the common

faciat subacto communi hoste civitatis Hierusalem caelestis, hoc est, sanctorum omnium congregationis,[1] Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus, cui sit honor et gloria in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

enemy being subdued), that is, of the assembly of all saints—Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, to whom be honour and glory for ever and ever. Amen.

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[1] *Sanctorum omnium congregationis.* These words appear to have a bearing upon the history of the Roman Symbol, or, as generally called, the Apostles' Creed, in Britain. The singularity found in an Irish form of the Creed has been frequently commented upon: that form is as follows: "I believe *that there is* a holy Catholic Church, a communion of saints, etc." (sanctam *esse* ecclesiam catholicam).* But in the present expression we find ourselves witnessing, probably, the very time of the introduction of the phrase "communion of saints" into the Church of Britain. Zahn says, that "the origin and the original meaning of *sanctorum communionem* are still obscure;"† he proves, however, what is also generally accepted, that the phrase, along with "*Catholic* Church," appears for the first time in Nicetas (*c.* A.D. 400), and afterwards in a writer almost contemporary with Gildas, Caesarius of Arles (died 542). The very expression used by Nicetas respecting the Catholic Church, in the sermon or *Explanatio Symboli*, from which the Creed as known by him is extracted, is that of Gildas here—*sanctorum omnium congregatio.* "Communion of saints," we gather, meant "the assembly, or congregation, of all saints," at the time when the phrase emerges into life in Britain. Hahn's *Bibliothek der Symbole* gives two forms of the Creed in which the words "*all* saints" are found (pp. 80, 115). Now the Commentary from which the first of these is taken runs as follows: "they also confess *one catholic church and communion of all saints*, that is, the assembly (*congregationem*) of all believers in Christ" (Hahn, p. 355). Here, again, we have Gildas' *congregatio* in connection with that enigmatical (to quote Harnack's word) expression "communion of saints," which spread everywhere, and so found a fixed place in the *Textus Receptus* of the Creed. Gildas appears to me, by the tenor of this last clause, to have been acquainted with Augustinian phraseology, and, by this particular expression, acquainted also with the Apostles' Creed *before* it acquired its final form in his own church.

* *Antiphonary of Bangor*, vol. ii, p. 21, H. Bradshaw Society.
† *The Apostles' Creed*, Engl. Tr., p. 188.

# Appendices.

Appendix A.—Extracts from Letters (and probably Short Sermons) of Gildas.

Appendix B.—A British Penitential bearing the Name of Gildas.

Appendix C.—The "Lorica" of Gildas.

# APPENDICES.

AN attempt is made in the Introduction to give an account of the pieces printed in the three following appendices.—This contains (*a*) the history of the Fragments, which are here printed from the text found in Haddan and Stubbs' *Councils*, i, 108, and Wasserschleben's *Irische Kanonensammlung*, 2nd edition, 1885; (*b*) a survey of the place occupied by Penitentials, as to origin and purpose, in the life of the Western Church, and their probable rise among the Churches of Britain and Ireland; (*c*) a comparison of other ancient *Loricæ* with the one that has been preserved bearing the name of Gildas, together with a statement of grounds upon which its authority has been favourably maintained.

## APPENDIX A.

THE text printed here is that found in Haddan and Stubbs' *Councils*, i, 108, which is based upon a MS. preserved at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, written in the ninth or tenth century. The second part of the MS. (pp. 11-109) contains a collection of Canons, consisting chiefly of extracts from the writings of the leading ancient church writers, but among them extracts from writings of *Patricius* and *Gildas*. These latter are introduced by the simple praefatory note, *dicit Gildas* or *Gildas ait*. But the same words of Gildas, though in briefer compass, are also found in a collection of Irish Canons, made at the end of the seventh or beginning of the eighth century, consisting of sixty-two Books with capitula or sub-sections, which Wasserschleben has twice edited. I use the second edition (1885). We shall call the Cambridge and the Irish collections C. and H. respectively. Now it may be gathered that the compiler of these Irish Canons, about A.D. 700, and the writer of the Cambridge MS., about A.D. 900, had both used an older collection first made in Ireland. At that time certain writings of Gildas, besides the *De Excidio*, were well known among the Irish, and, presumably, among his own countrymen. From H. we have the title affixed to three, *Gildas in his letters respecting the last days*, that is, his own days: Gildas was writing of

what to him were modern times, when startling developments were taking place, with the usual accompaniment of anxiety and sober joy.

There were thus extant *Letters* of Gildas that held a high place in the estimation of the Churches of Britain and Ireland early in the seventh century. Of this we have confirmatory evidence in a letter of Columbanus, written about A.D. 595-600, to Pope Gregory the Great. (See the letter in full before Vita I.) In that letter, while requesting the opinion of Gregory on three points, he mentions the interesting fact that Gildas, or Giltas as he calls him, had written of those bishops that were irregularly ordained, because guilty of Simony. These words may be regarded as describing the second main part of Gildas' *De Excidio* (cc. 62-110).[1] But Columbanus further mentions a correspondence between Vennianus and Gildas, respecting the monks who were abandoning their monasteries for the better seclusion of desert places. Seebass, in *Zeitschrift f. Kirchengeschichte*, xiv, 437, concludes that Vennianus must be, not Finnian, the founder of Clonard, who died about 549, but Finnian of Maghbile (Moville), whose death is placed by some in 588, by others in 610. The question is an exceedingly difficult one, as the evidence seems conflicting and confused ; yet one is certainly safe in the assertion that a considerable time must have intervened between the writing of the *De Excidio* and the penning of letters that would supply such

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## Fragments from Lost Letters of Gildas.

*Gen.* vii, 13. I. De excommonicatione dicit Gildas.[2]—Non Noe Cham
filium suum magicae artis scribam aut arca aut mensae com-
*Gen.* xiv, 24. munione voluit arcere. Non Abraham Aner et Heschol in
*Gen.* xix. debellatione quinque regum exhorruit. Non Loth Sodomitarum
*Gen.* xxvi, 26, 30. convivia execratus est. Non Isaac mensae participationem Abi-
melech et Ocazat et Phicol duci militum negat, sed post cibum et
*Gen.* xlii, 1. potum iuraverunt sibi mutuo. Non Iacob extimuit communicare
*Gen.* xli. filiis suis, quos novit venerari idola. Non Ioseph rennuit Faraoni
*Exod.* xviii, 12. mensae et scypho participari. Non Aaron sacerdotis idolorum
Madian mensam reppulit. Nec non Moyses simul cum Iethro

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[1] See especially p. 247, l. 26, and p. 249, l. 21.

[2] H. xl, 5, reads *Gildas ait* with *Hactenus Gildas.* at the end. It has also *Sodomorum*, which is the reading of *De Excidio*, cc. 28, 68. *Communicare* is read with H. for *communicari* C. ; *scypho* for *scifa* C. ; *nec non* for *nec* C. ;

extracts as these. The whole perspective is changed. Further, if Finnian, the founder of Clonard, died about 549, then it is natural that we should find Gildas' correspondent in the later Finnian of Moville. One is almost tempted to seek the sources of some of these extracts in writings of a different kind: there were published at Louvain, in 1667, a collection of the writings of Columbanus made some five years previously by Fleming, and these contain short sermons or addresses to monks, called *Instructiones.* They have been lately edited separately by Seebass, in the *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte,* xiv, 76-92. We know how faithfully Columbanus clung in Gaul to the usages of his native Ireland; so that in these very *Instructiones,* we may discern a usage which originally came from Wales, whence the newer monastic institutions of Ireland had been, directly or indirectly, inspired. Such addresses by Gildas, if preserved might furnish matter for quotation to a writer who was drawing up a collection of Canons.

One is particularly impressed by two features in these extracts. In the first place, there breathes through all a strong spirit of moderation that is quite unlike the character in which Gildas has been clothed by the imagination of many writers; in the second place, they show that Monasticism and the Church, in its regular organization, are drawing closer together than could have been the case at the time when Gildas wrote his indignant appeal to bishops, and to clergy generally, in the *De Excidio.*

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## Fragments from Lost Letters of Gildas.

I. Of excommunication Gildas says: Noah did not wish *Gen.* vii, 13.
to exclude his son Ham, the teacher of the magic art, from the ark
or the communion of his table. Abraham did not shrink back *Gen.* xiv, 24.
from Aner and Eschol in the fight with the five kings. Lot cursed *Gen.* xix.
not the banquets of the Sodomites. Isaac did not refuse to share *Gen.* xxvi, 26,
his table with Abimelech, and Acara[illegible], and Phicol, the captain of 30.
the soldiers; but, after eating and drinking, they sware to one
another. Jacob had no fear to hold communion with his sons, *Gen.* xlii, 1.
whom he knew to worship idols. Joseph did not refuse to share *Gen.* xli.
the table and cup of Pharaoh. Aaron did not cast away the table *Exod.* xviii, 12.
of the priest of the idols of Midian. Moses also entered into

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*hospitium* for *hostias* C.; H. reads *non Christus convivivia paganorum devitabat.* On the late use of *excommunicatio* see note to IX.

*Matth.* ix, 10, 21, 31. hospitium et convivium pacificum init. Non Dominus noster Iesus Christus publicanorum convivia devitabat, ut omnes peccatores et meretrices salvaret.

I *Tim.* iv, 4. II. GILDAS DICIT DE ABSTINENTIA CIBORUM.[1]—Abstinentia corporalium ciborum absque caritate inutilis est. Meliores sunt *Psalm.* i, 12. ergo, qui non magno opere ieiunant nec supra modum a creatura Dei se abstinent, cor autem intrinsecus nitidum coram Deo sollicite servantes, a quo sciunt exitum vitae, quam illi, qui carnem non *Ier.* ix, 21. edunt nec cibis saecularibus delectantur, neque vehiculis equisque vehuntur et pro his quasi superiores ceteris se putantes; quibus mors intravit per fenestras elevationis.

II *Tim.* iii, 1-5. III. GILDAS IN EPISTOLIS SUIS DE NOVISSIMIS DIEBUS.[2]—*Instabunt tempora pessima et erunt homines sui amatores, avari, adrogantes, superbi, blasphemi, parentibus inobedientes, ingrati, inpuri, sine adfectione, sine pace, accusatores, intemperantes, crudeles, odio habentes bonum, proditores, temerarii, inflati, voluptatum amatores magis quam Dei, habentes formam pietatis et virtutum eius abnegantes.*[3] Multi peribunt agentes mala, ut ait apostolus, *Rom.* x, 2, 3. *Habentes zelum Dei,*[4] *sed non secundum scientiam, ignorantes Dei iustitiam et suam quaerentes statuere, iustitiae Dei non sunt subiecti.* Omnes fratres culpantes sunt, qui suas secum adin-

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[1] H. xii, 5, where the title is: "Uselessness of fasting without charity" (De eo, quod inutile sit ieiunium sine caritate). The simple and sane interpretation given here to true abstinence reappears in the Irish Rule of Columbanus, for example: "The chastity of a monk is judged by his thoughts; what boots it to be chaste in body, if not chaste in mind!" "It is not only the possession of superfluous things that is censurable, but also the desiring of them." "If abstinence is excessive, it becomes a vice, not a virtue."

[2] H. lxvi, 6, where the scriptural quotation is not given.

[3] On p. 242, the conclusion is stated that the text of 1 Timothy, which Gildas found in parts of his British Ordinal, is certainly that of the Vulgate: so also his own quotation of these words from 2 Timothy iii, 1-5 in c. 104, is from that version, though showing a few variants such as *scitote* (=γινώσκετε) for *scito*, and a few others found even in codices of the Vulgate, also *sine pace*, *criminatores* omitted, probably by accident. In this extract, however, the text is not Vulgate. If Gildas wrote the words in his letter to Finnian, we might well think of him as quoting from memory, and for that reason naturally falling into the Old Latin of his earlier years. See p. 92 on this tendency in him. The older character of the text will be seen from the following:—

hospitality and peaceful entertainment with Jethro. Our Lord Jesus Christ did not avoid the feasts of publicans, so that he might save all sinners and harlots. *Matt.* ix, 10, 21, 31.

II. Respecting abstinence from foods Gildas says: Abstinence from fleshly foods without love is profitless. Better therefore are those who fast without great display, and do not beyond measure abstain from what God has created, but anxiously preserve a clean heart within (from which they know is the issue of life), than those who refuse to eat flesh or delight themselves in worldly foods, who ride not in vehicles and on horseback, and because of these things regard themselves as superior to others. To these men death enters by the windows of pride. I *Tim.* iv, 4. *Psalms* i, 12. *Jer.* ix, 21.

III. Respecting the last days Gildas says in his Epistles: *Excessively evil times shall come, and men shall be lovers of self, covetous, boastful, haughty, railers, disobedient to parents, unthankful, impure, without natural affection, without peace, slanderers, without self-control, fierce, holding the good in hate, traitors, headstrong, puffed up, lovers of pleasure rather than lovers of God, holding the form of godliness, but denying the power thereof.* Many shall perish doing evil, as the Apostle says *having a zeal for God, but not according to knowledge, being ignorant* II *Tim.* iii, 1-5. *Romans* x, 2, 3.

| Gildas. | Vulgate. |
|---|---|
| Instabunt tempora *pessima* et erunt homines *sui amatores, avari, adrogantes*, superbi . . . . . . . ingrati, *inpuri* . . . . . *accusatores, intemperantes, crudeles, odio habentes bonum*, proditores, *temerarii, inflati* voluptatum amatores magis quam Dei, habentes *formam* pietatis *et* virtutem eius abnegantes. | Instabunt tempora *periculosa* et erunt homines *se ipsos amantes, cupidi, elati, superbi* . . . . . . . . ingrati *scelesti, criminatores, incontinentes inmites, sine benignitate* proditores, *protervi, tumidi*, voluptatum amatores magis quam Dei, habentes *speciem quidem* pietatis virtutem *autem* eius abnegantes. |

When we compare Cyprian's full quotation of this passage (*De Cath. Unit.*, 16), and Lucifer's, who so frequently agrees with Gildas in uncommon readings, we find a striking diversity of rendering. For *instabunt tempora pessima* Lucifer has *adveniunt*; Cyprian has *aderunt t. molesta*; he also reads *sibi placentes, superbi, tumidi, cupidi* . . . . *parentibus in dicto non audientes* . . . . *delatores* . . . . *bonum non amantes* . . . . *voluptates magis quam Deum diligentes, habentes deformationem religionis.* Again, Jerome himself knew of Gildas' *pessima*, which he quotes (*Soph.* ii), according to Tischendorf's critical notes. We have, thus, in this remarkable piece of the Old Latin Bible used in Britain, another proof that middle-aged people, about A.D. 540, were familiar with two versions, and very closely intimate with the older.

[1] *Zelum Dei*, Old Latin, literal for ζῆλον θεοῦ. Vulgate, *aemulationem Dei.*

*Psalm.* xcviii, 8. ventiones et praesumptiones non fecerunt. Hi dum pane[1] ad mensuram utuntur, pro hoc sine mensura gloriantur: dum aqua utuntur, simul odii poculo potantur: dum siccis ferculis, simul et detractationibus fruuntur: dum vigilias extendunt, aliquos somno demersos notant, pedibus et membris dicentes ceteris: si non caput fueris, ut ego sum, ad nihili te conputabo: quod non tam pro dilectionis causa promittitur quam despectus, dum principalibus decretis meditantur. Servos dominis, vulgus regibus, auro plumbum, argento ferrum, ulnum praeferunt. Ita ieiunium caritati vigilias iustitiae, propriam adinventionem concordiae, clausulam[2] ecclesiae, severitatem humilitati, postremo hominem Deo anteponunt: non intendentes quod euangelium, sed quod voluntas iubet; quid apostolus, sed quid superbia doceat; non intendentes I *Cor.* xv, 41. statum siderum in caelo inaequalem esse et angelorum officia inaequalia. Hi ieiunant, quod nisi propter alias virtutes adsec- *Rom.* xiii, 10. tantur, nihil prodest. Illi caritatem, quae summa plenitudo legis est, intentione perficiunt a Deo docti, cum Spiritus Sancti citharae *Esai.* lxiv, 6. dicunt *Quasi pannus menstruatae omnis iustitiae nostrae.* Hi autem folles diaboli dicunt forsitan melioribus, quorum vident *Matth.* xviii, 10. angeli faciem Patris: *Recedite a nobis, quia immundi estis* quo *Esai.* lxv, 5. respondit dominus: *Isti fumus erunt in furore meo, et ignis ardens* *Matth.* v, 3-10. *cotidie.* Non spernentes fratres: dicit Dominus *pauperes beatos* esse, sed pauperes non animosos, sed *mites;* neque invidiosos, sed *lugentes* vel propria vel aliorum peccata; *qui esuriunt et sitiunt* non aquam cum ceterorum despectu, sed *iustitiam;* nec pro nihilo alios ducentes, sed *misericordes;* non *qui* superbo, sed *mundo corde;* non alis severi, sed *pacifici;* non qui inferunt bella, sed *qui persecutionem patiuntur propter iustitiam, habituri* videlicet *regnum caelorum.*

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[1] The *Hibernensis* begins with "Hi dum pane:" some variations occur, as, for instance, "while they feed on sacred *dishes*, they use detractions" (Dum sanctis ferculis vescuntur, detractationibus utuntur): the whole is curtailed.

The antithetical character of the language in this extract reminds us of many parts of the *De Excidio*; Gildas' phrases were likely to catch, such as, "eating bread by measure, glorying therein beyond measure," "enjoying dry dishes and backbiting," etc., and we do not wonder they were preserved.

[2] *Clausulam ecclesiae.* The abandonment of the common life of a monastery for a hermit's cell carried with it also the loss of the Church's common life; the benefits of ministry and sacraments were in this way thrown aside in the isolation of the desert. So far as this deprivation was involved, the new spirit is censured by Gildas. *Clausula* is explained by Du Cange as "a small *clausum* or an enclosed cell in which *Inclusi* or Hermits dwelt." *Clausum* is found with

*of God's righteousness and seeking to establish their own, they do not subject themselves to the righteousness of God.* They find [*Psalms* xcix, 8.] fault with all brethren who have not, along with them, carried out their inventions and presumptions. These, whilst they eat bread by measure, glory on that account beyond measure: whilst they use water, they drink at the same time of the cup of hatred: they take their enjoyment simultaneously of dry dishes and back-biting; as they lengthen their vigils, they nevertheless brand certain men while soundly sleeping, saying as if to the feet and other members: "*If thou be not head, as I am, I shall count thee as nothing.*" This assurance is given, not so much out of love as of contempt, at the time when they are musing on their leading principles; they prefer servants to lords, the common herd to kings, lead to gold, iron to silver, the prop (to the vine). In this way they give preference to fasting over love, to vigils over righteousness, to their own imagination over harmony; they prefer the cell to the church, severity to humility, in fine, man to God. They are bent not on what the Gospel, but on what their own will commands; not what the Apostle, but what pride [I *Cor.* xv, 41.] teaches; without observing that the position of stars in heaven is unequal, and that the offices of angels are unequal. These are [*Romans* xiii, 10.] men that fast, which, unless they follow after other virtues, profits nothing. The others, taught of God, with full purpose follow after love, which is the highest fulness of the law, since the harps of the Holy Spirit say *All our righteousnesses are as a polluted garment.* [*Isaiah* lxiv, 6.] But these bellows of the devil say, perhaps to better men whose angels see the face of the Father, *Hold aloof from us, for ye are* [*Matt.* xviii, 10.] *unclean.* To this the Lord makes answer, *These will be smoke* [*Isaiah* lxv, 5.] *in my wrath and fire burning continually.* Not those that despise brethren: the Lord calls the poor blessed, not the haughty poor [*Matt.* v, 3-10.] but the meek; neither the envious, but those that weep for either their own or others' sins; those who hunger and thirst, not for water with scorn of other men, but for righteousness; nor those who hold others in contempt, but the merciful; those not of a proud but of a pure heart; not those severe to others, but the peace-makers; not those who bring wars, but those who suffer persecution for righteousness' sake, are certainly the men who possess the kingdom of heaven.

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the meaning of *claustrum*, a monastery, from which, no doubt, came the phrase *clas Bangor, clas Beuno*; that is, the monastery of Bangor, of Beuno; *e clas ar abbadeu. Ancient Laws of Wales*, i, 106, 140; Du Cange adds, "Gallis, *clos.*"

IV. GILDAS AIT DE MONACHIS.[1]—Qui veniunt de loco[2] viliore ad perfectiorem, quorum abbas ita degeneravit ab opere Dei ut mereatur ad mensam sanctorum non recipi, sed et fornicationis crimine, non suspectionis, sed mali evidentis, onerari,—suscipite sine ullo scrupulo monachos tales ad vos de flamma inferni confugientes, nequaquam eorum consulto abbate. Illos vero, quorum abbatem de mensa sanctorum propter infamiam non arcemus, non debemus illo nolente suscipere. Quanto magis[3] venientes a sanctis abbatibus et nullo alio modo suspectis, nisi quod habent pecora et vehicula vel pro consuetudine patriae vel sua infirmitate, quae minus laedunt habentes, si cum humilitate et patientia quam aratra trahentes et suffossoria figentes terrae cum praesumptione et superbia.

ITEM.—Navi fracta, qui potest natare, natet.

Quicquid[4] autem monacho de rebus saecularibus superabundat, ad luxurias et divitias debet referri, et quod necessitate, non voluntate habere compellitur, ut non penuria cadat, non illi ad malum reputabitur. Capitibus namque praecipua corporis ornamenta delata non debent inferiora despicere et manuum cotidiana commoda superbire superioribus fas non est. Nonne

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[1] *Hib.*, xxxix, 7, *Qui veniunt . . . . . superbia.*

[2] *Loco viliore.* The word *locus* by itself stands not rarely for "monastery," as in Columbanus' letter, *primae conversionis loca reliquunt*, where also *conversio* means the assumption of the monastic life. The Welsh compound, mynach-*log*, shows the same word (monachi locus).

We gather from this passage that the monastic communities in Britain had no regular order of intercommunion with one another, every monastery being independent of every other; whereby, in cases of degeneracy on the part of an abbot, the monks were encouraged to abandon him by the ready reception offered in another monastery. This might be a *locus perfectior*, and the desertion was carried out without any communication with the abbot, when the un-cleanness of his life was evident to all. The *Hibernensis*, xxix, 12, directs that a monk is *bound* to leave a wicked abbot (debet monachus abbatem valde malum deserere). But if the abbot of an "inferior" monastery were in church communion, monks that left him were not to be received except with his assent, even though they were in search of a more perfect discipline. As between monasteries, there evidently existed no higher authority to command uniform rules of life: it was that early time of their history when the character of individual cloisters was determined and known by the character of the abbot himself, who was generally the founder. A new and extensive development of monasticism was taking place, the result of that revived religious life which, first in Wales and afterwards in Ireland, was inspired by Gildas and by the friends who urged him to write the *De Excidio*; in Ireland it began with Finnian, a disciple of Gildas, at Clonfert; never-

IV. Of Monks, Gildas says: Those who come from a meaner monastery to a more perfect—from one whose abbot has so far degenerated from God's work that he deserves not to be received to the table of saints, but to be accused of the crime of fornication, not as a matter of suspicion but of patent evil—such monks receive to you, without scruple, as men fleeing from the flame of hell, holding no consultation whatever with their abbot. Those, however, whose abbot we do not exclude from the table of the saints because of evil report, we ought not to receive against his will. How much more ought we not to receive those coming from abbots that are holy, and in no other way suspect except that they possess cattle and carriages, either because of the custom of their country or their own weakness, things which do less injury to their owners, if it be with humility and patience, than to those who hold ploughs and fix mattocks in earth with prejudice and pride.

Item.—When the ship is wrecked, who can swim, let him swim.

But whatever superabundance there be of worldly things to a monk, must be referred to luxury and wealth; and what he is driven to possess by necessity, not by choice, so that he shall not fall into want, will not be counted to him for evil. For the principal ornaments of the body, belonging to the head, ought not to scorn the inferior ones, and it is not right for the constant utilities of the hands to be haughty towards the higher things. Is it not the case,

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theless the time was naturally productive also of great diversity and gradation of reputed "perfection," and the fervour which caused it stamped out the indolent bad abbot, by countenancing desertion on the part of his monks.

[3] *Quanto magis.* One seems to find here a wise moderation on the part of Gildas, wherein he does not yield to the excessive growing strictness that may have prevailed in some quarters. There existed suspicion of some abbots, because they performed their journeys riding, or in carriages, instead of barefooted, with the simple staff. But Gildas is willing to make concessions upon the ground of habit or weakness, so that monks who deserted abbots upon such pleas as these were not to be received into the better (perfectior) monastery.

Item, etc. Only found in *Hibernensis:* there it immediately follows *superbia.*

[4] *Quicquid . . . . reputabitur.* This sentence appears in *Hib.*, xxxv, 5, where it bears the title: "That a monk should have no individual property" (De eo, quod non oportet monachum habere proprium).

The next sentence respecting bishops (summi-sacerdotes), proves that the man to whom Gildas wrote these words was bishop as well as monk. It has been pointed out that Finnian of Clonard is not called bishop; Finnian of Moville was abbot and bishop: a fact that has been regarded as confirming the view that he was Gildas' correspondent.

I *Cor.* xii, 21. haec nec illa possunt sibi mutuo dicere: *Operam vestram non necesse habemus*, quae ad communem eiusdem corporis pertinent utilitatem? Haec diximus, ut sciant summi sacerdotes, quod, sicut non debent inferiores clerici eos despicere, ita et illi nec clericos, sicut nec caput quidem cetera membra.

V. GILDAS AIT.—Abbas districtioris regulae[1] non admittat monachum alterius abbatis paulo remissioris: et qui remissior est, non retineat monachum suum ad districtiora tendentem. Habent quippe sacerdotes et episcopi terribilem iudicem, cui pertinet, non nobis, de illis in utroque saeculo iudicare.

*Deut.* xxvii, 17. VI. GILDAS.—Maledictus qui transfert terminos vel proximi sui.
I *Cor.* vii, 24. *Unusquisque*[2] *permaneat in eo, in quo vocatus est apud Deum*, ut nec primarius nisi voluntate mutetur subiectorum neque subiectus sine senioris consilio locum prioris obtineat.

I *Cor.* xii, 23. *Quae sunt honesta nostra, his honorem abundantiorem circumdamus.*

*Ezech.* xxxiii, 6, 8. Iudicare ergo satis salubre est subiectos episcopis abbatibusque, quorum sanguinem, si eos non bene regnant, de manibus requiret
*Matth.* xviii, 17. Dominus: inoboedientes vero patribus sint sicut gentiles et publicani; et omnibus hominibus tam bonis quam malis praeter
*Phil.* ii, 3. suos subiectos illud apostoli: *existimantes omnes homines*, rel.

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[1] The growing difference between monasteries meets us again here, but now differentiated by the Rule, the *Regula*, of each, though personified as well in the character of the abbot. One rule is more lax, *remissior*, the other more severe, *districtior;* the victory, however, at this period was for the latter. The present direction, while favouring the growing tendency, by instructing the less strict abbot in no way to curb the ardour of a monk who aims at a severer life, is intended to soften an inevitable change; this it does by recommending that the monastery of the stricter rule should not open its doors too readily to monks who may abandon the less strict community.

[2] *Hibernensis*, xxxviii, 31, from *Unusquisque* to *obtineat*, with the heading: "Respecting remaining in every vocation." *Episcopis abbatibusque*: the bishop and the abbot seem to be placed on a par in this extract, and therefore one might be led to infer that we have here an indication of a tendency in the direction of that cloistral pre-eminence which is regarded as so marked a feature of Celtic ecclesiastical life. How indefinite the idea regulating the relation of monasteries to the more ancient episcopal organisation of the Church were in the West, even after the middle of the fifth century, is shown by the long dispute between Faustus, abbot of Lerins, and Theodore, bishop of Frejus. The monastery, as such, was the home of a community of laymen; the abbot at its head might be a layman; any cleric who entered it was a layman in relation to his abbot, and to the other members of the fraternity. But the cleric was also bound by the usages of the episcopal organisation, which had had its own growth in

that neither these nor those (the head), can say to each other, *We have no need of you*, being things which appertain to the common benefit of the same body? I have said these things, so that bishops may know, that, just as the inferior clergy ought not to despise them, so also ought not they to despise the clergy, as the head ought not the other members. I *Cor.* xii, 21.

V. GILDAS SAYS: An abbot of the stricter rule should not admit a monk of another abbot somewhat more lax. Also, the more lax should not detain his monk when inclined to stricter ways.

Priests and bishops have in truth an awful judge, to whom, not to us, it appertains to judge of them in both worlds.

VI. GILDAS.—Cursed is he that moves boundaries, certainly *Deut.* xxvii, 17.
those of his neighbour. *Let each abide wherein he was called with* I *Cor.* vii, 24.
*God*, so that neither be the chief changed, except by the will of those subject to him, nor the one that is subject obtain the place of a superior, except with the advice of an older. What I *Cor.* xii, 23.
things are honourable with us, we surround these with fuller honour. It is therefore salutary for bishops and abbots to judge *Ezek.* xxxiii, 6, 8.
those subject to them, whose blood, if they rule them not well, the Lord will ask at their hands: let those that are disobedient *Matt.* xviii, 17.
to fathers be as the gentiles and the publicans; and to all men, both good and bad, besides those subject to them, that word of the apostle applies, *counting all men*, etc. *Phil.* ii, 3.

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the Church previous to the rise of monasticism. A presbyter owed obedience to his bishop; a bishop had a high and definite authority in the Church as to worship, and discipline—perhaps all the higher, where, as in Gaul, the metropolitan system was but imperfectly developed, or in Britain, where it had never existed. How, then, were these older powers and relations to be kept intact, face to face with the absolute authority of an abbot? In Gaul the position of the bishop became secure in general acceptance, as superior to the abbot and his monastery with certain fixed limitations, but in Britain and Ireland the position of the abbot seems to have acquired an increasingly more independent character.* The obedience due to him is regarded by Gildas here as parallel to that of the clergy to their bishop.

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* For Gaul in the fifth and sixth centuries we may refer to the canons of the third Council of Arles, A.D. 455; Thomassinus, *Vetus et Nova Disciplina*, I, Lib. iii, c. 26. Hefele, *Conciliengesch.*, ii, 583. The sense of an earlier time is, in a very interesting way, as usual, shown by Jerome in his *Ep.* 14, 8, *ad Heliod.*, *e.g.*, Sed alia, ut ante perstrinxi, monachorum est causa, alia clericorum. Monachus si ceciderit, rogabit pro eo sacerdos; pro sacerdotis lapsu quis rogaturus esset? also *Ep.* 52, *ad Nepotianum*.

*Matth.* xxvi. *Luc.* xxiii. Pervenit illud iudicium pro incerto exitu vitae, legentes in scriptura apostolum perditum cupiditate et latronem confessione in paradisum translatum.

VII. Item.[1]—Conepiscopos autem et conabbates[2] nec non consubiectos non iudicare melius est. Faetentes vero alicuius nequam fama putare nullo modo ad integrum arguant, sed leniter increpent cum patientia: quos pro conscientia ut possint, debent quasi suspectos vitare nec tamen ut reos veros excommunicare et mensa vel pace arcere, cum ratio aliqua necessitatis aut conventus vel locutionis exegerit, sed illis denuntietur, quod non recte agant, I *Cor.* xi, 29; x, 20. quia non possumus eos pro hoc damnare. Dum communicant illi indigne, forte nos per cogitationes malas daemonibus communicamus. Quos vero scimus sine ulla dubitatione esse fornicatores, nisi legitimo ordine paeniteant,[3] a pace et mensa, cuiuscumque I *Cor.* v, 11. ordinis legitime fuerunt, arcemus. Ut est illud *Si quis frater nominatur et est fornicator*,[4] rel. Et propter principalium vitiorum[5] causas evidenter probatas, nulla alia ratione debemus fratres a communicatione altaris et mensae[6] cum tempus poposcerit, arcere.

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[1] *Hibernensis*, i, 16, under the heading: "That none ought to judge bishops," from *Conepiscopos* to *melius est*.

[2] *Conepiscopos . . . . conabbates.* There does not seem to be implied here any kind of authority on the part of bishops over abbots, or of abbots over bishops. We have simply words dissuasive of overhasty judgment as between bishops, or abbots, among themselves, contained at first, probably, in some short sermon.

Hinschius mentions that the common use of *excommunicatio* becomes frequent in Frankish times, though the verb appears in the works of Augustine. (*Kirchenrecht*, iv, 702, compared with *ib.* 797). Speaking of the time of Cyprian Koffman says, *excommunicare* ist in diesem ersten Periode sehr selten (s. 73). Gildas recommends that men over whom even grave suspicion hangs, without proof of guilt, should not be subjected to excommunication. His words imply that there was in Britain no common authority over individual bishops or abbots; still the implication of excommunication is the same in Britain as among the churches of the continent. There is exclusion from *pax*, *peace*, a word that from the time of the Novatian controversy has a technical meaning; it means "church communion," or, as found lower in this extract, "communion of the altar;" neminem putamus a fructu satisfactionis et spe pacis arcendum. Cyprian, *Ep.* 55. Besides ecclesiastical exclusion from the Eucharist, there was also the exclusion of excommunicate persons "from all entertainments of the faithful." Bingham gives numerous examples of conciliar decisions to this effect (vol. vii, p. 98), which explains the *excommunicare et mensa vel pace* of this extract.

[3] *Legitimo ordine paeniteant.* One is almost led to understand this phrase of the peculiar system of penance which prevailed in the Celtic Churches, by the use of "Penitentials," as explained in the notes to Appendix B. However, the

That judgment about the uncertain issue of life has come to pass when we read in scripture of an apostle lost by covetousness, and a thief, by confession, carried to heaven. *Matt.* xxvi. *Luke* xxiii.

VII. Item.—It is better for co-bishops and co-abbots, as well as fellow-subjects, not to judge. As to men of evil odour in anything bad, let men, however, in no way make fully clear that they think of them by report, but gently rebuke them with patience. These men, as far as they can conscientiously do it, they ought to avoid as men suspected (but without excommunicating them as really guilty and excluding them from their table, or from church communion) when some cause, arising from necessity, or agreement, or public speaking, demands it. Let them reprove those men that they do not act rightly, because we cannot pass condemnation upon them for this. While they communicate unworthily, it may be that we, by our evil thoughts, are communicating with demons. But those whom we know without any doubt to be fornicators, unless they do penance in the regular way, we exclude from communion and table, to whatever order they have belonged by rule. As that saying is, *If any man is named a brother and is a fornicator*, etc. It is on account of well-proved cases of great sins, for no other reason, that we ought to exclude brethren from the communion of the altar and of our table, when the time demands it. 1 *Cor.* xi, 29; x, 20. 1 *Cor.* v, 11.

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place assigned to the first words of the extract in the *Hibernensis*, as well as the inclusion of bishops in the directions given, would lead us to understand the words as referring to ordinary ecclesiastical discipline. The expression, or similar ones, could not be rare in this sense: Canon 28 of the Council of Orange (A.D. 441) has *per poenitentiam legitimam.*

[4] *Si quis frater nominatur et est fornicator;* this reading stands for ᾖ in the Greek, not ἤ, just as the Vulgate: *Si is qui frater nominatur fornicator* (sit), but is nearer the early Latin version of Irenaeus: *Si quis frater nominatur fornicator* (iv, 27, 4).

[5] *Principalium vitiorum.* The fourth of the *Instructiones* of Columbanus treats of "The eight leading vices" (De octo vitiis principalibus). Octo sunt vitia principalia, quae mergunt hominem in interitum; gula, fornicatio, cupiditas, ira, tristitia, accedia (ἀκηδία, in old English *accidie*), vana gloria, superbia; that is, gluttony, fornication, covetousness, anger, dejection, bitterness, vain glory, pride. The list is first met with in Cassian's *Institutes*, bk. v, 1, and *Collat.*, v, 2, which formed the basis for all similar lists current in the Celtic Churches. We have the same also in the *Regula* of Columbanus, c, 8.

[6] *Communicatione altaris et mensae; communicatio* (=fellowship) seems to be a survival of an old word that had, elsewhere, gone out of use in this connec-

VIII. GILDAS.—Veritas sapienti nitet, cuiuscumque ore fuerit prolata.

*Num.* xii. IX. GILDAS.[1]—Adsentiente Aaron in culpando Moyse propter uxorem Aethiopissam lepra Maria damnatur: quod nobis timendum, qui bonis principibus detrahimus propter mediocres culpas.

FRAGMENTA DVBIA.

X. GILDAS AIT.[2]—Brittones toto mundo contrarii [moribus Romanis inimici non solum in missa, sed etiam in tonsura cum Iudaeis *umbrae magis futurorum* servientes quam veritati].

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tion, yielding its place to *communio*. Hartel's Index shows how it, and not *communio*, is the common word in Cyprian's writings for Christian fellowship or communion. It may be that Augustine is also unconsciously using the old African word in *Confess.*, v, 2: et sic communicatio Dominici corporis illic celebraretur. See Koffmanne, *Gesch. des Kirchenlateins*, 73.

[1] These words do not appear in the Cambridge MS.; they are taken from *Hibern.*, xxxvii, 5, under the heading, "Princes are not to be censured upon a trivial charge."

[2] This extract from *Hibern.*, lii, 6, seems exceedingly doubtful as assigned to Gildas: the first four words may be his, but the remainder will be best regarded as a gloss added by the compiler of the Irish collection, at a time when the Church of Ireland had adopted Roman customs, while the British churches still held aloof.

In the first four words of X. we hear an echo of the opening chapters of the *De Excidio;* the remainder repeats assertions made during the Conference at Whitby, when North Britain was won over by the influence of Wilfrid to the adoption of Roman usages; it repeats also the main argument advanced by Aldhelm of Malmesbury, in the letter which he wrote to the king and bishops of Damnonia, by the direction of the Council of Hatfield. Wilfrid, in that Conference of 664, maintains that Picts and Britons "fight with foolish toil against the whole world;" that they derive their custom (in this case their observance of Easter) from a time "when the Church was judaizing in many things" (Beda, *H. E.*, iii, 25; Aldhelm's letter, *Mon. Germaniae Hist.*, Epp., iii, 231-235).

Although the extract cannot be regarded as conveying to us any words of Gildas, it has, nevertheless, a real interest as a summary of points in which the Church of Britain was "contrary to the whole world." From Beda's *History* and Aldhelm's letter we gather that the Britons were particularly regarded as stiff-necked, because of their unwillingness to change in three or four usages. These were, the time of the celebration of Easter, the tonsure, and their mode of administering the rites of baptism; a fourth is introduced in this Extract which may well have been included in the "alia plurima unitati ecclesiasticae contraria," mentioned by Beda (*H. E.*, ii, 2). This is the British Liturgy, or *Missa*. Compliance with Roman customs brings to the Irish Church this new conviction, that the Churches of Britain were schismatic; "the precepts of your

VIII. Gildas.—To the wise man truth shines from whatsoever mouth it has issued forth.

IX. Gildas.—Miriam is condemned with leprosy, because she agreed with Aaron in blaming Moses on account of his Ethiopian wife. This we should fear who disparage good princes because of indifferent faults. *Num.* xii.

## Doubtful Fragments.

X. Gildas says: The Britons are contrary to the whole world [enemies to Roman usages not only in the mass, but also in tonsure, because, along with the Jews, they serve the shadows of things to come rather than the truth].

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bishops," Aldhelm is bold to say to them, "are not in accord with the Catholic faith." The Roman system represented a newer, better development of church life: British (and Irish) opposition, on the other hand, was in reality mainly a reluctance to break with the past, by a people tenacious in their adherence to everything old: however, after a long and bitter strife, the Irish, the North British, the Picts, and eventually the Welsh, consented to the changes required of them. Yet the conformity was but partial, as we learn from the fragments remaining tó us, and particularly as to Ireland, from the *Life of St. Malachias*, who became Bishop of Armagh in the year 1126. If we note the chief points in which the British were regarded in church life as "hostile to Roman customs (moribus Romanis)," they seem to be the four following:—

1. The British liturgy: it was in no way strange that in Britain there should be a liturgy, or *missa*, different from the Roman; several extant Gallic forms show that great diversity prevailed in Gaul and Germany until the time of Charles the Great. There is a Frankish capitulary of the year 742, which even ordains that every priest was to draw up for his own use a book of the altar-service, subject to the approval of the bishop. A similar diversity must have prevailed in Ireland and Britain during the sixth century; in the anonymous *Catalogue of Irish Saints*, the Second Order (*c.* A.D. 599-665) is described as having *diversae missae*, and also as having "received a *missa* from the Britons David bishop, Gillas (Gildas) and Docus" (Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, ii, pp. 492-493). Unfortunately, no documents of this peculiarly Celtic liturgy have survived; the *Stowe Missal*, of which Todd and MacCarthy place the authorship about seventy years after the death of Gildas, and Warren brings down to the ninth century, shows a predominant Roman character, though with numerous traces of old Celtic features; these again plainly indicate a close relationship with Gallican liturgical forms.

2. Tonsure: this second point of difference played an important part in the schism between the British and English, that is the Roman, Churches. The British tonsure, here described as being frontal from ear to ear, and not coronal like the Roman, is also, in similar words, twice described in the *Catalogue of Irish Saints*, ab aure usque ad aurem. A full account of the beliefs held respecting these two, the Roman derived from St. Peter, and a symbol of the

XI. ROMANI DICUNT:[1] Brittonum tonsura a Simone mago sumpsisse exordium tradunt, cuius tonsura de aure ad aurem tantum contingebat pro excellentia ipsa magorum tonsurae, qua sola frons anterior tegi solebat. Priorem autem auctorem huius tonsurae in Hibernia subulcum[2] regis Loigairi filii Neili extitisse Patricii sermo testatur: ex quo Hibernenses paene omnes hanc tonsuram sumpserunt.

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one Church, the British from Simon Magus, and a symbol of schism, will be found in the letter of Aldhelm referred to above, and in the interesting letter of Abbot Ceolfrid to Naibron, King of the Picts, reproduced at length in Beda's *History*, v, 41 (p. 342 in Plummer's edition).

3. Celebration of Easter: the third point of difference, though not actually mentioned here, may, notwithstanding, be the real implication of the reference to Jews (*cum Iudaeis*). When the fourteenth day of the vernal moon fell upon a Sunday, the Roman and Eastern Churches celebrated Easter upon the following Sunday, in order to avoid holding the feast on the same day as the Jews: the Celts, however, following a more ancient usage, observed their Easter even on the fourteenth moon, provided it were the Sunday, and so appeared to act "with the Jews" (Beda, *H.E.*, ii, 2; v, 21). One inconvenient result, in practical life, of this difference, is pointed out by Beda; that is to say, two neighbouring churches might be engaged at the same time, the one in the glad joyous services of Eastertide, the other in the severe exercise of Lenten fasts.

4. Mode of "completing" baptism: this fourth point we find advanced by Augustine in his conference with the British bishops: one of his three final demands was, that they should *complete* the ministry of baptism according to the usage of the Holy Roman and Apostolic Church (ut ministerium baptizandi juxta morem sanctae Romanae et apostolicae ecclesiae *compleatis*). On the meaning of this *compleatis* one may adduce the following facts among others. In the *Life of St. Brigid* we read of a vision where two priests anoint the head of a girl, "*completing* the order of baptism in the usual way" (ordinem baptismi *complentes* consueto more); the *Stowe Missal* prescribes the anointing on the forehead (in cerebrum in fronte) with chrism, to be performed by a presbyter: St. Bernard, in his *Life of St. Malachi*, mentions the (to his mind) absence of the rite of confirmation in Ireland, and (as understood by him) its restoration through St. Malachi as one of the *consuetudines sanctae Romanae ecclesiae* (*Opp.*, tom. i, 1473). Irish and British thus seem to have preserved an older

XI. The Romans say: The tradition is that the tonsure of the British took its origin from Simon Magus, whose tonsure reached only from ear to ear, following the very excellence of the tonsure of sorcerers, by which only the fore part of the forehead was wont to be covered. But that the first originator of this tonsure in Ireland was a swine-herd of King Loegaire mac Neill, is made evident by the word of Patrick. From him nearly all the Irish assumed this tonsure.

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custom, called Eastern, because it has to this day continued in Eastern Churches, wherein chrism was administered by a presbyter; that is, to revert to Augustine's word, wherein baptism was "completed" in a non-Roman fashion.

[1] This Fragment may be found printed and quoted as part of Fragment X, but the introductory words, *Romani dicunt*, seem to demand a separate place. They, and the whole, are certainly impossible as words of Gildas; in the second edition of Wasserschleben's *Kanonensammlung* they appear as *Hibern.*, lii, 6, and are printed "*Romani* dicunt," with "*Gildas* ait" preceding, under the general title: *De tonsura Brittonum et solemnitate et missa.* By "Romans" must be understood those who, in the English Church, represented the Roman contention that the native Celtic Church was deviating from "the unity of the Catholic Church," by its persistent attachment to the frontal tonsure. While the British regarded their peculiar tonsure as derived from St. John, calling it *tonsura S. Johannis*, or even from St. James (*tonsura S. Jacobi*), the English gave it a schismatic character and origin by tracing it to Simon Magus; in Ireland, those of the same way of thinking, found a heathen origin, by tracing it to the swine-herd of King Loegaire mac Neill (A.D. 428-463). The one fiction can be no more credible than the other, as the universality of the custom proves; traces of it were to be found even on the Continent during the sixth and seventh centuries (Vide *Tripartite Life of St. Patrick*, p. 509).

[2] *Subulcum:* this word is regarded by some as a proper name, whereby the originator of the Irish tonsure is made to be Subulcus, a son of King Loegaire, instead of his swine-herd. *Filii*, however, stands here for *mac*=Welsh *map*. According to the *Book of Armagh* (c. 9), this heathen king, who remained a heathen, notwithstanding his formal conversion, reigned at Tara, when St. Patrick visited him and performed many wonders in his presence. In the *Analecta Bollandiana* (i, 555), the name is printed *Loiguire nomine filius Neill.*

# APPENDIX B.

## The Penitential of Gildas. De Poenitentia.

It may be well here to remind the reader of a few points that are treated of at greater length in the Introduction. The Church, for purposes of discipline, had developed various modes of correction in the case of lapses into sin, as well as of reconciliation by absolution. As we approach the sixth century, we find a long development of very varying procedures along independent lines, and ending in the very reverse of agreement throughout the Churches of different countries. In one point, however, there seems to have been universal agreement, viz., that acts of contrition and confession, together with the reconciliation which followed, were purely ecclesiastical. While, for the most part, such acts of penance were, in the West, not public but private, they certainly were subject to the judgment of the bishop; he, or the presbyter representing him, was always the ministrant. Yet in Britain and Ireland there had grown up a different system; *the disciplinary measures were conducted from the cloister*. Different sins began to be catalogued after the manner of penal enactments, with the corresponding penance to be undergone before reconciliation. In the opening words of the Penitential of Columbanus, "there must be a *mensura paenitentiæ*," calculated according to the magnitude of the sins committed. What this missionary did not quite find in Gaul, according to the words of his biographer Jonas, viz., *poenitentiae medicamenta et mortificationis amor*, he brought to that country from his Irish home. People from all parts soon flocked to his monastery at Luxeuil to partake of the benefit of the "medicine of penance" (*Vita Col.*, 2). Books containing such rules, by which sins and the appointed penances were thus arranged in order, were called Penitentials (*Libri Poenitentiales*). They seem to have had their origin in Britain and Ireland, but, after the seventh century, they are found both in the English Church, and in Churches far and wide over the Continent. Some who read the present Penitential, assigned to Gildas, for the first time, may be surprised, if not shocked, at some of the rules contained in it; but let them reflect that what they read here might be

found almost anywhere in the seventh century, under the direction of men of singularly pure and saintly lives. The student of history will look upon them as phases of a life that is gone for ever; he is not called upon to censure what is embodied in Penitential Books, nor to set up a defence of them. It is simply necessary that he should take a right position to view their strange and elaborate directions. These must be looked upon as means through which men of deep moral earnestness, such as Dewi Sant and Gildas in Wales, Finnian, Comgall and Columbanus in Ireland and France, sought to take away the curse of uncleanness out of the lives of man. In their method, they mention things to which we hardly ever allude, but so does St. Augustine in his "Enquiries of Pope Gregory," and so before him did St. Jerome, in his celebrated letter to a young lady of the highest family connections at Rome. We feel that no pastor would now even think of what is detailed in *Interrogatio Augustini VIII*, as given by Beda (I, 27); that *Epistola* 22 of Jerome "handles, without the slightest reserve, sins and temptations of the flesh to which we now hardly allude. It is absolutely inconceivable that any moralist or preacher of our times, however earnest or fanatical, should address a woman in such a style." The writer from whom I quote these words adds: "The difference of tone between the ancients and ourselves should never be forgotten in studying the character of a distant past. By keeping it in mind we may be saved alike from pharisaism, and from an ungenerous judgment of times which have made a self-revelation of which we should be incapable."[1]

To me, these Penitentials are reminders of the fierce conflict waged against the wild immorality of olden times: a conflict which, with many failures, proved that the clumsy method of these rules turned out to be for good. Haupt, in his *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, describes the results of the method in the hands of Columbanus in Gaul as "blissful" (*segensreich*). Yet it was doomed to die; in no way could it continue, however useful for a time.

References will be made in the Notes to several Penitentials, such as the Penitentials of Finnian, of Columbanus and others; on that account it may be of advantage to place here the following brief *resumé* of facts.

The monasteries of which we read such fabulous accounts as to

[1] S. Dill, *Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire* (1899), p. 127.

the number of monks congregated in them, belong to the end of Gildas' time ; belong, as may be conjectured, to the revival begun by him and his friends. Such a one was Bangor is y Coed, in Flintshire, which, according to Beda's description, had no less than 2,100 monks within its walls : such were Clonard, Clonfert, Clonmacnoise, and Bangor, in Ireland.[1] The founder of Clonard was Finnian, who is also regarded as the father of the new monastic revival which led to the foundation of so vast a number of monasteries in Ireland. But he is also said to have come, as a boy of thirteen years, to Kilmuine (Cil-mynyw) in Wales, where he became a disciple of "the three holy men, David, Cathmael, and Gildas." This is the Finnian whose Penitential is extant, which seems to form a further link in his connection with Gildas.

Bennchor, or Bangor (in county Down), was founded by Comgall, who in his early training had come in contact with the same Welshmen and Welsh traditions as Finnian. When, therefore, we remember that Columbanus was a monk of Bangor, as he with twelve companions left his native island for France, *pro Deo peregrinantes*, we are led to connect him also with that band of Welshmen. For the use of his monastery at Luxeuil he drew up a Rule that was notably Irish in its strictness ; but besides this *Regula*, there goes under his name a Penitential, which, with

[1] It is not in any way improbable that the accounts found of these wonderfully numerous communities are echoes of the reports which circulated, through such writings as those of Jerome and Cassian, of the teeming multitudes that flocked to the monasteries of Egypt. Grützmacher, in his book on *Pachomius und das älteste Klosterleben* (1896), shows how like representations are found even in the Coptic and other Lives, lately translated into French by Amilineau. Tabennîsi, the original cloister of Pachomius, grew to number 2500 monks within its walls (s. 99) ; Cassian mentions a monastery in the Thebaid, in which there were "over 5000 brethren under one abbot" (*De Coen. Instit.*, iv, 1) ; Jerome, in like manner, speaks of a community numbering 5000 (*Ep.*, 22, 33), and of single monasteries as containing from thirty to forty houses, in each of which dwelt forty monks (*Prologus ad Reg. S. Pach.*).

Since Egypt formed the ideal of monasticism for British and Irish monks, it is not to be wondered at that a period of prosperity should be described by them in terms borrowed from the marvellous stories of that land. Beda's statement respecting Bangor is only what report had brought to him (*fertur*), "when the community was divided into seven portions, no portion contained fewer than 300 men" (*H. E.*, ii, 2). Clonard was, the same way, said to have 3000 monks. Its famous founder is described as follows :—

Trium virorum millium
Sorte fit doctor humilis,
Verbi his fudit fluvium
Ut fons emanans rivulis.

characteristic modifications and enlargements, is based upon that of Finnian. I do not now touch upon the question of the non-genuineness of certain parts of the Penitential in the form preserved to us, but refer to the fact that we have certainly, in a large section of it, a code of rules closely connected with the Irish Penitential of Finnian, and the Welsh Penitential of Gildas.

In the same line with these we find a fourth, which bears the name of Cummean, or Commean, or Kumin. This *Penitentiale Cummeani* contains materials that have a British, Irish, English and Frankish origin; for instance, the first four rules of the British Penitential printed below, appear there, and in the same order (*Cumm. Penit.*, ii, 23-26); but what impresses one still more is, that rule 14 below (which is shown to be probably a quotation from some early source, by its use of *tamen*), is found also in the middle of the Preface attached to the Penitential of Cummean (*vide* Notes).

Who this Cummean was, is not known, though the influence of his collection appears to have spread over a very large area. Of many so-called, the best known is one that was Abbot of Iona from 657 to 665, who is also the author of the oldest *Life of Columba.* Another of the name, styled bishop, is found at Bobbio (an Irish monastery at the foot of the Apennines, founded by Columbanus in 612), about the first half of the eighth century, during the reign of the Longobard King Luitprand. Wasserschleben is inclined to regard the latter as the author of the Penitential that was so very extensively used on the continent.[1]

In the English Church a collection of rules, that is a Penitential, is attributed to Archbishop Theodore, and called the Penitential of Theodore. The influence of this book seems to have been very wide, but it contains many traces of the three first named. Another Penitential is ascribed to the historian Beda, while a third bears the name of Egbert, Archbishop of York. Theodore died A.D. 690, Beda 735, Egbert 767. While the question of authorship, or of the genuineness of certain portions, need not be discussed here, there can be no doubt as to the extensive use of these books in the English and other Churches. One of doubtful authenticity has not been named; it is found with the title *The Book of David* (*Liber Davidis*), and is ascribed to David of Menevia, or, as better known, Dewi Sant: others have, as well, been left unmentioned.

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[1] *Die Bussordnungen*, ss. 64, 65. The *Acta SS.* of Colgan Jun., p. 244, as quoted on s. 64, speaks of him as *Cumianus episcopus.* Mone regards Columba himself as the author, Cummean or Kumin having written the Preface.

## THE PENITENTIAL OF GILDAS. DE POENITENTIA.

*The present text is that found in Wasserschleben's "Bussordnungen,"* 1851. *It has been reprinted in Haddan and Stubbs, "Councils, etc.,"* i, 113.

incipit prefatio Gildae de penitentia.[1]

(A.)

1. Presbiter aut diaconus faciens fornicationem naturalem sive sodomitam prelato ante monachi voto III annis peniteat,[2] veniam omni hora roget, superpositionem[3] faciat in unaquaque ebdomada exceptis L diebus post passionem[4]: pane sine mensura et ferculo aliquatenus butiro inpingato die Dominico, ceteris vero diebus paxmati panis mensura et miso parvum inpinguato, horti holeribus, ovis paucis, Britannico formello utatur, himina Romana lactis pro fragilitate corporis istius evi, tenuclae vero vel balthutae lactis sextario Romano sitis gratia et aquae talimpulo, si operarius est. Lectum non multo feno instructum habeat: per tres quadragesimas[5] superaddat aliquid, prout virtus eius admiserit. Semper

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[1] In the book of Columbanus we have a similar beginning, *Incipit de poenitentia:* the title POENITENTIALE VINNIAI precedes that of Vinnian (or Finnian). The first rule refers to monks who have been ordained as presbyters or deacons ; it is strange that we have no provision for bishops.

[2] *Peniteat.* Penance, as understood in these rules, consists in exclusion from church communion for a specified period ; it involved severe fasting, or a reduced regimen of food and drink for a given period of time, sometimes also the recitation of a number of Psalms, as prescribed in 22.

[3] *Superpositionem. Superpositio*, or more fully *superpositio ieiunii*, means the prolongation of a fast, whether on the same day or by the addition of another day. The term was specially applied to the prolongation of the Friday fast to Saturday ; by Tertullian this usage is called *continuare ieiunium* (*De ieiun.*, 14), and the usage was observed at Rome above all places. The well-known saying of Ambrose to Augustine's mother, quoted by her son in the letter to Camulanus, had reference to this observance of Saturday as an added fast : "When I am here (at Milan), I do not fast ; when I am at Rome, I fast, on Saturday" (*Ep.* xxxvi). The Spanish Synod of Elvira (A.D. 306) seems to limit the observance of such *superpositio* at the end of the week, to a monthly observance, as we see from Canon XXIII ; by so doing, and by another Canon (XXVI), it seems to have abrogated the weekly *superpositio*.

"Ieiunii superpositiones *per singulos menses* placuit celebrari, exceptis diebus duorum mensium, Julii et Augusti, propter quorundam infirmitatem."—*Can.* XXIII.

"Errorem placuit corrigi, ut omni sabbati die superpositiones celebremus."—*Can.* XXVI.

The fact is deserving of notice, as it has wider bearings, that at Milan, in

## Gildas on Penance.

*The present text is that found in Wasserschleben's "Bussordnungen,"* 1851. *It has been reprinted in Haddan and Stubbs, "Councils, etc.,"* i, 113.

Beginning of Gildas' preface respecting penance.

(A.)

1. A presbyter or deacon committing natural or sodomite fornication, if he have taken a monk's vow previously, shall do penance for three years, shall pray for forgiveness every hour, shall do *superpositio* every week with the exception of the fifty days after Passio, shall have bread without measure and food fattened slightly with butter on the Lord's day; but on other days, if he be a workman, a measure of biscuit and broth slightly thickened, cabbages, a few eggs and British cheese, a Roman half-pint of milk because of weakness of flesh at that time; but a Roman pint of whey or butter-milk to quench his thirst, and the same quantity of water. He is not to have his bed furnished with much straw; let him make some addition by three *quadragesimae*, as far as his strength will admit. Let him from his deepest heart weep for his fault; let him above all things follow after

Spain, and Britain, the observance of a Saturday fast (*ut omni sabbato ieiunetur*) did not exist. The non-observance in Britain we know from this rule, which was intended for penitents only. On the whole subject one might read, Dale, *The Synod of Elvira*, pp. 192, 193, Note B, p. 216; Duchesne, *Origenes du Culte Chrétien*, p. 221.

[4] *Exceptis L diebus post passionem.* The times of relaxation of penance are given more fully in other later Penitentials, as in that of Cummean; they were Sunday, Christmas Day, Epiphany, Easter, Ascension Day, Pentecost, the feasts of St. John the Baptist, of St. Mary and the Twelve Apostles, together with that of the local saint (Wasserschleben, *Bussordn.*, p. 165: Hi sunt dies, qui non computantur in poenitentia, etc.). These fifty days after the Passion, beginning with Easter Sunday, were regarded as a time of joy for all.

[5] *Tres quadragesimas.* Most, if not all, of the Penitentials use the Latin *quadragesima* of *any* forty days' fast, not exclusively those of Lent. Du Cange gives several instances of *quadragesimae* imposed by way of penance, the earliest of which belongs to the year 821: "singulas *sex quadragesimas* cum sequentibus annis poeniteat"; other instances impose twelve *quadragesimae* "sine subditis annis". Morinus is quoted by him as suggesting that this kind of *quadragesimae*, that is, in way of penance for sins committed, as distinguished from those observed by all Christians, was introduced by Archbishop Theodore. But we find the usage in the Celtic Penitentials of Britain and Ireland, as in this one, at a period anterior to Theodore. The Latin Church observed three

ex intimo corde defleat culpam suam,[1] oboedientiam pre omnibus libentissime excipiat, post annum et dimedium eucharistiam sumat et ad pacem veniat, psalmos cum fratribus canat, ne poenitus anima tanto tempore caelistis medicinae intereat.

2. Si quis inferiore gradu[2] positus monachus, III annis peniteat, sed mensura gravetur panis. Si operarius, sextarium de lacte Romanum et alium de tenucla et aquam quantum sufficiat pro sitis ardore sumat.

3. Si vero sine monachi voto presbiter aut diaconus peccaverit, sicut monachus sine gradu sic peniteat.[3]

4. Si autem peccatum voluerit[4] monachus facere, anno et dimedio; habet tamen abas huius rei moderandae facultatem, si oboedientia eius placita fuerit Deo et abati suo.

5. Antiqui patres[5] XII presbitero et VII diacono penitentiae statuerunt.

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*quadragesimae*, viz., *quadragesima maior*, corresponding to English Lent; another before Christmas, and called *quadr. S. Martini*; a third, before the Feast of St. John the Baptist. The second was called *grawys gauaf* in the Welsh Church. The Greek Church observed four "forty days."

[1] *Semper ex intimo corde defleat culpam suam.* The moral character and motive of the time, and of the discipline of penance, is revealed in these words: it is made still more prominent in the Penitentials of Finnian and Columbanus. The latter begins with the following words, which have a peculiar force in their very simplicity: "True penitence is not to yield to things that one must be penitent for, but if we have yielded, to weep for them. Yet, because the weakness of many, one may almost say of all, disturbs this penitence, we must recognise measures of penance (*poenitentiae*). And of these the following order is sanctioned by our holy fathers, in such a way that the length of penances should be in accordance with the magnitude of sins (*culparum*)."

As its time advanced, the severity of the penance was modified by a milder treatment, as the next words imply; *post annum et dimedium*, the penitent, though still remaining a penitent, is to partake of the Eucharist and return to church communion, *ad pacem veniat.*

[2] *Inferiore gradu.* The first rule refers, as was said, to monks who are presbyters or deacons; the present one to two other classes. The first of these is a monk who is not, strictly speaking, a cleric, but belongs to the so-called minor orders (*ordines minores*). In a monastery the most common lower grade, especially for young boys, was that of Reader (*lector*); there were besides the exorcist, acolyte, ostiarius (*vide* Hinschius, *Kirchenrecht*, iv, 492). The second class is a layman engaged in manual labour, *operarius.*

[3] The third rule gives evidence of the estimation in which the monastic life was held, because a monk, though a layman as to ecclesiastical consideration, is equivalent in spiritual rank to a presbyter or deacon.

[4] *Voluerit.* Here, probably, stress is laid on the *intention* when sin is not actually committed. *Quaerens et non invenerit* is the wording of a correspond-

obedience; after one year and a half he may take the Eucharist and come to communion; let him sing the Psalms with his brethren, lest his soul be lost completely, by so long a time of the heavenly discipline.

2. If a monk placed in a lower grade commit the same sin, he is to do penance for three years, but let the measure of his bread be heavier. If a workman, let him take a Roman pint of milk and another of whey, and as much water as suffices to quench his thirst.

3. But if a presbyter or deacon, without a monk's vow, sin, let his penance be similar to that of a monk without orders.

4. If a monk intend to commit a sin, his penance shall be for one year and a half. The Abbot, however, has authority to moderate in this matter, if the monk's obedience be pleasing to God and to his Abbot.

5. The ancient fathers have fixed twelve years of penance for a presbyter, seven for a deacon.

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ing rule in the Penitential of Egbert (v, 12). That of Cummean (ii, 25) reads, *post* tale peccatum voluerit monachus *fieri*, *i.e.*, if the sinner elect to become a monk.

[5] *Antiqui patres.* The "Fathers of old" in this rule cannot mean the "Fathers" of the Church as implying a decree by bishops or by a Synod; apparently the only meaning is that which limits *patres* to the Church of Britain itself. Therefore, when these rules were drawn up, the custom of fixing varying periods of penance, according to the ecclesiastical grade of the delinquent, had been in use for a length of time. That time had been long enough to establish a tradition; but the tradition also witnessed to the fact that the "fathers" upheld a far severer code of discipline: instead of the three years of the present rule, they ordained for a presbyter twelve years of penance and seven for a deacon. The "Book of David" prescribes, as well, twenty-three years for a bishop, being itself, perhaps, a reminiscence of the old order. *Antiqui decrevere sancti, ut episcopus pro capitalibus peccatis xxiii annis peniteat, presbiter xii, diaconus vii* (*c. 10*). See p. 286.

The whole tone of ecclesiastical procedure, in the fourth and fifth centuries, against offending clerics, bishops, presbyters and deacons, as may be seen by a perusal of Thomassinus, *Vetus et Nova Ecclesiae Disciplina*, Part II, Lib. i, cc. 56-58, or Hinschius, *Kirchenrecht*, iv, § 247, is different from what is implied in the present rule of a specified time of penance. When, therefore, we find that in the writings of Columbanus, the frequent reference to *patres* and *magistri nostri*, leads us solely to think of eminent Irish (and Welsh) abbots, such as Finnian, Comgall, and Gildas, we naturally conclude that a similar implication is to be deduced from the words of this rule. Then we are carried further, that is, to suspect that some parts of this Penitential belong to a date subsequent to Gildas. In his time there were no venerable *patres* to sustain a judgment; he himself became one of them for the next generation, who lived about A.D. 600-650.

6. Monachus furatus vestem vel aliquam rem II annis ut supra[1] peniteat, si iunior sit: si senior, anno integro. Si vero monachus non fuerit, eque anno et maxime III XL mis.

7. Si monachus exundante ventre evomerit sacrificium[2] in die, cenam suam non presumat, et si non infirmitatis causa, VII superpositionibus, si infirmitatis et non voracitatis causa, IIII superpositionibus deleat culpam.

8. Si autem non sacrificium, diei superpositione et multa increpatione plectatur.

9. Si casu negligens quis sacrificium aliquod perdat, per tres XL mas peniteat, relinquens illud feris et alitibus devorandum.

10. Si quis autem ebrietatis causa psallere non potest stupens elinguis, coena privatur.

11. Peccans cum pecode, anno: si ipse solus, III quadragesimas diluat culpam.

12. Qui communicaverit a suo abate excommunicato,[3] XL.

13. Manducans morticinam[4] inscius, XL.

14. Sciendum est tamen,[5] quod quanto quis tempore moratur in peccatis, tanto ei augenda penitentia est.

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[1] *Ut supra.* It is difficult to find a meaning for this addition in the case of theft, since "two years" have not been mentioned; perhaps we are to understand a reference to rule 1, in its provision that after the expiration of half the time, a relaxation in the severity of penance should ensue.

[2] *Sacrificium.* The use of this word, and the whole attitude of the outward reverence towards the Eucharistic rite, shows how fully Britain, by the latter half of the sixth century, had adopted ideas that found their abiding expression in Gregory the Great. The Eucharist, according to the view which prevailed then, is a sacrifice, and the word itself appears in the Welsh *segyrffyc* (Taliesin —or the poet so named—Skene, *Four Ancient Books*, 153-156).

Rules 7-10, indicating sins of excessive eating and drinking on the part of those who serve in holy things, are found, as to content, in many Penitentials, as, for instance, the Penitential of Egbert, xii, 7: *Si per ebrietatem vel voracitatem evomerit eucharistiam xl dies peniteat clericus*, etc.; also *Beda*, vi, 1.

[3] *A suo abate excommunicato.* The distinctively Celtic character of this rule is seen in the use of the word *abate.* Excommunication, which elsewhere belonged exclusively to a bishop, is here placed in the power of an abbot: we have a similar instance in the Penitential of Finnian, where a cleric, after ten years of penance because of murder, may be reconciled if he be approved by the evidence of the abbot or priest (*testimonio abbatis seu sacerdotis*). But in Gaul, where a more authoritative Church organisation prevailed, Columbanus, in the corresponding rule of his Penitential, inserts "bishop (*episcopi*) or abbot." So also we find the present rule in the Penitential of Cummean, which was widely used on the continent, prescribing a penance of forty days to one who communicates with a person "excommunicated *by*

6. A monk that has stolen a garment or any article shall do penance for two years in the way described above, if he be a junior; if a senior for one whole year. If he is not a monk, let him do the same for one year and, at most, three *quadragesimae.*

7. If a monk owing to a disordered stomach shall vomit the sacrifice during the day, he is not to take his dinner, and if it be not on account of weakness, he shall atone for his offence by seven *superpositiones ;* if through weakness and not gluttony, by four.

8. If he has not vomited the sacrifice, let him be punished by *superpositio* of a day and frequent rebuke.

9. If any one in negligence lose any of the sacrifice, he shall do penance for three *quadragesimae*, leaving it to be consumed by wild beasts and birds.

10. If any one because of drunkenness is unable to sing the Psalms, being stupefied and without speech, he is deprived of dinner.

11. A man that sins with an animal will do penance for one year: if by himself alone, let him atone for his offence by three *quadragesimae.*

12. He that shall hold communion with a man excommunicated by his Abbot shall do penance forty days.

13. A man eating carrion unknowingly (shall do penance), forty days.

14. It must, however, be known that as long as a man delays in sins, penance must be proportionately increased to him.

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*the Church*"—*Si quis communicaverit nec ignorans excommunicato ab ecclesia, xl dies peniteat* (xiii, 3).

[4] *Manducans morticinam.* The rule is found in fuller form in the Penitentials of the English Church, those of Theodore, Beda, and Egbert.

[5] *Sciendum est tamen.* Words of the same meaning, almost verbally identical, may be found also in the Preface to the Penitential of Cummean, under the heading, "De Modis Poenitentiae" (*Wasserschleben*, p. 462). After stating that some are to undergo penance for seven years, others ten, or even up to twelve or fifteen years, during one, two, or three of which the penance involves a diet of bread and water only, there is added: *Sciendum vero est, quanto quis tempore moratur in peccatis, tanto ei augenda est poenitentia.* On p. 498 *ib.* we have, again, almost the same words prefacing the *Poenitentiale Remense : Sciendum est verum*, etc. It seems almost as if we had a piece of the prefatory words of some book on Penance thrust in. One other explanation is possible ; we may regard the Penitential proper, in its narrower sense, as ended with Rule 13, so that the words of 14 would imply a general principle in reference to all that precedes ; just as in the other Penitential named they do to the rules following. Penances, so it is implied, would be made severer by

(B.)[1]

15. Si cui inponitur opus aliquod et contemptus gratia illud non fecerit, cena careat; si vero oblivione, demedium cotidiani victus.

16. Si autem sumat alterius opus, illud notum faciat abati cum verecundia, excepto eo nullo audiente et sic peragat, si iubetur.

17. Nam qui iram corde multo tempore retinet, in morte est.[2] Si autem confitetur peccatum, XL ieiunet, et si ultra in peccato persistat, II XL mas, et si idem fecerit, abscidatur a corpore sicut membrum putredum, quia furor homicidium nutrit.

18. Offensus quis ab aliquo debit hoc indicare abati, non tamen accusantis, sed medentis affectu, et abas decernat.

19. Qui non occurrit ad [secundi psalmi] consummationem,[3] canat VIII in ordine psalmos; si excitatus veniat post misam,[4]

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long persistence in sins, so that the years and days named in the preceding rules ought not to be regarded as fixed inalterably. A similar modification of what precedes will be found in the ninth canon of the Synod of the Grove of Victory below (p. 288), though there by way of diminution.

[1] In the rules which follow no grave sins are mentioned, in some none at all, so that we seem justified in making a division here. The first part, under A., prescribes for *crimina capitalia*, to use a term found in the Penitential of Columbanus, which, in the same manner, seems to divide itself into two parts.

[2] *In morte est.* This wholesome rule appears in several books; in the Penitential of Cummean, for instance, it reads: "Whosoever keeps anger in his heart towards another, must be judged a homicide" (*Poen. Cumm.*, ix, 9).

[3] *Ad consummationem.* Mark the striking resemblance of *Poen.* xxxv capp., 31; *Wass.*, p. 524: "Si quis non occurrit ad *secundi psalmi consumationem*, canat viii, in ordine Psalm, &c.," as in this book of Gildas. Our Rule (19) is almost word for word identical with that found, as indicated, in the Frankish *Penitential oj xxx Chapters*, which is a work founded upon the Penitentials of Cummean, Columbanus, and Theodore; the many Celtic materials used by its author lead to the conclusion that the work must have been drawn up in one of the Irish monasteries of the Continent, and we may conclude that the author copied the present Rule, either from this collection of Gildas or from some other containing it. Therefore, it does not seem rash to supply the words *secundi psalmi* from the Frankish Poenitential. The Regula of Columbanus makes it clear, that the *Cursus Psalmorum*, that is, the singing or recitation of Psalms in a specified order, formed an important part of the service at every common gathering—Synaxis—of the brethren: the present rule, therefore, specifies the discipline incurred by failing to appear when the second Psalm was ended. If the rule applies to the *Matutinal* gathering, the number of Psalms sung would vary at different times of the year, according to the length of night: if to other day gatherings, three Psalms only were sung. *Vide* Seebass, *Über Colomba von Luxeuils Klosterregel u. Bussbuch*, s. 15 ff., and 24).

*Consummatio*, if thus taken in the sense of "ending" or "completing,"

(B.)

15. If a certain work is imposed upon any man, and he, in contempt, omits to do that work, let him go without his dinner; if from real forgetfulness, he will have half his daily share of food.

16. But if he undertake the work of another, let him make that known to the Abbot with modesty, in the hearing of no one except the Abbot, and let him perform it if commanded.

17. For he who retains anger in his heart a long time, is in death. But if he confess his sin, let him fast forty days, and if he persist further in his sin, two *quadragesimae*, and if he commit the same sin, let him be cut off from the body as a decayed member, because anger nourishes homicide.

18. If a man is offended by anyone, he ought to make this known to the Abbot, not with the feeling of an accuser, but of one desiring to heal, and let the Abbot decide.

19. Who does not meet at the finishing [of the second Psalm], let him sing eight Psalms in order; if, when roused, he comes in

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would also agree well with the words of Dr. Stokes in his explanation of *cosmait*, the Irish term for confirmation, as being derived from *consummatio* (*Tripartite Life of St. Patrick*, p. 662). The present rule had its origin (and the same might be said of the provision in c. 43 of the Regula of St. Benedict) in the directions given by John Cassian: "He who, at Tierce, Sext, or None, has not come to prayer *before the Psalm begun is ended*, does not venture further to enter the oratory, or to join himself with those singing the Psalms, but waits the breaking up of the congregation, standing outside, until with lowly penance to the ground, as all go out, he obtain pardon for his neglect and lateness" (*Instit. lib.*, iii, 7).

[4] *Post misam* = *post missam*; *misa* appears as a reading in several Celtic documents. Besides its ordinary meaning as a name for the Eucharistic service, *missa* is at times employed in the sense of *lectio*, or lesson, of Scripture. In the Regula of Cæsarius of Arles, who died about 542, or about the time when Gildas was writing his *De Excidio*, we find c. 20 directing that there were to be three *readings* of the Scriptures (*faciant et tres missas*); from Aurelian of Arles, who died 530, are quoted, in reference to the reading in public worship, the words, "facite sex *missas* de Isaia propheta . . . . legantur sex *missae* de evangelio" (Rietschel, *Lehrbuch der Liturgik*, I, s. 350). This meaning seems far more appropriate here than the common one that would imply a celebration of the mass, and is confirmed by the reference to a second *missa*, which in this sense refers to the second lesson read after the Psalms had been sung.

It may be also that *missa* is here the equivalent of *consummatio* itself, with the well-known meaning of "ending," as in the well-known *ite, missa est* = go, the end is come.

quicquid cantaverunt replicet ex ordine fratres. Si vero ad secundam venerit, cena careat.

20. Si quis errans commotaverit aliquid de verbis sacris ubi periculum adnotatur,[1] triduanum aut III superpositiones faciat.

21. Si sacrum terra tenus negligendo ceciderit, cena careat.

22. Qui voluntate obsceno liquore maculatus fuerit dormiendo, si cervisa et carne habundat coenubium, III noctis horis stando vigilet, si sane virtutis est. Si vero pauperem victum habet, XXVIII aut XXX psalmos canat stando suplex, aut opere extraordinario pendat.

23. Pro bonis regibus[2] sacra debemus offerre, pro malis nequaquam.

24. Presbiteri vero pro suis episcopis non prohibentur offerre.

25. Qui arguitur pro aliquo delicto et quasi inconsultans refrenatur, cena careat.

26. Qui sarculum perfrangit et ante fracturam non habuit, aut illud extraordinario opere restituat aut superponat.

27. Qui viderit aliquem ex fratribus abatis transgredi precepta, debet abatem non celare, sed ante admoneat peccantem, ut solus quod male agit confiteatur abati ; non tam delator quam veritatis regulae exsecutor inveniatur.

Huc usque Gildas.

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[1] *Ubi periculum adnotatur.* This rule is found in the *Poenitentiale Cummeani* : "Si quis errans commutaverit aliquid de verbis sacrorum, ubi periculum adnotaverit, III superpositiones faciat" (xiii, 4). Again, we read in the same : "Si titubaverit sacerdos super *orationem dominicam*, *quae dicitur periculosa*, si una vice, L plagas, secunda C, tertia superponat" (xiii, 21). The *Poenit. Halitgarii* has an almost identical rule in which the words of consecration—the Lord's own words, hence the designation *or. dominica*—are similarly termed *periculosa oratio.* In the Irish *Stowe Missal* we find the same terms used : "When *Accepit Jesus panem* is chanted, the priest bows thrice for sorrow for their sins ; he offers them (the bread and wine) to God ; and the people prostrate ; and there comes not a sound then, that it disturb not the priest ; for it is his duty that his mind separate not from God whilst he chants this lection. It is from this that *Periculosa Oratio* is its name." The *Leabhar Breac* (de figuris et spiritualibus sensibus oblationis sacrificii ordinis) gives like evidence : "The time now *Accepit Jesus panem, &c.*, is chanted . . . . it is from this that the name of this prayer is *Periculosa Oratio*." It seems thus that the Liturgic books of Wales, Ireland, and certain Celtic churches on the Continent, had the word *periculum* inserted (on the margin probably), in order to enjoin special care in the reading of the prayer of consecration.

after the reading is finished, let him repeat whatever the brethren have sung, in due order. But if he come to the second reading, let him go without his dinner.

20. If any one by mistake change anything of the sacred words where "danger" is marked, let him observe a three days' fast or three *superpositiones*.

21. If through neglect the consecrated element fall to the ground, let him go without dinner.

22. He that has of his own will defiled himself in his sleep, if the monastery have plenty of beer and meat, shall keep vigil for three hours of the night standing, provided he is really a man of strength. If, however, the food be poor, let him, standing as a suppliant, recite twenty-eight or thirty Psalms, or make recompense by extraordinary work.

23. For good kings we ought to make the sacred offering, for the bad not.

24. Presbyters are not prohibited from offering for their bishops.

25. He that is proved guilty of any offence and is checked as one inconsiderate, let him go without dinner.

26. He that breaks a hoe that had previously no fracture, should make restitution for it by extraordinary work, or should observe a *superpositio*.

27. Whoever shall see one of the brethren breaking the commands of the Abbot, ought not to hide it from the Abbot; but let him previously admonish the sinner to confess, himself, to the Abbot his evil deed; let him be found not so much an informer, as a man who carries out the rule of truth.

So far Gildas.

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[2] *Pro bonis regibus.* The terminology of this rule is familiar to every student of Liturgic forms and of the ideas underlying them. In Britain, as in other parts of the West, we see that the Eucharist is regarded as a sacrifice which is *offered for* men; this conception is stamped upon Welsh terminology, because the word for "priest" *i.e.*, *offeiriad* = *effeyriat*, is not borrowed as in other Celtic languages from *sacerdos* (e.g., Irish, *sacart*) but from the verb *offere*; so also *offeren* (= mass) is from *offerenda*.

These Rules (23, 24) are found as well in the *Poen. Commeani* (xiii, 1, 2), and in the *Poenit. Pseudo-Romanum* (ix, 5, 6) both similarly related to the Celtic (Irish) Penitential of Columbanus.

## Other Penitential Canons of Welsh Origin.

Wasserschleben has also published three other, apparently Welsh, penitential canons, from the very same MS. as contains the Penitential printed above. The MS. had been previously used by the laborious and learned Benedictine Martene for vol. iv of his *Thesaurus Novus Anecdotorum*, which was published in 1717 (Paris). Of this MS. a very full account is given by Maassen: it is a strange mixture of extracts devoid of any order, containing, with other material, extracts from Mosaic enactments, and excerpts from the Pastor of Hermas and Scripture. Then follow the Irish Collection of Canons, then the Penitential Canons, starting with an interesting collection belonging to Welsh National law, which may be found in *Wasserschleben*, p. 125, in Haddan and Stubbs' *Councils*, *etc.*, i, p. 126. The resemblance in general features and in special enactments, found to subsist between these and the Laws of Hywel Dda, especially the Latin summary of Hywel's Laws, given on p. 875 of Aneurin Owen's *Ancient Laws of Wales*, affords very convincing proof that we have in them genuine pieces of Welsh legislation. There is, however, hardly anything of a penitential character in them, on which account there can be no further reference to them here. Without enumerating other contents of this MS., in its orderless excerpts from many writers and canons of synods (spelt both *senodus* and *sinodus*), we come to the above Penitential of Gildas; then follow *Sinodus Aquilonalis Britanniæ*, *Altera Sinodus Luci Victoriæ*, and *Excerpta quaedam de Libro Davidis.* What follows need not be named. But it may be mentioned that a controversy has arisen as to the origin of these Celtic remains, the late Mr. Henry Bradshaw ascribing them to Brittany, whilst Wasserschleben and Maassen regard them as Irish,[1] a question that does not affect the object aimed at in the insertion of the three sets of penitential canons in this place. They may, by being placed on this page, serve to elucidate or illustrate some of the rules found above under the name of Gildas.

### I.

### Incipiunt Excerpta Quaedam de libro Davidis.

1. Sacerdotes in templo Dei ministraturi gule gratia vinum aut ciceram per negligentiam et non per ignorantiam bibentes, IV diebus peniteant. Si autem per contemptum arguentium, XL.

2. Inebriati autem per ignorantiam, XV diebus, si per negligentiam, XL, si per contemptum III, XL mis (*i.e.*, *tribus quadragesimis*).

3. Qui cogit aliquem humanitatis gratia ut ebrietur, similiter et ebrius peniteat.

4. Qui vero effectu hodii (= odii) seu luxuriae, ut turpiter confundat vel irrideat, ad ebrietatem alios cogit, si not satis penituerit sic peniteat ut homicida animarum. [On *hodium* for *odium*, see note *De Excidio*, p. 114.]

[1] Bradshaw, *Collected Papers*, p. 410; or Wasserschleben, *Die irische Bussordnungen*, lxiii; Maassen, *Geschichte der Quellen u. der Lit. der Canonischen Rechts*, s. 786.

5. Cum muliere disponsata Christo maritove sive cum iumento vel cum masculo fornicantes, de reliquo mortui mundo Deo vivant.

6. Qui autem cum virgine vel vidua necdum disponsata peccaverit, dotem det parentibus eius et anno uno peniteat.

7. Episcopus homicidium voluntate faciens vel quamlibet fornicationem dolumve XIII annis peniteat, presbyter autem VII cum pane et aqua, et ferculo in die dominico vel sabbati, diaconus VI, sine gradu monachus IV, nisi infirmitas impediat illos.

8. Qui in sompnis cum voluntate pollutus est, surgat canatque VII palmos et in die illo in pane et aqua vivat, sin autem, xxx psalmos canat.

9. Volens autem in sompnis peccare, sed non potuit, XV palmos ; si autem peccaverit, sed non pollutus est XXIII, si sine voluntate pollutus, XV.

10. Antiqui decrevere sancti, ut episcopus pro capitalibus peccatis XXIII annis peniteat, presbiter XII, diaconus VII, sic virgo lectorque et religiosus, ebibatus autem IV.

11. Nunc autem presbiteri ruentis penitentia est diaconique et subdiaconi virginisque et cuiusque hominis hominem ad mortem tradentis et cum pecodibus vel cum sua sorore vel cum mariti uxore fornicantis et venenis hominem occidere volentis, triennium. Primo anno super terram, secundo lapidi caput imponendum, tertio super axem iaceat ; solo pane et aqua et sale et leguminis talimpulo, vescatur. Ceterique malint XXX triduanos vel cum superpositionibus, cum cybo lectoque supradicto, annona ad nonam usque ad alteram. Alia est penitentia III annis, sed himina de cervisia vel lacte cum pane saleque, altera e duabus noctibus cum prandii ratione et ordine XII horis noctium dierumque Deum supplicare debent.

12. Hinc autem presbitero offerre sacrificium vel diacono tenere calicem non licet aut in sublimiorem gradum ascendere.

13. Usuram accipiens perdat ea quae accipit.

14. [Qui] preda vel fraude vescit, semiannis.

15. Virgini osculum in secreto prebens, triduanum peniteat.

16. In ecclesia mendacium iurans, quadruplum pro quo iuraverat reddat.

## II.

### Incipit nunc Sinodus Aquilonalis Britanniae.

1. Cum muliere vel cum viro peccans quis expellatur, et alterius patriae coenubio vivat et peniteat confessus III annis clausus, et postea frater illius alteri subiectus, anno uno diaconus, III presbiter, IV episcopus et abas suo quis que ordine privatus doctoris iudicio peniteat.

2. Qui ipsum inquinaverit, annum clausus peniteat, puer XII annorum XL aut III, XL mis (*i.e.*, *tribus quadragesimis*). Diaconus anno clausus ut cum fratribus peniteat demedio, sacerdos uno anno clausus et cum fratribus altero.

3. Monachus consecrata furatus in exilio anno et altero cum fratribus peniteat. Si autem iteraverit, exilium patietur.

4. Furatus cybum, XL, si iterato, III, XL mas (*i.e.*, *tres quadragesimas*), si tertio, anno, si quarto, iugi exilio sub alio abate peniteat.

5. Dilatus et dilator consimili persona indicentur. Si dilatus negaverit, anno simili peniteat, in septimana II diebus pane aquaque et biduano in fine cuiusque mensis, omnibus fratribus subponentibus et Deum iudicum contestantibus.[1]

6. Permanentes autem in obstinatione, anno emenso[2] alterius communioni sub iudice flamma sotiantur et Dei iudicio relinquantur.

7. Si quando alter fuerit confessus, quantum laboris alteri intulit, tantum sibi multiplicetur.

III.

Incipit Altera Sinodus Luci Victoriae.

1. Faciens furtum semel, anno I, si plura, II annis.

2. Qui occidit fratrem suum non ex odii meditatione, si iracundia subita, triennio peniteat.

3. Adulter quoque et ipse triannio.

4. Qui prebent ducatum barbaris, XIII annis, tamen si non acciderit stragis Christianorum et sanguinis effusio et dira captivitas. Si autem evenerit, agant residuo vitae penitentiam relictis armis. Si autem voluerit et non ad vota sibi barbaros ad Christianos educere, residuo vite sue peniteat. [3]

5. Qui periurium iurat, IIII annos; qui deducit alium in periurium ignorantem, VII annos; qui deductus est ignorans et post scit, anno uno; qui vero suspicatur quod in periurium deducitur tamen iurat pro consensu, II annis.

6. Qui mechatur matris est, III annis cum peregrinatione perenni.

7. Qui cum cane vel cum quocunque peccaverit animali, II annis et dimedio.

8. Qui facit scelus virile, ut sodomite, IIII annis. Qui vero in femoribus, III annis, manu autem sive alterius sive sua, II annis.

9. Totum hoc quod diximus, si post votum perfectionis fecerit homo. Si autem ante votum, annis diminuitur de omnibus, de reliquis vero ut debet minuitur, dum non vovit.

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[1] The Penitential of Cummean reads: *consimile persona*, with *indicentur; anno simul* for *anno simili; in unaquaque ebdomada* for *in septimana*, *biduana* and *indicem fore contestantibus* (XI, 9).

[2] The Penitential of Cummean reads: *emiso* for *emenso* (with which cf. *De Excidio*, p. 62, l. 2), *altaris communione* and *socientur*.

[3] Instead of *XIII annis*, the Poenit. of Cummean (vi, 28) has *III annos*: the rule also finishes after *Christianorum* with: *Sin vero, reiectis armis, usque ad mortem mundo mortui vivant* (vi, 28). So the *Poen. Pseudo-Roman.* (ix, 6) reads *tres annos*

# APPENDIX C.

## Gildae Lorica. The Lorica of Gildas.

The name Lorica is applied to this Hymn and to a number of others of like character, as implying a prayer of invocation for supernatural protection against the evils of life, but more particularly against pestilence and other dangers of death. The idea underlying the name is probably derived from *Ephes.* vi, 14, where the Apostle bids his readers stand, "having put on the breast-plate of righteousness," which words in the Latin version read *induti lorica iustitiae.* With these words in mind, the writer of the Hymn makes use of *lorica* twice in the course of his prayer; so that, as the idea grew that the recitation of the prayer, or similar ones, did provide protection against the dangers of pestilence or sickness, the Hymn itself acquired this appellation. It is called a Lorica; it is called the "Lorica of Gillas" in the Preface which precedes it in the Irish MS. called the *Leabhar Breac* (in Welsh, *Y Llyfr Brych*, or Speckled Book), now in the library of the Royal Irish Academy at Dublin. Now Gillas, or Gillus, is a common form for Gildas, especially in Irish documents, as, for instance,

"The ite of Cluain Credail Gillasque,"

in the *Annals of Tigernach*, or "Gillas obiit," in the *Annals of Ulster;* the Bern MS. of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*, xii, 6, reads, "cum Gillas historicus testatur." We may, therefore, take the evidence of the writer of this Preface, so far as it goes, that there was an early tradition in Ireland which connected the Lorica printed in this volume with Gildas, the author of the *De Excidio.* The colophon in the MS. from which Mone first of all printed the Hymn attributes it to "Lathacan the Irishman" (Explicit hymnus quem Lathacan Scotigena fecit), and the same, we can hardly doubt, is the meaning of *Lodgen* . . . . *constituit*, in the Preface of another MS. If we look at the first-mentioned Preface, as printed below, we see that it involves the chronological error of making Gildas and Laidcenn contemporaries, whereas a whole century intervened between them. Zimmer suggests a way of

avoiding this by a very plausible conjectural emendation,[1] but such errors are by no means uncommon. If we accept another solution, which is, in fact, suggested in the punctuation adopted by the editors of *The Irish Liber Hymnorum*, by supplying *eam* from *hanc orationem* of the previous sentence as object to *transtulit et portavit*, we have a couple of probable facts set before us. This means, in the first place, that the Hymn, or part of it, was composed by Gildas sometime during the years 540-550, because of the plague which ravaged Britain and Ireland about that time; then, secondly, that the Hymn was brought over from Britain (*venit ab eo*) to Ireland by Laedcenn, son of Baeth the Victorious, and placed upon the altar of St. Patrick for public or liturgic use. The words *salvos nos facere* (to give us deliverance) appear to imply such a purpose.

It will be convenient to mention here the previous printed editions of this Lorica.

1. It was first published by Mone, with the title *Hymnus luricae*, from a MS. preserved then at Darmstadt, in his *Hymni Latini Medii Aevi*, Friburgi, vol. i, 367 (1853). In his notes he refers to it as an interesting example of Irish hymnology of the seventh century. The MS. he dates of the eighth century.

2. In 1855 Antonius Schmid helped Daniel to decipher a Vienna MS. of the sixteenth century, from which the hymn was printed, with the title *Hymnum Lyricae*, in vol. iv, 364, of the *Thesaurus Hymnologicus*. On p. 111 Daniel has also printed Mone's transcript with notes.

3. Dr. Stokes published the text of the hymn found in the *Leabhar Breac*, which belongs to "the latter part of the fourteenth century." This MS. has numerous Irish glosses written between the lines and on the margin; these also Dr. Stokes has printed in full, with translations and notes. *Irish Glosses*, Dublin, 1860.

4. In 1864 Mr. Cockayne published *Leechdoms, Wortcunning, and Starcraft of Early England*, Rolls Series; vol. i, p. lxviii, contains this Lorica from the *Book of Cerne*, a MS. preserved in the University of Cambridge, belonging originally to the Abbey of Cerne in Dorsetshire.

5. For the Hampshire Record Society, the *Book of Nunnaminster* was edited, in 1889, by Mr. de Gray Birch; this hymn appears on p. 91.

6. In 1893, Dr. Zimmer published the hymn from Mone's MS., (which is now at Cologne), after a fresh collation, at the end of his Anhang to *Nennius Vindicatus* (1893).

7. The hymn is published in *The Irish Liber Hymnorum* (Henry Bradshaw Society), 1898, from the text of the *Leabhar Breac*, which the

[1] *Nennius Vindicatus*, s. 305, *i.e.*, *inventam ab eo* for *venit ab eo;* this supplies an object for the two verbs, *transtulit*, *portavit*.

editors call B, after a fresh collation of the same, as well as of the *Book of Cerne* and the *Book of Nunnaminster.*

The present edition is a transcript from No. 7.

We find the name *Lorica* applied to several hymns, or prayers in verse, for protection in dangers of any kind—"Schutzgebete," as they are called by Bellesheim. But it seems natural to infer that the name at first arose from this very Hymn that is ascribed to Gildas. In the MS. from which Mone printed it, in his *Hymni Latini Medii Aevi*, and Zimmer in *Nennius Vindicatus* (1893), as well as Daniel's MS. for his edition of it, in *Thesaurus Hymn.* iv, 364, there appears the short suggestive title, "Hymn of the Lorica" (*Hymnum Loricae*).[1] The reason is evident from vv. 57, 61; God, in the former, is asked to be, for him that prays, a breast-plate, or cuirass, or corslet, and the words "with the strong lorica," of the latter verse, are understood in every petition of the fifteen succeeding couplets beginning with "cover" (*tege*). At that time, therefore, the Hymn itself is not called a *Lorica.* The preface to the Lorica of St. Patrick, as it is called on p. 381 of the *Tripartite Life*,[2] is thus translated: "Patrick made this Hymn. In the time of Loegaire MacNeill it was made.

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[1] The MS. of which Daniel used a transcript seems to resemble that of Mone very closely all through. Daniel prints *Hymnum Lyrice;* but the true reading is given by Zimmer, *Hymnum Luricae*, where, as often, $u=o$.

[2] See also the Preface and the Lorica in English, in *Irish Liber Hymnorum*, ii, p. 49 (notes on p. 209); its first lines bear some resemblance to that of Gildas:

"I arise to-day:
vast night, invocation of the Trinity,—
belief in a Threeness
confession of Oneness
meeting in the Creator (?)."

Lines 11-20 may also be compared with the invocatory lines of Gildas:—

"I arise to-day:
might of grades of Cherubim
in obedience of Angels
[in ministration of archangels]
in hope of resurrection for the sake of reward
in prayers of Patriarchs
in prophecies of Prophets
in preachings of Apostles,
in faiths of confessors
in innocence of holy virgins
in deeds of righteous men."

And the cause of its composition was to protect himself, with his monks, against the deadly enemies that lay in ambush for the clerics. And this is a *lorica of faith* for the protection of body and soul against demons and human beings and vices. When any person shall recite it daily with pious meditation on God, demons shall not dare to face him; it shall be a safeguard to him against all poison and envy; it shall be a guard to him against sudden death; it shall be a *Lorica* for his soul after his decease. . . . And 'Deer's Cry' is its name." The account of the deer incident, which is the foundation for this explanation of the name *Faed Fiada*, is found on p. 48; but another interpretation is also proposed, based on the fact that the MSS. read not *faed* but *fáeth*, and that "*feth fiada* was a *spell* peculiar to druids and poets, who by pronouncing certain verses made themselves invisible"; the Irish title of this noted Lorica, in this way, arose from the use of the Hymn "as a charm or incantation to secure invisibility." Here again, though the hymn of prayer for protection is said *to be* a cuirass or corslet, a *lorica* (*lurech*, cf. Welsh *llurig*), yet the latter word is no name for it; nevertheless, at the time when the earlier Prefaces to Gildas' Hymn printed below were written, it had become the ordinary appellation for it and for similar prayers, almost, it may be added, with the constant implication of a charm or incantation.

Other specimens of this kind of Hymns, called *Loricae*, are given in the *Irish Liber Hymnorum*, such as the Hymn Sen Dé of St. Colman mac Ui Cluasaig, written, as is supposed, at the beginning of the "Yellow Plague," which spread over Ireland during the later years of the seventh century. Others also are mentioned by Mone; some are unpublished; a translation of a portion of one such, by Mr. E. J. Gwynn, is given on p. 210 of the *Liber Hymnorum*, which will certainly be helpful for comparison with our Lorica:

> "God be with me against every sorrow, even the One noble Three,
> The Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit!
>
> . . . . . . .
>
> The Trinity be my protection against swarms of plagues,
> Against sudden death, against terror, against treacheries of marauders!
> May high Jesus keep me against the Red Plague!
> Against demons of all times, the Son of God is my shield,
> Against disease, against hurts, against thunder, against fire.
>
> . . . . . . .
>
> Every chaste disciple who was tortured for Christ,
> Every meek, every gentle, every candid, every pure person,
> Every confessor, every soldier, who happens to live under the sun,

. . . . . . .

31 May they protect me henceforth from the demons of the mist,

. . . . . . .

36 May I be under the hand of God in every danger." [1]

But a fragment, without any title whatever, has come to light lately, which, in some respects, bears a far closer resemblance to the *Lorica of Gildas* than any known before. It was published, with valuable comments, by Dr. V. H. Friedel in the *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*, Band ii, 1 s., 64 ff. (1898), from a Leyden MS., under the title *La Lorica de Leyde*. This valuable piece of Celtic Latinity has, certainly, remarkable points of similarity when compared with our *Lorica*, chiefly in the detailed enumeration of parts of the human body expressed in very rude Latin terms, of the origin of which, and the meaning, in fact, it is extremely difficult to give account. Several of these are common to the two Hymns, and, as we shall note presently, to other fragments and writings acknowledged to be of Celtic origin and character. In addition to this, the style of invocation has a partial resemblance to that of Gildas, with a notable difference: there are the same invocations addressed to angelic hosts, patriarchs, confessors, apostles and martyrs, but the invocation of the Trinity, found in Gildas' *Lorica* and found in other *Loricae*, is wanting. I am strongly inclined to believe that the Leyden piece is not a *Lorica* in the true sense, that is as a prayer for protection; it repeats two petitions only, first, that the body in all its members be *searched;* secondly, that heavenly powers and saints *cleanse* the heart of him (or her, n.b. *illam*) who makes use of the prayer. There is here no idea that we connect with a *Lorica*. The direction, however, given in the first line for the recitation or reading of *Psalm* 101 (102 of the English or Welsh version) may imply that the Psalm itself is the *Lorica*,[2] while the fragment is the prayer of a penitent. The reasons for printing *The Lorica of Leyden* here will at once become evident on comparison of it with Gildas' Hymn.

[THE LORICA OF LEYDEN.]

DOMINE EXAUDI, usque in finem.
Descendat meus amor super illam,
eascrutentur om*n*ia membra illius p*ro* amore meo. Æascrutentur omnia membra
illius pro amore meo. A vertice capitis

[1] Cf. vol. ii, pp. 208-212, *Irish Liber Hymnorum.*

[2] Especially such words as those of vv. 2-11, 23, 24, etc., of the Psalm.

usque ad plantas pedum : Capillos, cute*m* :
verticem, frontem: tergum, crebrum ;
oculos, palpebras, nares ; genas, aures,
labia, dentes, gignas, facies, linguam:
oraculum atq*ue* sublinguam, maxillas, gutore*m*,
atque anelam, digitos, linguas, pectusculum,
humeru*m*, salinam, cervicem, scabulos,
prachia, ungulas, manus, pugnos,
pugillis, palmas, cor, iacor, pulmonem (?)
stomachu*m*, effare, chidripem, intesq*ui*na,
et omnem uentrem, dorsu*m*, latera, cutis
umbiculum *et* omnem uulgam, compaginem,
artus, uenas, carnes, exitus cibos, medullas
intestinas uentris, neruos, uires *et*
uirilies, posteriora, unges, adipes, pernas,
femorum, genuas, tibias, orula, surras
*et* cruras, pedes, calcina, palantas, digitos,
ungulas, sanginem *et* omnia membra illius.
Euacuat *Deus* cor N. p*ro* amore meo N.
Adiuro uos omnes, archangeli ut euacuatis
cor illius p*ro* amore meo. Euacuat Gabriel cor N. p*ro* a*more* (meo):
Æuacuat Mihael cor N. p*ro* am*ore* (meo). Æuacuat Raphiel,
æuacuat Uriæl, æuacuat Sariæl, æuacuat Panahiæl.
Adiuro uos angeli, archangeli, patriarch*e*, confessores,
apostolos, martires, ut æuacuatis cor N. p*ro* amore meo.
Adiuro uos throni, dominationis, chiruphin
*et* se*r*aphin ut euacuatis cor N. p*ro* amore meo.
Adiuro uos martires ut euacuatis cor N. pro amore (meo).
Adiuro uos om*n*es virgines *et* uidue, adiuro uos *sancti*,
adiuro uos omnes virtutes celestes ut euacuatis cor N.,
adiuro uos cælu*m* *et* terram *et* solem et lunam et
om*n*es stellas, fulgora *et* nubes *et* ventos *et*
pluuias *et* ignis *et* calorem ut euacuatis cor N. p*ro* amo*re* (meo).
Adiuro uos noctes *et* dies, tenebre et luna ut euacuat*is*,
adiuro uos ligna om*n*ia *et* lapides et onore et mom*en*ta
ut euacuatis cor N. p*ro* amore meo.
Adiuro uos uolucres coeli et o*m*nes bestiae agri,
et iume*n*ta et reptilia ut uac*uatis* cor N. p*ro* amore meo.
Adiuro uos pisces maris *et* o*m*nes uermes,
terre et o*m*nes virtutes *et* potestates,
que s*uper* caelum *et* terram sub celo *et* terra,
*et* sub mare s*un*t ut euac*uatis* cor (N.) p*ro* amore (meo).
Adiuro uos Petri *et* Pauli et reliq*ua* o*mni*u*m* s*anct*o*rum*
ut euac*uatis* cor p*ro* amore meo. Adiuro uos,
Matheus, Marcus, Lucas et Johannes
ut euacuatis cor N. p*ro* amore meo.

Comments on the Latinity and matter of this fragment will find their more appropriate place hereafter.

To me, as I read our *Lorica*, one special difficulty presents itself with great force, which seems to militate against a date so early as the middle of the sixth century for its composition. Ideas and usages have had their periods of development in the long history of the Church ; and in connection with this gradual growth, the branch called History of Doctrine has always something to tell us. Now, in the *Lorica of Gildas* we find all the so-called " nine grades " of heavenly powers invoked save one ; invocation of all save one (a different power) will be found in the *Leyden Lorica* also ; between them we have the whole nine. The *Lorica of Gildas*, according to the text of the *Leabhar Breac*, expressly mentions the *novem ordines sanctorum angelorum*, vv. 55, 56, but these two lines are omitted in all the five other MSS. known, which leads us to suspect a late addition here at least ; the same is true of the previous mention of *gradus angelorum*, vv. 29, 30, 31, 32, so that the same suspicion also attaches to those verses. Yet the names of the eight grades mentioned are entwined in the structure of the Hymn throughout eleven lines of the First Part (vv. 13-24), and therefore it must have been common in Britain, sometime about 540-550, for men to invoke angelic powers and saints in prayer ; for the saints also are here in the usual order—patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, virgins, *viduae*, confessors. In contrast with this definite detailed enumeration, we place the fact that no Western writer previous to Gregory the Great had written about the nine grades of angels,[1] or with any fulness, as he, of the intercessory powers of the saintly dead.[2] Of course, one sees the usage of prayers *for* the dead, and prayers addressed *to* those who had been conspicuous for sanctity or fortitude in suffering, becoming common during the fourth century. Christian poetry became a strong propagator of the idea ; Ambrose of Milan had introduced the angels as objects of invocation : " obsecrandi sunt angeli pro nobis, qui nobis ad praesidium dati sunt, martyres obsecrandi," etc., *De Viduis*, 9. Yet, until the Greek mysticism of the writings of Dionysius had become known in the great Monophysite controversy of the fifth century, we do not find the

Novem vero angelorum ordines diximus ; quia videlicet esse, testante sacro eloquio, scimus angelos, archangelos, virtutes, potestates, principatus, dominationes, thronos, cherubim atque seraphim.—*Homil. Lib. ii*, *Hom.* xxxiv, 7.

[2] Adsunt defensores nostri sancti martyres, rogari volunt, atque, ut ita dixerim, quaerunt ut quaerantur. Hos ergo adiutores vestrae orationis quaerite : hos protectores vestri reatus invenite.—*Homil. Lib. ii*, *Hom.* xxxii, 9.

definiteness exhibited in this Hymn, nor do we find it in the Western Church until the writings of Gregory the Great became the leading and guiding books of early mediaeval times. It may be that Gregory, in these matters, was accepting what had already become a pious and popular belief; still, it is in his writings that we first know in Latin of the nine orders of angels, that is to say, angels, archangels, powers, potencies, principalities, dominions, thrones, cherubim and seraphim. If his *Homilies* belong to *c.* 600, could the *Lorica*, with its grades of angels, archangels, powers, etc., have been written about 540? Ought it not rather be brought down to the time of Laidcenn, that is, to about 660? Let us put this difficulty aside for a while.

The *Lorica of Gildas* was composed, as we see from vv. 5, 6, during a year of pestilence which had many victims (*mortalitas huius anni*). If we accept the tradition that ascribes the authorship of the Hymn to Gildas himself, or, as Zimmer frequently expresses it, to "die südwestbrittanische Litteratursphäre," we may fix upon 540-550 as an approximate date. In 547, according to the *Annales Cambriae*,[1] there was a great mortality, in which Maelgwn, king of Gwynedd, died; of this plague the Life of Teilo, in the *Book of Llandaf*,[2] gives a somewhat lengthy account, mentioning also the death of Maelgwn. It is about the same time, though Dr. Stokes does not venture to append a date, that the Irish *Annals of Tigernach*[3] record "a great mortality which is called 'blefed'"; and in the *Annals of Ulster*[4] we have the notice under A.D. 544: "The first mortality (*mortalitas prima*) which is called 'blefed,' in which Mohi Clarainech died;" the *Chronicon Scotorum* affixes the date 541. It seems safe, therefore, to conclude that a dreadful plague raged over these islands during one or more of the years between 540 and 550, at which time this Hymn *may* have been composed by Gildas.

There is no record of any other pestilence in the *Annales Cambriae* until 682, "in which Cadwaladr the son of Cadwallawn died." In Ireland, however, the *Annals* make frequent mention of a great mortality which began "on the Kalends of August," the year

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[1] "547 Mortalitas magna in qua pausat Mailcun rex Guenedotae." From the Annals, as published by Mr. Egerton Phillimore in the *Cymmrodor*, ix, pp. 152-169.

[2] *Book of Landâv* (Gwenogvryn Evans), p. 107; a similar account also in *Life of Oudoceus*, p. 131.

[3] Edited by Dr. Stokes in *Revue Celtique*, 1896, p. 137.

[4] Rolls Series, vol. i, p. 48.

varying between 640 of the *Chronicon Scotorum* and 663 of the *Annals of Ulster* and *Annals of the Four Masters*.[1] Now, the date of Laidcenn's death is given as 660, so that, if the *mortalitas huius anni* means the pestilence of one of these years in the seventh century, Laidcenn may have seen the beginning of it, and the *Lorica* would, naturally, be regarded as his. It could not be a Hymn by Gildas. The subscription in Mone's *MS.* (K) of the ninth century ascribes its composition to Laidcenn ; the *Cerne MS.* (C), also of the ninth century, in its Preface[2] says that "Loding sang this *Lorica* three times a day ;" the oldest MS. (N), the *Book of Nunnaminster*, which belongs to the eighth century, somewhat remarkably, says that "Lodgen *appointed* (*constituit*) this *Lorica* (for use ?) in the year of danger, and it is said the virtue of it is great if sung three times a day." Neither C nor N seems to assign the authorship to Laidcenn. *Constituit*, which in ecclesiastical language is so frequently equivalent to *ordinare*, can scarcely be regarded as implying that "Lodgen" composed the Hymn, and agrees well with what the Preface of the *Leabhar Breac* (B) attributes to him, if, as is probable, he be the same person as Laidcenn. The Preface of K, a ninth-century MS., therefore remains in disagreement with the preface of B, a MS. not older than the fourteenth century. The former assigns it to "Lathacan the Irishman," the latter to Gillas, or Gildas, the Welshman ; but it also mentions the Irishman as performing a work analogous to that of *constituit* in the oldest MS., that is to say, he comes from Gildas to Ireland, and places the *Lorica* for use on the altar of St. Patrick, "to make us safe." From the agreement of these two we may safely gather that the *Lorica became known* in Ireland, and even in English monasteries, through Laidcenn ; but the Preface printed below from the *Leabhar Breac* may be considerably older than the MS. which contains it, though certainly not so old as the Hymn itself, whether the authorship be ascribed to Gildas or to Laidcenn. The Preface suggests also, when thus regarded, that an early Irish tradition connected the origin of the Hymn with Wales, and, naturally with Gildas, the leading representative of the Church of Wales as known to Irishmen. Here the

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[1] Dr. Stokes, on p. 119 (*Rev. Celt.*), remarks : "It will be seen that the Annalists seldom agree in their dates, and it is certain that many, perhaps most, of these dates are erroneous ; but the amount of error in each case is not important." The *Annals of Ulster* are said by O'Donovan (*Four Masters*, I, xlviii) to be antedated by one year up to 1014. Dr. MacCarthy asserts that from A.D. 494 to 1019 the date of every item in the *Annals of Four Masters* is wrong.

[2] For these Prefaces, etc., see p. 304 ; also note on p. 303.

*Annals*, in their records of the plagues, compel us to choose one of two dates : either the first half of the sixth century, or the early sixties of the seventh ; *mortalitas huius anni* agrees equally with both ; and if we choose the earlier date, Gildas may have been the author ; but if the later date be fixed upon, the concurrence of four MSS. seems to ascribe the authorship to Laidcenn. Nevertheless, though certain definite characteristics of the Hymn are strongly suggestive of a date later than 540-550, we may still maintain that the Irish mention of Gildas implies a Welsh origin of the *Lorica*, it being probably the work of some Welsh monk or cleric.[1] The earlier date, as well as British authorship, is strongly supported—not to mention other names—by Zimmer in *Nennius Vindicatus*, the later and probable Irish authorship, by Thurneysen in a review of that book which appeared in *Zeitschrift für Deutsche Philologie*, Bd. 28, s. 111. But now the investigation of this question involves the consideration of documents not hitherto mentioned, of which I shall give a brief account.

1. Between 1828 and 1838, Cardinal Mai published at Rome a number of documents under the title *Auctores Classici (et Patres) e Vaticanis codd. ed.* (ten vols.), in vol. v of which, pp. 479-500, there appears a short work which bears the name *Hisperica Famina*. This production is now more accessible in Migne's *P. L.*, tome xc, 1186. It received closer notice and investigation as to its character and origin in the *Archiv. für lat. Lexicographie*, Bände ii, iii, iv, by Geyer, Thurneysen and Stowasser, and at great length by Zimmer in the Appendix to *Nennius Vindicatus*.[2] Dr. Zimmer has also treated of it in another contribution, to be noted under the second head.

2. Mone, in 1851, printed certain glosses contained in the so-called Luxemburg Fragment (*MS. Luxemb.*, 89) in his work *Die Gallische Sprache und ihre Brauchbarkeit;* these have been printed and explained

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[1] The close intercourse between Wales and Ireland, of which we find ample evidence in the early *Vitae*, is shown to be still maintained at the end of the eleventh century, by the poem which was composed by Ieuan in honour of his father Sulyen, Bishop of St. David's, whose other son, Rychmarch, became also Bishop of the same see (*Bruts*, p. 293 ; G. Evans's edition). Of Sulgenus the son says :—

"Exemplo patrum, commotus [a]more legendi,
Ivit ad Hibernos sophia mirabile claros."

"After the example of our fathers, drawn by love of reading,
He repaired to the Irish, renowned for their wondrous wisdom."
Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, i, p. 665.

[2] My opportunity to consult the *Archiv.* and some other rare books, without travelling far, I owe to the kind and ready courtesy of the Librarian of University College, Liverpool.

as "Old-Welsh Glosses" in Zeuss's *Grammatica Celtica.* They were also printed with notes by Dr. John Rhys, in vol. i of *Revue Celtique*, and afterwards with fresh notes in vol. xiii of the same Review. Following a hint given in vol. v of the *Collected Papers* of the late Mr. Henry Bradshaw, and a notice in vol. v of the *Revue Celtique*, by M. J. Loth, in reference to "Le Manuscrit Latin 11411, de la Bibliothèque Nationale," which he said contained (on feuillets 100, 101, et 102) some British glosses, Zimmer has succeeded in proving that the leaves referred to belong to the same book as the Luxemburg Fragment. The whole, with a most elaborate discussion of their contents, have been published by him in the *Nachrichten von der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, 1895, Heft 2. Another important contribution relative to this Fragment and the *Hisperica Famina* will be found in Mr. Bradshaw's *Collected Papers*, mentioned above, Appendix, p. 453: *An Account of Investigations among early Welsh, Breton, and Cornish Manuscripts*, 1872-77 (n.b. pp. 463 ff.).

3. The St. Omer MS. This contains a piece of Christian poetry, each strophe of which begins with the same letter of the alphabet. A notice of it by Thurneysen appears in vol. xi of the *Revue Celtique.*

These three pieces, the *Hisperica Famina*, the Luxemburg Fragment, and the Hymn of St. Omer, have certain peculiarities of Latinity in common: peculiarities also that are very evident in the *Lorica of Gildas.* From such a striking fact it is not strange that a common source of origin has been concluded for the four compositions. There is general agreement that they are Celtic; but then follows the difficult question — Are they British or Irish? Another fact that has a bearing of no small importance upon the question is this: the Luxemburg Fragment and the St. Omer Hymn exhibit a great number of glosses, many in Latin but a good number in Old-Welsh, as explained by Rhys, Zimmer, and Thurneysen. It should be added that Mr. Bradshaw, in the Appendix referred to above, regards the glosses in the Luxemburg Fragment as Armorican; so also does Dr. Stokes in vol. iv of the *Revue Celtique*, though, when he published this *Lorica* from the *Leabhar Breac* he pronounced them to be Old-Welsh. But it might be well to quote a few suggestive verses, for which purpose I use Zimmer's text in the *Nachrichten.* The interlineal glosses are printed in italics, along with certain words in the text.

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *membra* | *rocredihot* | *creithi* | *cronion* | *capita* | *riglion* | *multit(udo)* |
| *pernas* | uigricat | ulcera | assiles | *gugras* | garrulis | turm(a) |

Also

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *undis* | *euonoc* | *mare* | *blinion* | *humidis* | *abscondi(t)* |
| limphis | spumaticus | pontus; | Inertes | liquidis | abdit |
| *progenies* | *nicedlestneniom* | | *humane* | *pacificatis* | *progenies* |
| indolis | tabe . | Ufedis | *gibrose* | pacatis | genimina |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *homines* | *natrolion* | *imrogalou* | *diabolus* | *bella* | *a quibus* | |
| *gibras* | regulosis | orgiis | *dusmus* | bellicamina | *qui*(*s*) | |
| *uita* | *paruus* | *boítolion* | *eusinion* | *toruisiolion* | *gurpait* | *letitiam* |
| mansia | migrus | esciferis | senis | fidis | furam | uerniam |

Also

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *or* | *revelat* | *ascrunoı* | *dentium* | *nim* | *optimu* |
| forcipe | *palat* et | ossilem | *sennarum* | serieum | escimius |

Good and conclusive reasons are given for regarding this Luxemburg Fragment as having formerly belonged to Echternach, a monastery founded by Willibrord, the Apostle of the Netherlands († 738), in the eighth century,[1] whither it may, very probably, have come from Fleury, in Brittany. But the glosses have been transcribed in the MS. by a scribe who did not understand the Celtic tongue in which they were written at the first; yet one might reasonably conclude that the original writer of the barbarous Latin and the glossator would be one and the same writer, a man of Britain (or of Brittany?).

When we consider the marked characteristics of these documents, the area for comparison widens; they consist of a number of words and phrases noticeable for their persistent frequency. The Latin throughout presents, in exaggerated form, that affected rhetorical pompous style which seems to have flourished in the sixth century, thrusting itself, as Le Blanc observes, even into monumental inscriptions of the time in Gaul, but particularly observable in British and Irish writings. The *Hisperica Famina* seems to be a kind of Latin school-book for use in a monastery; a few short quotations will show its character, and introduce also some of the words to which allusion has been made. These I have italicised; see also the previous extracts:—

> "Non ausonica me subligat catena?
> Ob hoc scottigenum haud cripitundo eulogium."
>
> "Does not the Ausonian chain bind me?
> Wherefore I give no jarring sound in Irish speech."

The first line, thus punctuated, means: "Don't I speak good Latin?"

> "Farriosas *sennosis* motibus corrosimus crustellas,
> quibus lita scottigeni pululavit conditura olei."
>
> "We gnawed the mealy cakes with the motions of our teeth,
> from which flowed the o'erspread sauce of Irish fat."

[1] Cf. *Hauck Kirchengesch. Deutschlands*, i, 396-400. On Fleury, see Zimmer and Bradshaw in the works mentioned above.

I quote these verses because it is strongly maintained by Dr. Zimmer that a writer, while priding himself on good Latin (*Ausonicus* in the Luxemburg Fragment is glossed *italicus*), could not make derogatory references to Irish Latin, or Irish butter; on the other hand they led the first editor, and have led, since, several others to conclude that the *Hisperica Famina* must be the production of some Irish monk. The latter view certainly appears the more probable; the man seems to be playfully poking fun at himself as an Irishman, and at his country's products. The next line should be added:

> "Carniferas prensis dentibus ruminavimus *pernas*."
>
> "We pressed our teeth and chewed the fleshy joints."

And two more:

> "seu spumaticum bombosi *tithis* flustrum
> inertes oppressit naufragio remiges?"
>
> "Or hath the foamy flood of the raging sea
> overwhelmed the weary rowers in shipwreck?"

I now add a list of single words which are peculiar to the three documents named, and partly to (our so-called) Gildas' *Lorica*, or his *De Excidio*.

*Famen* (pl. *famina*), in the sense of *word*, though I believe not found in Gildas, occurs several times in the Irish Hymns, and is employed by Ieuan, the son of Sulyen the Wise: "post tantum populorum *famine* famam" (*H. and S.*, i, 666). We find it also in Saxon circles, as in the *Epp. Bonifacii et Sulli*, pp. 245, 429, etc.

*Tithis*, as a term for the sea, is seen in the above extract. But besides these documents, the note on p. 44 of the *De Excidio* will show that it, as well as the adjective *tithicus*, ranges over Irish, Welsh, and Armorican writings. But far more peculiar are the following, of which we know the meaning only from the glosses.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *conae* | eyes | *idumae* | hands |
| *carsum* | breast | *palham* | forehead |
| *cladum* | neck | *palare* | to reveal |
| *gibra* | man | *senae*, or *sennae*, | teeth |
| *gibrosus*, *gibriosus* | humanus | *sennosus* | with teeth |
| *gigra*, *gygra* | head; gl. *copa*, *Cleop.*, fol. 45*b*. | *toles* | members |

Taking the documents together, we are struck by the frequency with which these strange words occur. A Hebrew or Semitic original has been sought for most of them, though, on closer enquiry, one is tempted to abandon this as suspicious. There may have been reasons, nevertheless, for the employment of words that

sounded mystical. But I may refer the reader to the notes on pp. 306-308.

Greek words also, in rude Latin transcription, appear in all, such as, *somata* (σώματα), *troni* (θρόνοι), *pe pompo* (πέπομπα), *migrus* (μικρός), *pantes*, *pantia* (πάντες, πάντα), *basium*, *basibus* (βάσεων, βάσεσιν), *pelta* (πέλτη), *cephale* (κεφαλήν) as neuter, *bathma* (βαθμοί); such terms as *anthletas* or *anathletas*, *agonetetas*, *proretas*, would be familiar from the service of the Church, continued for several centuries in South Gaul[1] in that language, and, as we have good reason to believe, by Gildas himself in Wales.

Some common peculiarities cannot be regarded as "Hisperic Latin," such as neuter plurals of the second and third declensions treated as if they were feminines, e.g., *cruras*, as if from *crura* instead of *crus*, and *seniam* from the neut. pl. *senia*, treated as fem. singular: copious instances of such forms will be found in the Critical Notes to the Oxford edition of the Vulgate. Rönsch's pages also plainly show us that this is not peculiar to Celtic Latinity (*Itala u. Vulgata*, 259, 269: *Coll. Phil.*, Codex D, 130). Codex D, for example, has regularly *retia*, *retiae*, *retiam*, etc., as though *retia* were fem. singular. This usage is peculiar to the time when vulgar Latin was abandoning the use of the neuter gender. Nor can an argument be built on the occurrence of rare nouns in *-men* in these documents *and* in Gildas, such as *peccamen*, though "in the Celtic languages, both Old-Irish and British dialects, only *peccatum* (*pechod*) has survived as loanword;" about thirty such forms are given by Rönsch from various sources—Tertullian, Arnobius, Augustine, etc. One feels that Zimmer makes a strong case in his list of words found to be common to Gildas and these documents with their Hisperic Latin; yet of some of these we may at once quote parallels, such as, *cespis*, *telluris* of the Luxemb. Glosses, and *in nostro cespite* of Gildas (c. 23; also c. 6) with which we compare *ibi cespite terra fecundo* of Jerome, *Ep.* 14, 1: *placor*, another word mentioned as occurring in *Hisperica Famina* and Gildas, occurs twice in the Latin O.T., Sirach iv, 13, and xxxix, 23.

I am, I hope, adequately conscious how much is left out or imperfectly stated in the above brief account,[2] yet I can but feel the justice of Thurneysen's criticism, that the field is far too narrow

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[1] Caspari, *Quellen*, i, 240 ff.; *ibid.*, ii, *Excursus*, 466 ff., 474 ff.

[2] I have made no reference to the early Anglo-Saxon glosses, nor to the presence of the *Lorica* in English monasteries, because it might have come thither from either direction, from British or Irish communities.

and inadequate to warrant the conclusion that these productions are to be pronounced as belonging to a sixth-century British literary activity that began with Illtud in South Wales. Zimmer's contention, in *Nennius Vindicatus* (s. 311), and in the *Göttingen Nachrichten*, that the Latin is quite unlike the Latin of Irish writers of the seventh century, Columbanus of Bobbio, Gallus, etc., seems perfectly just and cogent; but, on the other hand, there remains to be considered the not-infrequent instances of similarity, as to matter and language, to the Irish Hymns and to the *Lorica of Leyden;* even the strange word *iduma*, meaning "hand," appears in the *Altus Prosator*, v. 70,

"Suffultus dei iduma omnipotentis ualida,"

as well as *dodrans*, *tithis*, also Gildasian rare words, *barathrum*, *ergastulum*, and substantives ending in *-men*.

Here we may recur to what was said above respecting the content of the *Lorica of Gildas*: mention of grades and angels and angelic powers would hardly be forthcoming in Latin before the time of Gregory the Great—that is, until after A.D. 600—but this Hymn reveals the idea in a highly developed form; so also do the Irish Hymns dating from the second half of the seventh century, especially those having the character of *loricae*. May we not conclude that our *Lorica* is a production of that time, but yet have its origin in a country related both to Brittany and to Ireland? Gildas is the only writer that would furnish a name representative of this relation; and when we examine the four notices, contained in three Prefaces and a colophon, somewhat closely, the information they furnish us may be presented as follows: Of the four documents, the earliest of all says that Laidcenn *ordained* or *appointed* (*constituit*) it to be used; another simply relates that he was in the habit of singing it; but a third asserts that Gildas composed, and Laidcenn brought it over to Ireland for public use.[1] It seems not rash to believe that it is the work of some unknown writer, who, late in the seventh century belonged to that South-Wales-British circle where Gildas's name was pre-eminent, and, therefore, is not of the time of Gildas himself, nor by him. Yet it claims place and notice in this volume.

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[1] In reference to the implication conveyed by *constituit* and the action of Laidcenn, according to the Preface in B, we may note that the *Book of Armagh* sets down the recitation of *St. Patrick's Lorica* in the Liturgy, as the fourth honour due to him throughout all the churches and monasteries of Ireland: its recitation was regarded as very efficacious.

## Lorica Gildae.

Gillus hanc loricam fecit[1] ad demones expellendos eos qui adversaverunt illi . Perv(enit) angelus ad illum, et dixit illi angelus : Si quis homo frequentaverit illam addetur ei secret(um) septimm annis, et tertia pars peccatorum delebitur . In quacunque die cantaverit hanc orationem . . . . es, homines vel demones, et inimici non possunt nocere ; et mors in illo die non tangit. Laidcend mac Búith Bannaig venit ab eo in insolam Hiberniam ; transtulit et portavit super altare sancti Patricii episcopi, sa[l]vos nos facere, amen. Metrum undecasillabum quod et bracicatalecticon dicitur quod undecem sillabis constat ; sic scanditur.[2]

Suffragare trinitatis unitas,
  unitatis miserere trinitas ;
Suffragare, quaeso, mihi possito
  magni maris velut in periculo,
ut non secum trahat me mortalitas
  huius anni, neque mundi vanitas.
Et hoc idem peto a sublimibus
  celestis milite[3] virtutibus,
ne me linquant lacerandum hostibus,
  sed defendant me iam armis fortibus ;
Ut me illi praecedant in acie
  celestis exercitus militie,[4]
Cerubin et cerupihin cum milibus
  Gabrihel et Michael cum similibus.

---

[1] (*a*) Preface in *Book of Nunnaminster*, N, (*Harl.* 2965 Brit. Mus.), eighth century, Hanc luricam Lodgen in anno periculoso consituit ; et alii dicunt quod magna sit virtus eius, si ter in di can(tatur) : Lodgen appointed this Lorica (to be used) in the year of peril ; others say that its power is great if it is sung three times a day.

(*b*) Colophon in Mone and Zimmer's MS. K, ninth century, Explicit Hymnus quem Lathacan scotigena fecit : End of the Hymn which Lathacan the Irishman composed.

(*c*) Preface in *Book of Cerne*, C. Univ. Libr., Cambridge (LL. i, 10), ninth century, Hanc luricam Loding cantavit ter in omni die : This Lorica Loding sang three times a day. On the Anglo-Saxon glosses cf. Sweet, *The Oldest English Texts*, p. 171.

Compare with these a part of the Preface B to the Hymn *Altus Prosator:* " Many are the benefits of this Hymn : whoever sings it frequently, there shall never happen to him what he fears by the persecution of enemies and from demons ; and the devil (*diabulus*) shall not know of his death : and it shall free him from all manner of death . . . . " (*Irish Lib. Hymn.*, i, p. 64).

As to *Lurica* for *Lorica*, we may compare *supore* for *sopore*, *lucis* for *locis*, and the frequent *diabulus* for *diabolus* (*vide* p. 309). It was in this form that the word came into Welsh, cf. *lluricogion* (*llurigog*) in *Black Book of Carm.*

## The Lorica of Gildas.

Gildas composed this lorica to drive away those demons which attacked him. To him an angel came, and the angel said to him : If any man repeats that lorica often, there shall be added a seven years' portion to his life, and the third part of his sins shall be blotted out. Whatever day he recites this prayer . . . men or demons, and enemies can do him no injury ; death on that day touches him not. Laidcend, son of Búith the Victorious, came from him to the island of Ireland ; he brought over and carried it to be placed on the altar of St. Patrick, bishop, to make us safe. Amen. The metre is of eleven syllables, which is also called *bracicatalecticon*, because it consists of eleven syllables ; the scansion is so.

Help unity of trinity,
  have pity trinity of unity ;
Help me, I pray, thus placed
  as in the peril of a great sea,
So that the plague of this year
  draw me not with it, nor the vanity of the world.
And this very petition I make unto the high
  powers of the heavenly warfare,
that they leave me not to be harried by enemies,
  but defend me with their strong armour ;
that, before me in the battle, go
  those armies of the heavenly warfare,
Cherubim and Seraphim with their thousands,
  Gabriel and Michael with like ones.

---

[2] The best account of the metre of this Hymn is found in *The Irish Liber Hymnorum* (H. Bradshaw Society), vol. ii, p. xxi. Elision, as in other Latin Hymns by Irish writers, is not observed, and quantity is often ignored. "The metre is trochaic trimeter catalectic, and the formula is 2 (6 and 5). In every pair of lines there is a cretic jingle of assonance (trisyllabic)."

[3] *Milite :* the metre requires *militie* (=*militiae*) as in N, K, C. These powers are the nine grades of angelic powers : owing to the needs of metre they are thrown out of the usual order (see p. 295). Readers of Welsh will be interested to note how these appear in *Llyvyr Agkyr :* "Naw radd a ddyweit yr Ysgrythur Lan y bot o'r egylyonn, nyt amgen : Engylyon, archegylyon, cadeiryeu (thronau), arglwyddiaetheu, tywyssogaetheu, meddyanneu, nerthoedd, cherubin, seraphin."* The Aramaic ending cherub*in* is observed in all the MSS. except K, which has seraphim ; the Welsh gives the same.

[4] *Militie* ; the rhyme *acie : militie* shows that both *c* and *t* have the sibilant sound.

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* *Elucidarium* ed. by J. M. Jones, p. 101, slightly modernised.

Opto tronos,[1] virtutes, archangelos,
principatus, potestates, angelos,
ut m(e) denso defendentes agmine
inimicos valent[2] prosternere.
Dum deinde ceteros agonetetas[3]
patriarchas quatuor, quater profetas,
apostolos navis Christi proretas,[4]
et martires omnes peto athletas,[5]
atque adiuro et virgines omnes,
viduas fideles et confessores,
Uti me per illos salus sepiat,
atque omne malum a me pereat.
Christus mecum pactum firmum feriat
cuius tremor tetras turbas terreat.

[6] [Finit primus prologus graduum angelorum et patriarcharum apostolorum et martirum cum Christo.

Incipit prologus secundus de cunctis membris corporis usque ad genua.[7]]

Deus inpenetrabilis tutela
undique me defende potentia;
Mee gibre[8] pernas omnes libera
tuta pelta protegente singula,

---

[1] *Tronos*, *virtutes*, K reads *thronos*: *t* and *th* had the same sound. K and the other MSS. read *viventes* for *virtutes*: this, however, reduces the names of grades by one. A strange (Celtic ?) accusative appears in the *Leyden Lorica* (p. 294), in supplicatory clauses.

[2] *Valent*: the metre requires *valeant*.

[3] *Agonetetas* = *agonŏthetas* (ἀγωνοθέτας): *deinde* is probably of three syllables (see v. 57); then this last word has one syllable in excess. The other MSS. have *agonithetas*.

[4] *Proretas* for πρῳράτας, the men on the look-out on board a ship: the ship being the church here. An A.-Saxon gloss gives *ancor-man*.

[5] *Athlĕtas* (for ἀθλήτας). Zimmer regards *anthletas* as the original: it is so found in the Luxemb. Fragment (fol. 1 r, 15); C and N have that reading here; K has *anathletas*, which is confirmatory. Gregory of Tours has *accensus*, *succensus* for *accessus*, *successus*, *thensauri* for *thesauri*.

[6] These lines are suspicious for reasons mentioned above (p. 295).

[7] Dr. de Gray Birch gives two interesting specimens of prayers, by way of illustrating the practice of praying for protection for the several parts of the body (*Book of Nunnaminster*, p. 25). But the closest parallel is found in the *Lorica of Leyden* printed above, both as to the elaborate enumeration of parts, and the grammatical forms of names for those parts.

[8] *Mee gibre.* Here, within the compass of eight lines, we have a number of

May thrones, powers, archangels,
principalities, dominions, angels,
defend me with their thick array,
and be strong to overthrow my enemies.
Then also the other arbiters of the strife—
patriarchs four, prophets four,
Apostles, watchmen of the ship of Christ,
And the athlete martyrs all—I ask,
And adjure also all virgins,
faithful widows, and confessors,
that safety compass me by them,
and every evil perish from me.
May Christ make with me a strong covenant,
He whose terror scares away the foul throngs.

[6][The end of the First Prologue, of grades of angels and patriarchs, apostles and martyrs with Christ.

Beginning of the Second Prologue, respecting all parts of the body down to the knees.]

God the unconquerable guardian,
defend me on every side by thy power.
Free Thou all limbs of mine,
with Thy safe shield protecting each,

---

words which seem almost to baffle every effort at explanation. Their meaning was known not only at the time when the Old-Welsh glosses were written in the Luxemburg Fragment, but also at the time of adding the Irish glosses in the *Leabhar Breac*. This may, in fact, be an argument for assigning an earlier date to the matter of that MS. in respect of the *Lorica* than the date of the MS. itself. Drs. Wright and Todd made several suggestions to Dr. Stokes in the direction of assuming a Semitic origin ; this can in no way be unnatural ; the enumeration of parts to be protected begins here, and a mystic quality would be given to the *Lorica* by the employment of Oriental words at the commencement. And yet the words are scattered here and there over the *Hisperica Famina* and Luxemburg Fragment as well-known terms of the Vulgar Latin of the sixth and seventh centuries. We must not forget that the uncouth spelling may hide lost or forgotten Latin and Celtic nouns and verbs, such as *gamba* in v. 68, of which we have other examples. It appears possible to classify the words referred to under the following heads :—

(*a*) Words of plainly Semitic origin : (1) *gibre* ( = *gibrae* or *gybrae*) v. 34, and the adjective *gibriosus* (Luxemb. Frag.), for which the glosses give *homo*, *humanus;* the original may be the Hebrew *geber* or *giber* meaning *man.* (2) *senae* or *sennae* = *teeth*, v. 39, and the adjective *sennosus* (*Hisp. Fam.*) from the Hebrew *shên* or *sen*, meaning *tooth.* (3) *Idumae*, v. 41, from the Hebrew *yedaim :* the word is found here as a double plural, suggesting unpointed

ut non (t)etri demones in latera
mea vibrent ut soleant iacula.[1]
Gigram cephale cum iaris et conas
patham lignam[2] senas atque micenas
cladum carsum mandianum talias
patma exugiam atque binas idumas
meo ergo cum capillis vertici
galea salutis esto capiti
fronti oculis cerebro triformi
rostro labio faciei timpori[3]
mento barbae superciliis auribus
genis bucis internaso[4] naribus
pupillis rotis palpebris tutonibus[5]
gingis[6] anele[7] maxillis faucibus
dentibus lingue ori et guturi
uve gurgulioni et sublingue[8] cervici
capitali centro cartilagini
collo clemens adesto tutamini.

---

Hebrew as its original (*-um* as a Heb. pl. ending = *-im*), just as *cherubims* is often written in ordinary English.

(*b*) Words of which a Semitic origin may be assumed with a measure of probability: (1) *patham*, v. 39; the Hebrew may be *pêah* or *p'ath* (*pâth*), apparently sometimes denoting *temples*; the Syriac *pâthâ* has at times the meaning *forehead*. (2) *Carsum*, v. 40 K reads *charassum*, C N *crassum*; the Irish gloss gives *pectus*; another gloss is *ventrem*; we have also *breost* (breast). The nearest Hebrew is *kares* = *belly*, which occurs once (Jer. li, 34), but is usual in Syriac and cognates. (3) *Cladum* v. 40, K reads *chaladum*, C *cladam*; as the possible original of this word we have the Syriac *gadla* by metathesis; there is in this case no corresponding Hebrew, and the probability is consequently much reduced. (4) *mandianum*, v. 40, C, N, K read *madianium* (cf. *anthletas* in C for *athletas*, v. 22); the Hebrew may be *mothnaim* = *loins*. The word is never used as a singular, and *-um* is thus for Heb. pl. *-im*.

(*c*) Words in which the resemblance to Semitic originals is slight. (1) *gigram* or as C, *gygram*, v. 38; *gugras* is glossated *capita* = *heads* in Luxemb. Frag. The only Hebrew that would answer to the gloss (*skull*) is *golgoleth*; *gargar* = *neck*, is nearer, but then the gloss is against it. (2) *iaris*, v. 38, the Hebrew *sear* or *saar* = *hair*, presents too slight a resemblance. (3) *conae*, v. 38, glossated *eyes* in *Lorica* and Luxemb. Frag., may be from *'ain* or *'ên*, but in such a word ' is never transliterated *g*. (4) *Exugiam*, v. 41, is un-Semitic. (5) *Micenas* might be a Semitic form.

[1] *Vibrent iacula.* In the *De Excidio*, c. 76, we have *librent iacula*, which is also the reading here of C, N, K.

[2] *Liguam*, possibly the same as *linguam.* N reads *liganam*, and so C; the gloss is *tungan.* Cf. Sweet, *Oldest English Texts*, p. 171. But we have the same two again below, v. 50, *dentibus lingue*, though in inverse order.

so that the fell demons brandish not
  against my sides, as is their wont, their darts.
Skull, head, hair and eyes,
  forehead, tongue, teeth and their covering,
neck, breast, side, bowels,
  waist, buttocks and both hands.
For the crown of my head with its hair,
  be Thou the helmet of salvation on the head ;
For forehead, eyes, triform brain,
  nose, lip, face, temple,
For chin, beard, eye-brows, ears,
  cheeks, lower cheeks, internasal, nostrils,
For the pupils, irides, eyelashes, eyelids,
  chin, breathing, cheeks, jaws,
For teeth, tongue, mouth, throat,
  uvula, windpipe, bottom of tongue, nape,
For the middle of the head, for cartilage,
  neck—Thou kind One, be near for defence.

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[3] *Timpori*: tempori C, timpore N, tympori K.

[4] *Internaso* : Dr. Stokes quotes from Aelfric, "internasus, nose-grystle."

[5] *Tutonibus* : C, N, R read *tautonibus ; tautones*, *palpebrae*, given in Isidore, *Etym.*

[6] *Gingis.* The Leyden Lorica (v. 4) has the same word in a slightly different form, *gignas*, but almost in the same connection with other parts of the body as here. Dr. Stokes renders the Irish gloss by "the chins," or, as he understands it, "the double chin" (aux deux mentons, ou, aux mentons). Dr. V. H. Friedel, in the *Zeitschr. für Celt. Philologie*, ii, 1, where the Leyden Lorica is printed, suggests another interesting explanation. In Cormac (9th Cent.) *gin* signifies mouth, and is derived *a gingis* in the sense of "openings" : *gingae*—only in plural—is in this way to be understood of "the two jaws," both of which, by a common error, à toutes les époques, are supposed to open. Allusion is made to certain rare Greek words ; Hesychius, for instance, explains γίγγλυλος as a join in a door or abutment, and "a kind of kiss" (καὶ φιλήματος εἶδος) : the verb γιγγλυμοῦμαι is employed by Hippocrates of limbs, joining, and γιγγλυμωτός by mathematicians of like "joins." The two jaws, if regarded as moving upon hinges, make "openings," and we have *gingis* in a sense differentiated from *maxillis.*

[7] *Anele* (= *ahelae*) : anile C, anale N, but K *anhelae.* The forms *anillus anilus*, *anillae*, are found in Gregory of Tours, with the meaning of breath. Du Cange.

[8] *Sublingue* : Sublinguae C with gloss *bungedrum* : operculum gurgulionis, quasi parva lingua, quae foramen linguae recludit operitve. Isidore, *Etym.*, xi, 59. Isidore writes *sublinguium*, which is glossated *sublingua.*

[1][Obsecro te Domine Iesu Christe propter novem ordines sanctorum angelorum,]

Domine esto Lorica[2] tutisima,
erga membra erga mea viscera,
Ut retundas a me invisibiles
sudum clavos quos fingunt odibiles.
Tege ergo Deus forti loricca[3]
cum scapulis humeros et bracia;
tege ulnas cum cubis[4] et manibus
pugnas palmas digitos cum unginibus -
tege spinas et costas cum artibus
terga dorsum nervos cum ossibus;
tege cutem sanginem[5] cum renibus
catas crinas[6] nates cum femoribus;
tege gambas[7] suras femoralia
cum genuelis poplites et genua
tege talos cum tibiis et calicibus
crura[8] pedes plantarum cum bassibus
tege ramos concrescentes decies
cum mentagris[9] unges binos quinquies
tege pectus ingulum pectusculum[10]
mamillas stomacum et umbilicum
tege ventrem lumbos genitalia
et alvum et cordis et vitalia
tege trifidum iacor et ilia[11]
marcem[12] reniculos fitrem cum obligia

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[1] These lines, as those mentioned previously, appear to be a suspicious later addition.

[2] *Lorica. Lurica*, C, N: *u* for *o* is not rare, *e.g.*, the very common *creatur*, etc., from which came the French *-eur;* also *furmavit*, *turmentum*, *sacerdus*, *veluciter*. For *Domine*, C, K, N have *Deinde*.

[3] *Deus fortis Lurica*, N.

[4] *Cubis*. Aelfric glosses, the sing. *cuba* by *elboga* = elbow.

[5] *Sanginem*. Sangis is the reading of L in Matth. xvi, 17; sanguinem, C, N, K; cf. *unginibus*, v. 63.

[6] *Catas crinas*. Better in C, K *catacrinas*, or N *catacrines*. Aelfric glosses catacrina *hypeban* = hip-bone, which, says Dr. Stokes, comes tolerably near the meaning of the Irish gloss. But *cata* may be the Greek κατὰ, which was very commonly used in the Latin of the sixth century, as equivalent to *ad* or *iuxta*, even at Rome, e.g., in names of churches; cf. Gronovius, *Rome in the Middle Ages*, i, p. 260: e.g., *Cata Pauli*, *Cata Galla patricia*. Dr. R. Harris quotes from the *Peregrinatio Sylviae*: "et cata singulos ymnos fit oratio."—*A Study of Codex Bezae*, p. 137.

[7] *Gambas*: *gamba* appears in medical books—*Veget. M. I.* 27, 4; "Si laccae

[I pray Thee, Lord Jesus Christ, by the Nine Orders of holy angels,]

Lord be Thou safest lorica,
  for my limbs, for my entrails,
that thou mayest thrust back from me the invisible
  nails of stakes, which enemies fashion.
Cover, therefore, O God, with strong corslet,
  along with shoulder blades, shoulders and arms.
Cover elbows with elbow-joints and hands,
  fists, palms, fingers with their nails.
Cover back-bone and ribs with their joints,
  hind-parts, back, nerves and bones.
Cover surface, blood and kidneys,
  haunches, buttocks with the thighs.
Cover hams, calves, thighs,
  knee-caps, houghs and knees.
Cover ankles, shins and heels,
  legs, feet with the rests of the soles.
Cover the branches that grow ten together,
  with the toes with the nails ten.
Cover chest, its join, the little breast,
  paps, stomach, navel.
Cover belly, reins, genitals,
  and paunch, and vital parts also of the heart.
Cover the triangular liver and fat,
  spleen, armpits          with covering (?).

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in gambis fuerint aut aliquis dolor conae vel gambae, sanguis detrahatur gambis ;" the word is glossated *the hams ; Collectanea Phil.* explains, Fesseln, Gelenken zwischen Huf und Schienbein.

[8] *Crura.* This form is here accus. pl., but in the "Leyden Lorica" we have *cruras* as if from a fem. sing. *crura.* In the same way, v. 94 reads *seniam* (C, N, K *seneam*) as if from a sing. fem. *senia* (see p. 302).

[9] *Mentagrae.* Dr. Stokes quotes from Cummean's letter (*c.* A. D. 634) to Segienus, the Abbot of Iona, in Usher's works (*Vet. Epp. Hibern. XI*, or Vol. iv, p. 436): "The parts inhabited by the Britons and Irish, which are almost the ends, and, so to say, the *mentagrae* of the earth," where the meaning "toes," given in the gloss, would be quite befitting. Dr. Reeves refers to the devil saying in the *Acta* of St. Baithene, of a possessed man, that he had entered into him *per mentagram* (*Aa. Ss. Ian. II*, 237 b.).

[10] *Pectusculum.* Aelfric's gloss is breost-ban = breast-bone. In the Vulg. it appears for στηθύνιον (Exod. xxix, 26, 27).

[11] *Ilia.* This reading is found in all the MSS. ; the Irish gloss seems to mean "lard" ; the Anglo-Saxon is *rysle.*

[12] *Marcem.* The Irish gloss is *spleen* ; the A.-Sax. in C *burran=purse* ; the

tege toliam[1] toracem cum pulmone
venas fibras fel cum bucliamine
tege carnem inginem[2] cum medullis
ssplenem cum tortuosis intestinis
tege vesicam adipem et pantes[3]
compaginum innumeros ordines
tege pilos atque membra reliqua
quorum forte praeterii nomina.
Tege totum me cum quinque sensibus
et cum decem fabrifactis foribus,
utii[4] a plantis[5] usque ad verticem
nullo membro foris intus egrotem ;
ne de meo posit vitam trudere
pestis febris langor dolor corpore ;
Donec iam Deo dante seniam,[6]
et peccata mea bonis factis deleam,[7]
et de carne iens labis caream,
et ad alta evolare valeam,
et miserto Deo ad etheria
letus vehar regni refrigeria.

Fin. it. Amen.

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*marsem* of C as well as N, *marsim* in K may be more correct. Assibilation of *c* and *t* was common, as *milicie*, *Countancius* (Sittl's *Die Localen Verschiedenheiten der lateinischen Sprache*, s. 70 f.). Thus regarded, the word may be, as Mr. Cockayne says, for *marsupium* (μαρσίπιος), though this word does not seem to be used for *spleen*.

[1] *Toliam:* under *tolles*, Isidore (*Etym. XI*, i, 57) says "Gallica lingua dicitur, quas vulgo per diminutionem *tusillas* vocant, quae in faucibus turgescere solent." A foot-note adds " Idem scribit Festus Gloss, *tolae*, *tolia*, παρίσθμια, et *tusillae* παρίσθμια.

[2] *Inginem :* Iunginam C, imaginam N, unguinem K.

[3] *Pantes*, for *pantas* (πάντας), which would not rhyme.

[4] *Utii*, must be for *uti : ut* C N K.

Cover stomach, chest with the lungs,
veins, sinews, gall-bladder with . . . . . .
Cover flesh, groin with the inner parts,
spleen with the winding intestines.
Cover bladder, fat and all
the numberless orders of joints.
Cover hairs, and the rest of my limbs,
whose names, may be, I have passed by.
Cover me all in all with my five senses,
and with the ten doors formed (for me),
so that, from my soles to the top of the head,
in no member, without within, may I be sick ;
that, from my body, life be not cast out
by plague, fever, weakness, suffering,
Until, with the gift of old age from God,
I blot out my sins with good works ;
And, in departing from the flesh, be free from stain,
and be able to fly to the heights,
and, by the mercy of God, be borne in joy
to the heavenly cool retreats of His kingdom.

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[5] *Plantis.* Isidore derives this word *a planitie*, "because man, as a biped, could not stand erect on rounded feet (*rotundae*) as quadrupeds can." (*Et. XI*, i, 113).

[6] *Seniam*, a fem. sing. from the pl. neut. *senia* of *senium*. See p. 302 ; we may add that *moenia*, *moeniae*, *moeniam* may be found in Gregory of Tours and in MSS. of the New Test. The neuter was, no doubt, disappearing from the spoken Latin in the sixth century. Isidore quaintly says (*Et. XI*, ii, 8) : *Senium* autem pars est ultima senectutis, dicta quod sit terminus sextae aetatis.

[7] It should not be left quite unnoticed how, in this verse, we have a glimpse of a conviction in Welsh circles that was probably universal in the sixth century ; some would regard it as a feature of that semi-Augustinianism to which the Church had come at that time. The writer of the Hymn hopes to blot out former sins by good deeds, which he would regard as a satisfaction to God. The belief is, however, quite evident in African writers of the third century, *i.e.*, in Tertullian and Cyprian.

# Two Lives of Gildas.

I.

"Vita Gildae," written by a Monk of the Monastery of Ruys in Brittany.

II.

"Vita Gildae," written by Caradoc of Llancarvan (or Nancarvan).

L'histoire n'est pas l'art de disserter à propos des faits : elle est une science dont l'objet est de trouver et de bien voir les faits. Seulement il faut bien entendre que les faits matériels et tangibles ne dont pas les seuls qu'elle étudie. Une idée que a régné dans l'esprit d'une époque a été un fait historique. La manière dont un pouvoir a été organisé est un fait, et la manière dont les contemporains comprennent et acceptent ce pouvoir est ainsi un fait. L'historien doit étudier l'un et l'autre, et de l'une et l'autre étude il doit écarter toute opinion personelle ou préconçue.

De Coulanges, *La Gaule Romaine*, p. 169.

# VITA I.

## "VITA GILDÆ," WRITTEN BY A MONK OF THE MONASTERY OF RUYS IN BRITTANY.

THE *Vita* which is printed here was first published in 1605 by John à Bosco, in his *Bibliotheca Floriacensis*, from a MS. which he describes as imperfect *(ex vetustissimis Floriacensibus membranis in quibus tamen quaedam desunt).* The Benedictine monastery of Fleury—Saint Benoît-sur-Loire, or in Latin *Floriacum*—was, during the 10th and 11th century, in close and frequent relation with Brittany; in 958, Edren, or Ebren, bishop of the Breton city of Nantes, enters the monastery of Fleury; thirty years later, Alain, Count of Nantes, sends his son Guerech to be educated at the same monastery. Mabbo, a bishop of Nantes, about the beginning of the 11th century, abandoning his episcopal see, betakes himself to Fleury; and a Breton monk, by name Felix, came from that monastery to reform certain Breton monasteries, and to die at Saint Gildas de Ruys in 1038.[1] It appears natural that MSS. from Brittany should come to Fleury, and one which found its way from thence to Berne, even bears the dedication *Hunc codicem Mabba eps. dedit Sco. Benedicto* (*Cod. Bernensis* 277). There are, in this connection, good grounds to regard Fleury as the home to which the Breton "Lives" of the Welshmen, Samson of Dôl, Paul Aurelian of Leon, Maclovius (St. Malo), and the *Life of Gildas*, printed in this volume, came before their final dispersion.[2] The first of these was written probably as early as the middle of the 7th century,[3] the second, as the author informs us, in the year

[1] *Gallia Christiana*, tom. xiv, p. 809. Also Introduction to *Vie de Saint Paul de Leon*, by M. Ch. Cuissard, in *Rev. Celtique*, v, 413 ff., and c. 34 ff., below.

[2] For *Vita Samsonis* see *Anal. Bollandiana*, vi, p. 79 ff.; for *Vita Pauli Aureliani*, *Anal. Boll.*, i, p. 209 ff., and *Rev. Celtique*, v (1883); for *Vita Maclovii*, Mabillon *Aa. Ss. O. S. B. saec.* i, p. 217 ff., but especially Duchesne on the same, in *Rev. Celtique*, 1890.

[3] The *Vita Samsonis* cannot be anterior to the seventh century, because the writer is familiar with the Homilies of Gregory I, as may be seen by a comparison of c. 6 with *Hom. III in Evang.*; neither can it be later than Nominoe, hat is, than 824.

884, the third, *c.* 870, an older *Life*, simpler and briefer, in each case serving as a basis. The *Life of Gildas* bears a very close resemblance to that of Paul of Leon ; and if a suggestion, incidentally thrown out by Mommsen, to the effect that the two *Vitae* are of the same origin, be accepted, we may also conclude that the date 1008, mentioned in c. 34, is too late. In fact, the whole of this part, from c. 33 to the end, has every appearance of being a later addition.

The *Vita* edited by á Bosco was reprinted by the Bollandists in *Aa. Ss. 29 Jan. II*, 958—967, and by Colgan in *Aa. Ss. Hiberniae I. Lovanii*, 1645, p. 181.

Mabillon again published the *Vita* in *Aa. Ss. O. S. Ben. saec. I*, 1668, p. 138-152, in a fuller form, that is, with the addition of cc. 13-17.

When we compare the *Life* proper, which seems complete at the end of c. 32, with the *Life of Paul*, it is evident that they are both of Breton origin. In each we find quite a number of Welsh or Breton names, explained in the same manner by Latin equivalents. For instance, in this *Life of Gildas*, we have *Coetlann* with the explanation *monasterium nemoris*, "the monastery of the wood"; so *Croest*[*i*] (*Croes-dy*) is *domus sanctae crucis*; and *lochmenech* or *locmenech* means *locus monachorum*, which we have in modern Welsh as *mynachlog* (*log=locus*). In the *Life of Paul* his birthplace is said to be *Penn Ohen* (*Pen Ychen*), which is explained as *Caput Boum*; and when it is said of him that he came to a "place which in their language now is called *Caer Banhed*," the biographer, by way of explanation, adds *villa Banhedos*, while *Lanna Pauli* (the *llan* of Paul) is interpreted to mean *monasterium Pauli*. The two *Lives*, as well as the *Life of Samson*, represent the monastery of which Illtud was abbot, as being situated on a small island (*insulula* and *insula*), the *Vita Pauli* more minutely describing it as on the borders of Dyfed, and called Pyrus (*erat autem quaedam insula Pyrus nomine Demetiarum patriae in finibus sita*).[1] To the biographer of Samson, Pyrus is a man who had lately founded a monastery, or, as he puts it, an "island" (*insula quaedam nuper fundata*); but, putting aside these and other discrepancies, we find that the island, at the time when two of the *Lives* were written, was called *Lanna Ilduti* (Llanilltud or Llanelltud), or as

[1] Probably Caldy island, on the coast of Pembroke ; the map in Warrington's *History of Wales*, reproduced in *Report of Royal Commission in Wales*, p. 17, names it *Ynys Pyr* (*Ynys Byr?*), and contiguous is "Maenor Pyr".

the other writes, *Ilduti monasterium, i.e.*, Illtud's monastery. Two of the *Vitae* use both *llan* and *insula* as equivalent to "monastery"; one of these agrees with the third in that meaning of *llan*; the three give an almost identical account of Illtud, his monastery, school, and island. The narrow space of this island is widened in answer to prayer, though the same happy transformation is made also for the benefit of Paul's sister; we have the same story of the wild birds, and not dissimilar accounts of a wonderful bell, and a Codex of the Four Gospels.

In many leading characteristics these three *Vitae* (for a special reason I exclude now the *Vita Maclovii*) belong to the same country and to one period of time. Speaking more correctly, we should say that, when considered as redactions of older and shorter *Vitae*, they cannot be far distant from one another in the date at which they took their present form. We know that older biographies supplied the basis for the *Life of Samson*, and for that of Paul of Leon; it is not, therefore, improbable that there should have existed similar material for the *Life of Gildas*. There came also, we know, a period of pious pilgrimages from Brittany to Wales, whence so many saints had come during the sixth and seventh centuries, during which pilgrimages the materials for these *Vitae* might have been gathered by these Breton monks.

If we accept the suggestion that the *Life of Gildas* has the same original basis as the *Life of Paul*, then we may conclude something as to the date; for Wermonoc tells us that he wrote the latter, using an older *Vita*, hardly legible by age, in A.D. 884. I am, however, drawn to believe that a close examination of the two works will disclose a narrow limit to this basis. In the *Life of Paul*, three companions are named as sharing with him the teaching and discipline of the monastic school of Illtud, viz., Devius (Dewi Sant, or David), Samson and Gyldas (*sic*); but the *Life of Gildas* omits all mention of David; the two *Lives* show similar intimate acquaintance with Gildas' work printed above, but to the one it is a writing on the *Excidium Britanniae*, to the other on *Ormesta*[1] *Britanniae*. In both, the area of the small

[1] *Ormesta* is probably the same word as the Welsh *gormes*. This was pointed out long ago by the late M. Gaidoz; *-ta* may have been added to Latinise the word, or the Welsh may have lost the final *t*. The well-known historical work of Orosius, which had partly the same motive as the *De Excidio* of Gildas, is made to bear this same name of *Ormesta*, but this again is due to the reading of a Fleury MS.

island is widened in answer to the prayer of Illtud, and the prayer is recorded in full; yet the two give a totally different prayer, with hardly a single idea or supplication in common. According to one, Paul becomes bishop of Oxismori, while the other, with full details, makes him bishop of Leon. In recording the bell incident, the circumstances and periods differ; besides that, the one calls it *cloca*, the other *tintinnabulum*. As a further small detail, we may add that the master's name appears in the *Life of Gildas* as Heldutus, in the *Life of Paul* as Ildutus. It seems difficult not to regard writers who are authors of two works that present such divergencies as these, as starting from a meagre common source. Nevertheless, the conviction remains, that the *Life of Gildas* belongs to the same monastic literary circle as the other two, and, probably to about the same period. In that case, we have before us a production of the ninth century, based, as those, upon older records, which therefore reproduces older traditions (or guesses) than are to be found in the next *Vita* by Caradoc. These traditions are really Welsh in origin.

Not only does this *Vita* not stand by itself, but the Breton group to which it belongs should be remembered as possessing certain features in common, which differentiate the *Vitae* forming the group from all those that were written in Wales. In the British *Vitae*, such as our *Vita II* of Gildas, and the *Vita David*, it is extraordinary that Illtud does not appear as the abbot-teacher of these men; his very existence seems forgotten. And the same may in part be said of other important *Vitae* printed by Rees, such as the *Vita Cadoci*; in none of them is Illtud the great teacher of Welsh saints. If we examine again the *Vitae* contained in the *Book of Llandâv*, we find that the *Vita Samsonis* is an abridged form of the earlier Breton *Life* printed by Father Plaine in the *Analecta Bollandiana*, and by M. Ch. Cuissard in the *Revue Celtique*; the *Vita Dubricii* seems a patchwork, the latter part of which is borrowed from the *Life of Samson*; the *Life of Teilo* is clearly a sermon, as the repeated *karissimi fratres* shows. But, throughout, Illtud has not the position which we have been led to connect with his name; a detached paragraph on p. 71 makes him a disciple of Dubricius, who sends him "as abbot to the place *(podum)*, which from him is called Lannildut"; he is, however, not a teacher.

I have not referred to the *Vita Iltuti Abbatis* in Rees' volume (p. 158); but in that work, although we meet with the four scholars pre-eminent over all the rest, yet the whole setting is comparatively modern, as may be seen especially from c. 12, and *the teacher's*

*function holds no prominent place.* Scraps of old stories are worked in, such as that of the bell, but Illtud's rude Celtic establishment of the early sixth century is transformed into the fashion of a Benedictine or Cistercian abbey.

It would be well to mark this trait, so prominent in the Breton *Lives*, with their background of early close intimacy with Wales, but altogether absent in many of the British, and without real significance in any. It is Illtud the teacher, we find in traditions preserved by Breton writers; the Welsh biographer of St. David did not know him, the Welsh biographer of Gildas also knew him not.

It has been well said that Western monasticism was aristocratic; the British "saints" or, to use a more appropriate term, monks, whose *Lives* have been written are in the same way, as a rule, sons of kings or princes, or some highly exalted personages. Now we observe further, in looking through the Welsh *Vitae*, and the notices generally, that Arthur is a prominent figure in almost all: many of the Welsh saints, according to these accounts, are closely related to him. He figures in Caradoc's *Life of Gildas*, in the *Lives* of Cadoc and of Illtud, though the *Book of Llandâv* is silent about him. But it is impossible to follow Mr. Skene when he speaks, in reference to Gildas, of "Acts compiled subsequent to the appearance of Geoffrey of Monmouth's history" (*Celtic Scotland*, i, 116, 117 *note*), because the Arthur found in the writings named is in no way the Arthur made glorious by Geoffrey. In these he is not great, he is often mean; and the idea presented of him, while it witnesses to the pre-eminence which he was attaining in the minds of Welsh writers, is undoubtedly older than that created by the author of the *Historia Regum Britanniae*. But here again, when we turn to the Breton *Vitae*, our Arthur is entirely absent. In such a fact we cannot but argue a higher antiquity, and, as far as they go, more reliable traditions. This conclusion I apply, in this place more particularly, to the *Life of Gildas* that appears in our pages as *Vita I*.

# I.

# Vita Gildae.

## Avctore Monacho Ruiensi.

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Beatus Gildas Arecluta[1] fertilissima regione oriundus, patre Cauno[2] nobilissimo et catholico viro genitus, ab ipso puerili aevo toto mentis affectu Christum studuit sequi. Arecluta autem regio 1

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[1] *Arecluta.* This name is a compound of the preposition *ărĕ*, modern Welsh *ar*, meaning *on* or *opposite*, and *Cluta*, the ancient name for the river Clyde. Ptolemy calls the Firth of Clyde the Clota Estuary, which may here remind us of *lurica* for *lorica*, and the many instances found of Latin *o* becoming *u* in the sixth and succeeding centuries. *Are-* is found extensively in Celtic countries, as *Are-late* (Arles), Are-trigium, Ar(e)morica, Are-dumum, etc., so that Are-cluta would mean "on Clyde," or "opposite Clyde." This form with *ar*, it is almost unnecessary to add, is very common in modern Welsh. The river's name as *Clut* is met with also in *Alclud*, or Ailcluith—the British name for Dúnbrettan (*i.e.*, the fortress of the Brythons), or as now known, Dumbarton, the probable birthplace of St. Patrick.

We may remind ourselves in this place that Ussher made current the previously-surmised distinction between Gildas *Albanius* and Gildas *Badonicus*, holding that the latter was the author of the *De Excidio* and lived a considerable time after the former, who was contemporary with King Arthur. The writer of this *Life*, according to Ussher, has confounded the two (Gildam Badonicum . . . . et G. Albanium in unum complavit) ; while the next *Vita* by Caradoc, with which he was acquainted, gives us an account of Gildas Albanius (vol. v, 506, or c. xiii). In the *Index Chronologicus* the birth of Gildas Albanius is assigned by him to A.D. 425 ; that of Gildas Badonicus to 525. In reference to the inadequate grounds upon which these theories of two, or even three Gildases have been advanced, and their abandonment by our day, I need at present do no more than quote the apt words of Schöll : "Uncertainty as to times is no reason for assuming two Gildases. But what is of greater weight, all the evidence, both ancient and mediæval, is silent of a second Gildas ; we cannot too much wonder how, if a man of such character and greatness had existed, that no mention whatever of him is to be found in the pages of Gildas, Beda, the Welsh *Annals*, and in fact all writers. We must therefore reject that conjecture of the existence of two Gildases (*duos fuisse Gildas*), which, like other numberless conjectures, has come from the workshop (*officina*) of Bale and Pits, who, because disinclined to reject discrepancies, divided them between two persons" (*De Eccles. Br. Scotorumque Historiae Fontibus*, p. 3).

I.

# The Life of Gildas,

## By the Monk of Ruys.

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1 St. Gildas, born in the very fertile district of Arecluta, and descended from his father Caunus, a most noble and Catholic man, was desirous, from his very boyhood, to follow Christ with all the affection of his heart. The district of Arecluta, as it forms

[2] *Cauno.* In the next *Vita* the father's name is *Nau; Nall* is probably a false transcription of Nau (Vide *Petrie*, 440, 442). In Rhys' Appendix on *Welsh Inscriptions*, we have probably a feminine form of the name: *Brohomagli iam ic iacit et uxor eius Caune* (Voelas Hall, Denbighshire). Holder (*Alt-Celtische Sprachschatz*) gives Counos, Cawuna, as by forms, and quotes "A(nnius) Caunus Senorucci filius" (Bordeaux) Jullian, t. i, *n.* 95, p. 226. The author of *Vita Cadoci* speaks of Gildas as "son of Cau" (*filius Cau*), and in Welsh he is always, I believe, called *Caw;* this fact seems to suggest that *Caunus* may have been erroneously written for *Cau-us* or *Caw-us.* But, though we would gain in this way some interesting apparent identifications, the *littera scripta* of the oldest document ought not to be lightly put aside. Cau or Caunus is in Welsh legends also called "Caw o Gwm Cawlwyd" (*Iolo MSS.*, p. 101); also "Caw o Dwr Celyn" in Anglesey, *ibid.*, 109, 110, perhaps because the names of many of his supposed sons and daughters are found in Anglesey. I would refer especially to a suggestive note by Mr. Egerton Phillimore in *Y Cymmrodor*, xi, p. 75, and to *n.* 6 on p. 116 of Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, vol. i. A word ought to be added, that to speak as Mr. Skene does, of there being four *Lives* of Gildas preserved, is certainly misleading. *Really there are but two;* and in the way that Mr. Skene counts, we ought to go beyond four; the "one printed by Capgrave" (and by Colgan) is an epitome of the *Life* by Caradoc (our *Vita II*); while the "fourth in the British Museum still in MS." appears to be a French fanciful account of Gildas, founded upon the one printed in these pages.

According to this *Vita I*, Caw had four sons and one daughter, but the next one gives him twenty-four sons; while as Caw of Twrcelyn, in Anglesey, he has daughters as well as sons among his numerous progeny. Of the four names given in this place, Welsh forms of three are found in the names of *llans* in Anglesey; but it would be wrong to decide that those are the names of the sons of Caw, or to say that those churches are "dedicated" to them. See next page, note 2.

cum sit Britanniae pars, vocabulum sumpsit a quodam flumine, quod Clut nuncupatur, a quo plerumque illa irrigatur. Inter cetera vero, quae ipse sanctus Gildas scripsit de miseriis[1] et praevaricationibus et excidio Britanniae, hoc etiam de illa praemisit. *Supra*, p. 14. *Britannia*, inquit, *bis denis bisque quaternis fulget civitatibus ac nonnullis castellis decoratur: murorum quoque ac turrium seratarum, portarum, domorum etiam, quarum culmina minaci proceritate porrecta in editum forti compage cernuntur, non improbabiliter est adornata instructis munitionibus. Campis quoque fulget late pansis collibusque amoeno situ locatis praepollenti culturae aptis, montibus etiam alternandis animalium pastibus optime convenientibus, qui diversorum colorum floribus grati redduntur humanis visibus veluti electa sponsa diversis ornata monilibus. Fontibus lucidis crebrisque gaudet, ex quibus rivuli leni murmure serpentes suave pignus soporis tribuunt viatoribus fessis. Duorum etiam ostiis nobilium fluminum, Tamesis videlicet ac Sabrinae, veluti brachiis meliorata, per quae eidem Britanniae olim transmarinae deliciae ratibus vehebantur, aliorumque fluminum minorum infusione irrigatur.* Ostenso igitur situ et opportunitatibus loci nec non regionis, unde praefatus vir venerabilis et sanctus oriundus fuit, eius denique vita domino adiuvante subscribatur.

Caunus itaque eius genitor et alios quattuor fertur habuisse filios, Cuillum[2] videlicet valde strenuum in armis virum, qui post 2

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[1] *Scripsit de miseriis*, etc. We should note the way in which the *De Excidio* of Gildas is mentioned here, which reminds one almost of the words of Alcuin: here it is a work on "the miseries, the errors, and ruin of Britain," in allusion to that part which Gale began the misleading custom of calling the *Epistola*; and Gildas is evidently not regarded by this writer under the same character as he is known to the mediæval writers who style him *historiographus*, or, as the next *Vita*, *Britonum historiographus*. The present mode of allusion, as well as the quotation in c. 19, introduced by the words *a fratribus rogatus religiosis*, borrowed from the first section of Gildas' own work, imply an earlier idea of him, and one that had been lost by the time he had become merely the *historiographus* of Britain. The latter idea, in fact, implies a forgetfulness of the real object which Gildas himself had in view.

[2] *Cuillum.* Instead of *Cuillus*, Caradog calls Cau's eldest son *Hueil*. "Mailocus is evidently St. Meilig, son of Caw, to whom the church of Llowes in Elfael, Radnorshire, is dedicated. Egreas, Allecus, and Peteona, are Saints Eigrad, Gallgo, and Peithien, children of Caw, to whom churches in Anglesey are dedicated" (Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, vol. i, p. 117). The facts put together in this note are interesting: in the *Book of Llandâv* we have: "In Elmail, Lann Meilic ha Lyguess" (Llowes), p. 255, and "podum Liuhess in Elmail," p. 149, and two other references. This isolated

a part of Britain, took its name from a certain river called the Clut, by which that district is, for the most part, watered. Indeed, amongst other matters which St. Gildas himself has written about the miseries and transgressions and ruin of Britain, he has, at the beginning, said the following words about it : *Britain*, says he, *is renowned for its twice ten and twice four cities, and is embellished by not a few castles. It was also not improbably provided and adorned with defences in the way of walls and serrated towers and gates, and with houses too, whose tops, with their strong structure, are seen rising with a threatening height to heaven. It is famous also for its wide-spreading fields and its hills situated in pleasant positions, and adapted for excellent tillage ; and for its mountains, excellently advantageous for the alternate pasturage of cattle, and rendered pleasing to man's eye by flowers of various kinds, like a chosen bride bedecked with divers jewels. It rejoices in numerous lucid fountains from which brooks issue forth with gentle murmur, and which afford to weary travellers the sweet assurance of sleep. It is likewise enriched by the mouths of two noble rivers, the Thames and the Severn, like two arms, along which, in days gone by, foreign luxuries were conveyed in boats to Britain, and it is watered by the flow of other smaller streams.* With this clear description, and with the advantages of the place as well as of the country from which the aforesaid venerable and holy man sprang, let, at last, with the help of God, his life be written.

2 His father, Caunus, is said to have also had four other sons. One was Cuillum, a very active man in war, who, after his father's

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piece of detail almost tempts one to conclude that the writer, or more probably the original biographer, was personally acquainted with those parts that are now South Radnor and Pembroke. But the way in which the facts are stated, though so common as to be almost universal with English writers of high learning, appears to me quite unhistorical. It is true that to speak of churches *dedicated* to St. Martin, for instance, is quite appropriate at a very early period ; but to employ the same idea and language in the case of the Welsh *llan* involves a misconception. When I meet (to take an ordinary instance) with *Llanarmon*, in Flintshire and Carnarvonshire, or with more than one *Llangybi* or *Llanddewi*, I ought to say that some Garmon, or Cybi, or Dewi had founded a *llan*, that is a small monastery, at the place so indicated—not that the church there is "dedicated" to the men whom history knows as Garmon, Cybi, and Dewi. We should also not forget that many such names (Garmon and Dewi certainly) were very common as proper names of persons. The *Vitae* supply us with numerous proofs of what is here maintained, e.g., *Lanna Pauli id est monasterium Pauli* (*Vita Pauli Aurel.*), *in monasterio suo Lan Cors* (*Book of Llandâv*, pp. 238, 242). Most of these *llans* afterwards became churches,

mortem patris ei in regno successit, Mailocum quoque, qui a patre sacris litteris traditus et in eis bene edoctus relicto patre atque rebus paternis abrenuntians venit Lyuhes, in pago Elmail ibique monasterium aedificans, in quo in hymnis et orationibus, ieiuniis et vigiliis instanter serviens deo clarus virtutibus et miraculis in pace quievit. Egreas vero cum Allecco fratre et Peteova sorore Deo sacrata virgine similiter et ipsi relictis rebus paternis et saecularibus abrenuntiantes pompis in extrema parte regionis illius secedentes non longe a se invicem distantia singuli sua construxere oratoria, mediam statuentes sororem, cum qua alternatim suo die horas diurnas eorum alter cum missam celebrabat et post vesperas cum ea sumens cibum et gratias agens Deo ante solis occasum revertebantur ad oratorium suum : unusquisque enim eorum separatim in suo oratorio vigilias celebrabat. Isti igitur quos praediximus beati et sancti viri, Mailocus videlicet, Alleccus atque Egreas cum beata sorore cunctis mundi, ut praemissum est, spretis opibus et deliciis toto nisu mentis ad supernam tendentes patriam in ieiuniis et orationibus suam commendantes vitam tandem a Deo vocati receperunt mercedem laborum suorum et in suis quae aedificaverant oratoriis conditi servantur, clarificati et celebres assiduis miraculis et in gloria resurrecturi.

Beatus autem Gildas, qui et Gildasius,[1] honor et decus gentis 3
suae futurus, et ipse a suis parentibus beato Hilduto[2] traditur imbu-

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though many perished completely. Llaneugrad, Llanallgo, and Llanbeithien (?) are certainly called after persons whose names in Latin may well have been Egreas, Alleccus, and Peteona, but we cannot know that they were the children of Caw, and of the fifth or sixth century ; *if they were*, then it is certain that "Llan-" does *not* imply a church "dedicated" to them.

[1] *Gildas qui et Gildasius.* One MS. of the *Hibernensis*, evidently through ignorance, quotes Gildas as Gelasius (Wasserschleben, *Kanonensammlung*, xxvi) ; but besides *Gyldas*, in *Vita Pauli* and elsewhere, we have, in Irish documents, *Gillus* and *Gillas* ; Beda (i, 22) writes *Gildus ;* Alcuin has *Gildus* and *Gyldus* (Jaffé, *Mon. Alc.*, vi, 206, 371). The earliest writer of all, Columbanus, in his Epistle to Gregory the Great, calls him *Giltas* (*Mon. Germ. Hist.*, Ep. III, pp. 158, 159).

[2] *Hilduto.* The name appears in several slightly different forms. In the *Vita Brioci* it is *Hiltutus ; Vita Sansonis* has *Heldutus* and *Heltutus ;* the same *Vita* in the *Aa. Ss.*, 28 July, vi, gives *Eltutus* throughout. In *Vita Pauli Aurel.* we have *Ildutus.* The *Life*, printed in the *Cambro-British Saints*, is *Vita S. Iltuti Abbatis.* The name is also found in the Corpus of Latin Inscriptions (*C. I. L.*, vi, 19282). I have throughout written the modern Welsh form as Illtud, though Elltud would seem to be equally correct ; the *Book of Llandâv* generally writes *Ildutus* and *Lan-ildut*, though in North Wales we have the name as Llan-elltud or Llan-elltyd.

death, succeeded him to the throne. Another, Mailocus, who had been consecrated by his father to sacred literature, and had been well-trained therein, came, after abandoning his father, and renouncing his paternal patrimony, to Luyhes, in the district of Elmail. He there built a monastery in which, after serving God earnestly with hymns and prayers, fastings and vigils, he rested in peace, distinguished for his virtues and miracles. But Egreas, with his brother Alleccus and their sister Peteova, a virgin consecrated to God, having also themselves similarly given up their patrimony and renounced worldly pomp, retired to the remotest part of that country, and at no long distance from each other, built, each one for himself, an oratory, placing their sister in the middle one. Both of them alternately, each on his own day, used to celebrate with her the daily hours and the mass; and taking food with her after the vespers, and returning thanks to God, they returned before sunset, each to his own oratory; for each of them used to celebrate the vigils separately in his own oratory. Now those blessed and holy men, whom we have mentioned above, even Mailocus, Alleccus and Egreas, with their saintly sister, after contemning, as was said before, all the wealth and luxuries of the world, strove with the whole bent of their soul to reach the celestial country, and devoted their lives to fastings and prayers. At last they were called by God, and received the reward of their labours. They were buried in the oratories which they had built, and are preserved there, famous and illustrious for their constant miracles, and destined to rise again in glory.

3 Now, the blessed Gildas, who is also called Gildasius, destined to become the honour and glory of his nation, is entrusted by his parents to the charge of St. Hildutus, to be instructed by him.

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The *Vita* before us represents Illtud to be a Welshman, and so do the other *Vitæ* of the same group; they also agree in placing the monastery over which he was Abbot on a small island, which may be the one named *Ynys Pyr* (Caldy Island) in Mr. William Owen's map. But the *Vita* printed by Rees (*Cambro-British Saints*, p. 158) describes him as a Breton, the son of a famous soldier named Bicanus and Rieingulid, daughter of Anblaud, king of Britain; legates had crossed the Gallic sea to fetch the royal bride, whose name in the British tongue signified "chaste queen;" and, when the son was born, "the name Iltutus is given him, implying that he (*ille*) was safe (*tutus*) from every sin." He became learned in the seven arts, but took to arms as his vocation. The soldier crosses to Britain to visit Arthur, who is his cousin; and, after being well received at the court of Arthur, becomes an officer in the service of Poulentus, King of Gulat Morcantia. He is, however, induced to become a monk by Cadoc, and in time ordained by Dubricius. The whole *Vita* teems

endus. Qui suscipiens sanctum puerulum sacris litteris coepit instruere illum, et videns eum formae specie fulgentem ac liberalibus studiis instantissime intentum benigno amore dilexit et attento studio docere curavit. Beatus igitur Gildas sub disciplina magistrali in schola divinae scripturae et liberalium artium constitutus, conspiciens utriusque doctrinam elocutionis divinis curavit magis erudiri doctrinis, imitari cupiens speciem divinae contemplationis, deserens omnino famam humanae opinionis, sed neque sequi voluit ingenuitatem suae nobilitatis. Tunc athleta Christi et strenuissimus miles in coenobio degens obedientiae suscepit arma fortissima puerilesque deserens mores aetatem floridae iuventutis in formam transtulit senectutis. Namque cum esset primaevus in tirocinio aeterni regis constitutus, moribus derelictis iuvenilibus plurima documenta praebuit aeternae salutis tam senibus quam iuvenibus, utriusque componens mores aetatis. Erat namque sapientia praeclarus, sanctae lectioni assiduus, vigiliis et orationibus semper deditus, ineffabili caritate devotus, in actione iucundus, decora facie et toto corpore venustus, qui mundo erat crucifixus et ei mundus. In schola igitur supra dicti doctoris Hilduti erudiebantur plurimi nobilium filii, inter quos praeclariores erant tam generis nobilitate quam morum probitate Samson videlicet atque Paulus,[1] sed hos quoque mira ingenii sagacitate superabat Gildas beatus : ex quibus Samson sanctissimus postea Britannorum extitit archiepiscopus, Paulus vero Oxismorum[2] ecclesiae praefuit episcopus.

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with incongruities, and is held by Petrie to have been written after the Norman invasion, since c. 26 relates events which occurred *rege Anglorum Willelmo regnante per Brittaniam*. This portion, however, has the appearance of being a later addition. We shall not act rashly if, with due preference for the older documents, we reject its account of the origin of Illtud as fabulous. The monastery is placed in Hodnant, yet near the coast, so as to allow the introduction of a form of the story respecting the recession of the limit of the sea ; here also we have something to reject. The *Vita Brioci* describes Briocus as crossing over to Gaul to become the disciple of Germanus (Garmon) of Auxerre (the MS. has *Parisius* erroneously), where he becomes intimate with Patricius and Heltutus, who were already disciples ; but, as Germanus died in 448, it was barely possible for Illtud to be his disciple *and* the abbot-teacher of Gildas, Samson, Paul Aurelian and David, as well.

[1] *Samson . . . . Paulus.* The *Vita Pauli* names *Devius* (David), *Samson* and *Gildas* as fellow-pupils of Paul. The same four are also given in the *Vita S. Iltuti* : confluebant ad illum scolares plurimi, quorum de numero quatuor isti Samson videlicet, Paulinus (*i.e.* Paulus), Gildas et Dewi studebant (*Cambro-British Saints*, p. 167). Samson migrated to Britanny, as is related in Book II, I of the *Vita*, and built a monastery to which he gave the name *Dol* (*nomen*

He took the holy child to himself, and began to teach him in sacred literature; and seeing he excelled in outward beauty, and was most eagerly bent upon the liberal studies, he loved him with tender love, and strove to teach him with attentive zeal. The blessed Gildas was, therefore, established under a master's training in the school of divine scripture and of the liberal arts. Observing, however, the knowledge imparted in both kinds of teaching, he was anxious to be taught rather in the divine doctrines, desiring to imitate a kind of divine contemplation, and altogether deserting the reputation of man's opinion; he did not desire, however, to follow the noble demeanour of his high birth. At that time the champion and most active soldier of Christ, while spending his life in a cloister, took upon him the brave weapons of obedience; and, putting away the habits of boyhood, he transformed the age of blooming youth to the form of old age. For, since in his early years he had been established among the recruits of the eternal King, he abandoned the habits of youth, he afforded, as much to old men as to the young, very many proofs of eternal salvation, regulating the habits of both periods of life. For he was distinguished for wisdom, was constant in reading the Scriptures, ever devoted to watchings and prayers, devout in ineffable love, pleasant in action, of a winning face and handsome in all his body; one that had been crucified to the world, and the world to him. Now, in the school of the above-mentioned teacher, Hildutus, a great number of the sons of the nobles were taught. The more distinguished amongst these, as much for the nobility of their decent as for the uprightness of their character, were Samson and Paul; but the blessed Gildas surpassed even these men in the wonderful keenness of his talents. Of these men, the most holy Samson was afterwards Archbishop of the Britons (*i.e.*, Bretons), whilst Paul presided as bishop over the Church of the Oxismi.

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*ei Dolum imponens*); afterwards, "de manu Hilberti imperatoris," he received the archiepiscopate of the whole of Britain (*i.e.*, Britanny, *Ibid.*, c. 24). M. Duchesne says truly that the biographer represents Samson at Dol as simply the founder of a monastery, not of an episcopate. "L'idée de diocese, de *parochia*, ne se révéle nulle part." He was, as the legend goes, bishop before he crossed the sea (*Fastes épiscopaux*, vol. ii, p. 381).

[2] *Oxismorum.* Our biographer by the use of this name has preserved an older detail than the biographer of Paul Aurelian. The latter speaks only of *Léon*, a name probably carried over to Britanny from *Caer-lleon ar Wysg* in South Wales, as there had never been any *legiones* stationed in Finisterre to give the name; the former, by saying that Paul became the bishop of the *Oxismi*

Habitabat autem praefatus Hildutus cum discipulis suis in 4
quadam arta et angusta insulula atque arenti solo squalida. Ad quem die quadam accedens beatus puer Gildas eum alloquitur dicens: Domne doctor, audivi te nuper ex euangelio verba nostri salvatoris praedicantem, in quibus discipulos admonebat, ut cum fide a Deo ea quae sibi erant utilia peterent, et quia fideliter petita
*Marc.* xi, 24. accepturi essent, dicens: *Amen dico vobis,*[1] *quicquid orantes petieritis, credite quia accipietis, et fiet vobis.* Nunc ergo, optime doctor, cur non rogas ipsum Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum, qui potens est praestare cuncta quae fideliter ab eo petuntur, ut dilatet terminos atque fructiferam reddat huius insulae glebam? Cum haec igitur audisset beatus Hildutus, admiratus fidem ipsius convocatis in unum discipulis oratorium cum eis ingreditur et flexis in terram genibus extensisque manibus in caelum cum lacrimis oravit dicens: *Domine Iesu Christe, Fili Dei omnipotentis, qui cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto caelum et terram, mare et omnia quae in eis sunt, cum non essent, condidisti, quique tuis fidelibus praecepisti, ut Deum Patrem in tuo nomine peterent quicquid sibi opus esset et eorum petitio ad effectum procederet: tuo equidem in nomine omnipotentis Domini imploramus clementiam, ut dilatari per te iubeat terminos insulae huius atque fertilitatem inferat glebae eius, ut nobis servis tuis atque successoribus nostris tua largiente gratia abundanter cibaria administret, ut satiati de tuis donis gratias referamus nomini tuo, qui cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto vivis et regnas per infinita saeculorum.* Cumque respondissent omnes *Amen*, egressi ab oratorio vident dilatatam esse undique insulam atque vernantem in circuitu diversis olerum floribus. Tunc iterum revertitur ad oratorium senior, et prae gaudio effusus in lacrimis una cum venerando discipulorum grege clara voce hymnos summasque laudes rerum omnium creatori Domino
*Ps.* cxliv, 18. decantat, qui *prope adest omnibus invocantibus se in veritate.*

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implies, as was the fact, that the episcopate of Paul continued the old episcopate of *Ossismes.* One of the *civitates* mentioned in the *Notitia Galliarum* as belonging in the fifth century to *Lugdunensis tertia* (3e Lyonnaise) is *civitas Ossismorum*, and M. Duchesne finds that it was a Gallo-Roman See in the year 453. The new life, however, Breton in character, which it entered upon, when Paul Aurelian became bishop, not quite at the old seat, but within the walls of his own monastery at Léon, caused the name to be changed into the present one, St.-Pol-de-Léon. The name *Osismi* is found three times in Cæsar's *De Bello Gallico*, and Pomponius Mela (iii, 6) describes the island *Sena* as *in Britannico mari, Osismicis adversa litoribus.*

4 The afore-mentioned Hildutus dwelt with his disciples in a certain island, narrow, confined, and squalid with its arid soil. One day the blessed boy Gildas approaches him, and accosts him, saying: "My dear teacher, I heard you preaching lately from the Gospel the words of our Saviour, in which he admonished his disciples to ask of God in faith for the things which were beneficial to them, and that they would receive the things thus prayed for in faith, saying: *Verily, I say unto you, whatsoever ye ask for in prayer,* *Mark* xi, 24.
*believe that ye will receive, and it shall be done unto you.* Now, therefore, my excellent master, why do you not ask our Lord Jesus Christ, who is powerful to bestow all things which are asked of Him in faith, that He extend the boundaries of this island, and make its soil fruitful?" When, therefore, St. Hildutus heard these words, he wondered at the boy's faith, and called his disciples together, and entered with them into the oratory; and, bending his knees to the ground and stretching out his hands to heaven, he prayed, with tearful eyes, saying: *Lord Jesus Christ, Thou Son of Almighty God, who with the Father and the Holy Ghost, didst make heaven and earth, the sea and all that are therein, and who didst admonish thy disciples to pray unto God the Father for whatsoever they needed, and that their petition would be granted them; yea, in Thy name, we implore the mercy of the Almighty Lord that, through Thee, He may command the boundaries of this island to extend, and impart fruitfulness to its soil, in order that unto us, Thy servants, and unto our successors, it may, through the bountifulness of Thy grace, afford food in abundance; so that satisfied by Thy gifts, we may return thanks to Thy name, who, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, livest and reignest for ever and ever.* When all had said *Amen*, and had gone out from the oratory, they saw the island enlarged in all directions, and blossoming round about with various flowers. Then the aged man returns again to the oratory; and, bathed for joy in tears, he, along with the reverent flock of his disciples, chants with a loud voice hymns and the highest praises to the Lord, the Creator of all things, who *is near unto all that call upon Him in truth.* *Ps.* cxlv, 18.

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[1] *Amen dico vobis.* The text in this quotation differs from the text of the Vulgate; it is probably given from memory, as *Amen dico vobis* belongs to the previous verse. The variation from the Vulgate is seen in the words: *Propterea dico vobis, omnia quaecumque orantes petitis . . . . et veniet vobis.*

Igitur admirabili virtute dilatatem sibi insulum coepit excolere senior, atque fecundandis iugeribus frumenti semina tradere. Cumque coepissent laeta frugum germina pullulare, aggregatae aves marinae ea coeperunt devastare. Quod cum videret pater Hildutus, praecepit discipulis suis cum terrore eas effugare atque unumquemque eorum die suo segetem custodire. Et cum dies advenisset, in qua segetem servaturus erat beatus Paulus, plus solito advenit hostilis avium multitudo, quae passim messem devastabat tondendo. At contra mirae indolis puer Paulus huc illucque discurrens cum ingenti clamore eas expellere nitebatur nec praevalebat. Tandem ergo iam lassus advocat socios, beatae memoriae videlicet Gildam atque Samsonem venerandum, huiusmodi eos adhortans sermonibus : *Succurrite fratres, succurrite, carissimi et damna mecum nostri vindicate magistri. Ecce etenim hostium multitudo nostri late consumit et depascitur segetes doctoris. Sentiat ergo insatiabilis praedo debitas poenas, qui nostri magistri vastavit aristas.* Ad cuius vocem advolant socii et invocato nomine Christi multitudinem indomitarum avium congregantes ante se Dei virtute repleti minant pueri sanctissimi tamquam inertium ovium greges. At ubi ventum est ad senis habitaculum, captivae et indomitae aves cum recluderentur, in caelum dant voces : quarum strepitum atque clangorem audiens senex egressus ab oratorio videt Dei virtutem admiratusque non minimum tantam in puerorum cordibus fidem ait illis : *Sinite, filii, sinite aves abire liberas : iam sufficiat quod sic castigatis illas Abeant liberae et amplius in nomine Domini nostras segetes non praesumant laedere.* Igitur iussionem senis non audentes spernere aves dimissae longe recesserunt et ulterius in eadem insula vastare segetes non praesumpserunt. Quae insula usque in hodiernum diem Lanna Hilduti[1] vocitatur.

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[1] *Lanna Hilduti. Vita Pauli* says, *locus in quo habitare consuaverat quem nunc Iltuti monasterium dicunt* (c. 9) ; and previously, *erat autem quaedam insula Pyrus nomine, Demetiarum in finibus sita* (c. 6) ; *Vita Samsonis* somewhat differently, *erat non longe ab hoc monasterio (i.e., Hiduti) insula quaedam nuper fundata a quodam egregio viro ac sancto presbytero, nomine, Piro* (*Anal. Boll.*, vi, p. 93). We gather from these early notices that Illtud's monastery was on a small island near Dyfed ; that the island was called after both Pirus, or Pyrus, and Illtud ; also that near it there was a monastery (*insula*) called by the name of Pirus, a presbyter. It may be conjectured that the older name was one connected with Pirus, and that for a long time the two names were in use. Giraldus Cambrensis informs us, in describing Pembroke, his native place, that not far off was a "*castellum* called *Maynaur Pir*, that is, *mansio Pirri* ; and to him belonged the island of Caldei, which the Welsh call *Enis*

5 Accordingly, with wonderful virtue, the old man begins to till the island thus enlarged for him, and to sow seeds of corn in the fertile fields. When the glad buds of the fruits began to sprout, the sea-birds flocked together and began to destroy them. On seeing this, the father Hildutus commanded his disciples to scare and drive them away, and each of them in his own day, to guard the cornfields. When the day had come on which St. Paul was to keep watch over the field, there arrived, in greater numbers than usual, a hostile throng of birds, which kept devastating the cornfield everywhere by plucking the ears of corn. Paul, however, a youth of wonderful activity, kept running hither and thither, shouting loudly, and strove his best to scare them away, but did not succeed. At last then, quite worn out, he calls his comrades to his aid, even Gildas of blessed memory, and the venerable Samson, rousing them with words to this effect : *Help me, brethren, help me, most beloved brethren, and avenge with me the loss inflicted upon our master. For lo ! a horde of enemies is consuming far and wide, and eating away the cornfield of our teacher. Let, therefore, the insatiable plunderer that has laid waste our master's corn pay the penalty that is his due.* At this word his comrades fly to his help ; and the holy boys, after calling upon the name of Christ, gather together the multitude of wild birds, and then, filled with the power of God, drive them before them like flocks of idle sheep. But when they had reached the old man's dwelling, the captured wild birds, on being hemmed in, send up their cries to heaven. Hearing their noise and din, the aged man comes out from his oratory and beholds the power of God. He wondered not a little at such great faith in the hearts of the boys, and said to them : *Let the birds go, my sons, let the birds go away free: let it suffice that you have thus punished them. Let them go away free, and let them no more, in the name of the Lord, presume to damage our cornfields.* And so, not daring to despise the old man's command, the birds, when loosed, departed far away, and no further presumed to lay waste the cornfields in that island. That island is called, up to this day, Llanilltud (the Llan of Illtud).

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*Pir.*" We know that the monastery, if not the island, was called the *lanna (llan)* of Illtud, Llan-Illtud, at the time when this *Vita* was first written ; in the days of Giraldus, the island was also called Ynys Pyr. On the mainland, we learn from Owen's *Pembrokeshire* (*passim*) how Maynaur Pir (Maenor Pyr) had been Anglicised into *Maner byr* or *Manerbier*; in Fenton's *Pembrokeshire* it is *Manorbeer.* Is it not possible that, as the memory of Illtud had well-nigh, if

6 Sanctus igitur Gildas cum per aliquos annos in doctrina beati Hilduti commoratus fuisset et tam saecularibus, prout res suppetebat, quam divinis scripturis ab eo optime, quicquid sibi a divina bonitate creditum fuerit, edoctus esset, valedicens pio magistro venerandisque condiscipulis Iren[1] perrexit, ut et aliorum doctorum sententias in philosophicis atque in divinis litteris investigator curiosus exquireret. Igitur cum plurimorum doctorum scholas peragrasset et tamquam apis prudentissima diversorum florum sucos collegisset, in alveario matris ecclesiae recondidit, ut in tempore opportuno melliflua euangelii verba in populos[2] ad superna gaudia revocandos effunderet et ut servus bonus talentum sibi creditum suo Domino cum lucro reportaret. Secutus itaque (I *Cor.* ix, 27.) apostolicam sententiam, *ne, dum aliis praedicaret, ipse reprobus inveniretur*, castigabat corpus suum in ieiuniis et in vigiliis, noctes ducens in orationibus, stans sine aliquo sustentaculi adminiculo.

7 A quinto decimo aetatis suae anno per totem vitae praesentis spatium, quo in hoc vixit mundo, usque ad extremum diem vocationis suae a Domine ter, ut veraci relatione didicimus, in hebdomada parcissimum sumpsit corporis cibum. Potest vero quilibet discretus de eo indubitanter affirmare, quia, licet ei defuerit gladius persecutoris, martyrii tamen palmam non amisit. Nam dum corpus crebris ieiuniis et protensis vigiliis affligeret, dum nocte dieque vitiis resisteret et orationibus insistens, dum contra

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not altogether, perished in Pembroke by the time the Welsh writers wrote in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, that their minds turned to a surviving *Lanna Iltuti*, that is, to Llanilltud Fawr? The original Llanilltud, on Caldy Island, being unknown, the name of Lantwit Major may have led them, and others after them, to think of Glamorgan as the country of Illtud. This seems to me, in lieu of better, a workable hypothesis. In West Gower the name *Ilston*, given in the Appendix to Fenton's *Pembrokeshire* (p. 65, l. 11), as *Yltynty* by mistake probably for *Iltuiti*, seems to have preserved a memorial of the first teacher of Welsh saints (*vide* Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, p. 361).

[1] *Iren.* We have in this name probably a form of the Irish *Erenn*, *e.g.*, rig Erren, King of Ireland. *Irenes*, along with *Iri*, was used in Latin to denote the people of Ireland. *Vide* Ussher, vol. vi, p. 281.

This account of a resort to Ireland for the sake of study is not, I believe, found elsewhere: the visit to that country described in our next *Vita* has a very different purpose. Beda, however, records that many of the nobles and of the middle classes crossed over from England to that island in the time of Finan and Colman, with a view either to reading divine things (*divinae lectionis*), or to lead a life of stricter asceticism (*continentioris vitae*). Vide *H. E.*, iii, 27. Perhaps our passage may be a reminiscence of Beda's words, and of the many examples he gives of such resorting to Ireland for monastic training. Cadoc, in the same way as Gildas, is said to have yearned to cross over to Ireland

6 Now, St. Gildas, having tarried for the space of some years under the instruction of St. Hildutus, and having been excellently taught by him everything that the divine goodness had entrusted to him, both in secular writings, as far as the subject demanded, and in divine writings, bade farewell to his pious master and his venerable fellow-disciples, and proceeded to Iren that, as a diligent inquirer, he might also ascertain the views of other teachers both in philosophy and divinity. When, therefore, he had passed through the schools of a great number of teachers, and, like a most sagacious bee, had collected the juices from various flowers, he hid himself in the beehive of the mother church, so that, in the suitable time, he might pour forth the mellifluous words of the Gospel to call back the people to the celestial joys, and, as a good servant, pay back with profit to his master the talent entrusted to him. And so, following the apostle's idea, that, *while preaching* 1 *Cor.* ix, 27 *to others, he should himself not be found rejected*, he used to buffet his body in fastings and watchings, spending the nights in prayers, standing without any support on which to rest himself.

7 From the fifteenth year of his age through the whole period of the present life which he lived in this world, up to the very last day on which he was called by the Lord, it was only three times in the week, as we have learnt from a trustworthy source, that he took a most scanty food for his body. For any prudent man whatever may assert without hesitation about him that, although the sword of the persecutor failed him, he did not, however, lose the martyr's palm. For while he buffetted his body with frequent fastings and with protracted vigils, while day and night, even when devoting himself to prayers, he withstood vices, while he struggled

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*discendi gratia*; after remaining there three years he returns with a large following of Irish clerics, among whom were Finian and Gnavan (*Vita S. Cadoci*, cc. 7, 8). Cybi also resorted to Ireland, remaining there four years (*Vita S. Kebii*, p. 184 of *Cambro-British Saints*). That this usage was common in the eleventh century, we know from the account given of Sulyen the Wise by his son Ieuan, how, following the example of the fathers, he went to the learned Irish, moved thereto by his love of reading (see p. 298, n. 1). But that Ireland should be sought by Gildas in his youth is extremely improbable, if not impossible, because the learned Ireland, which drew and welcomed many to its hospitable monasteries, had yet to be created. The change was, in fact begun by men who were themselves disciples of Gildas, David, and their fellows

[2] *In populos.* All the *Vitae* agree in representing the disciples of Illtud as pre-eminently preachers "to the people." In the quotation which follows, the Vulgate reads *ne forte cum aliis . . . . reprobus efficiat.*

diaboli temptationes reluctaretur et adversum corporis sui delectationes oppugnans se ipsum excruciaret, quid aliud de eo dici potest, nisi longum illum traxisse martyrium? Nam et ipse sibi et persecutor fuit et persecutiones sibi illatas pro Christo patienter sustinuit.

Igitur cum ad sacros ordines promotus esset et presbyteratus 8
fungeretur officio, audiens quod gentes, quae aquilonalem plagam[1] Britanniae insulae incolebant, adhuc gentili errore detinerentur et quod hi etiam, qui videbantur inter eas Christiani, non catholici essent, sed diversis haereticorum fraudibus irretirentur, *accipiens*, *Ephes.* vi, 13. iuxta apostoli praeceptum, *armaturam Dei, ut posset resistere in die malo et in omnibus perfectus stare*, de Christi adiutorio confidens coepit illuc pergere. *Stans* autem *succinctus lumbos mentis*[2] inter paganos atque haereticos, *indutus lorica iustitiae et calciatus pedes in praeparationem euangelii pacis in omnibus* periculis *sumebat scutum fidei, in quo posset omnia tela nequissimorum* daemoniorum *extinguere, galeamque salutis et gladium spiritus, quod est verbum Dei.* His itaque armis munitus Gildas Christi miles praeclarus praedicabat nomen Christi gentilibus, multis ex divina lege approbationibus ostendens nihil esse quod ab eis excolebatur. Haereticos autem verbum salutis opponens ad viam veritatis adduxit, a cunctis eos quoque revocans erroribus. Namque ei tantam dederat Dominus noster Iesus Christus gratiam etiam sanitatum, ut eius orationibus caeci inluminarentur, surdis auditus redderetur et claudis debilibusque gressus, daemoniaci curarentur, leprosi mundarentur et infirmi quique sanarentur. Pergebat igitur Gildas beatissimus euangelium Christi praedicando, docens veram fidem per universas provincias gentemque suam ad veram catholicamque fidem convertebat.

Haec et his similia agente beato Gilda omnis gens aquilonalis 9
plagae ad eius praedicationis doctrinam coepit undique confluere: quatenus derelicto gentili errore et percepta eius admonitione Sanctae Trinitatis fide in gremio collocaretur sanctae matris ecclesiae, ut vocaretur Christi sponsa et probaretur esse. Destruebantur itaque idola ab eis que ea fabricaverant cum templis suis et ecclesiae aedificabantur per congrua loca. Baptisabantur viri nobiles cum

[1] *Aquilonalem plagam.* After Ireland, Gildas proceeds to Scotland. We have no means of testing this account. It strikes one as a reminiscence of Columba's work among the Picts.

[2] *Lumbos mentis.* The writer is evidently quoting from memory, as *lumbos mentis* comes from I Peter i, 13. The interesting variant *in omnibus perfectus* is found in the Codices Fuldensis and Amiatinus.

against the temptations of the devil, and tortured himself in resisting the pleasures of the body, what else can be said of him except that he underwent a tedious martyrdom? For he himself was both his own persecutor, and the patient sufferer who endured the persecutions which he brought upon himself.

8 When, therefore, he had been promoted to holy orders, and was discharging the duties of a presbyter, he heard that the people who inhabited the northern region of the island of Britain were still held back by pagan error, and that even those who were deemed Christians among them were not orthodox, but were ensnared by the various impositions of heretics. He therefore took up, according to the apostle's instruction, *the armour of God*, *Ephes.* vi. 13. that *he might be able to withstand in the evil day*, *and*, *having been perfected in all things*, *to stand*; and then, he began, trusting in Christ's help, to proceed thither. And so, *standing*, *having girded the loins of his mind* among the pagans and heretics, *having put on the breastplate of righteousness*, *and having shod his feet unto the preparation of the Gospel of Peace*, *he took up*, in the midst of all dangers, *the shield of faith*, *wherewith he might be able to quench all the darts of the most evil spirits*, *and took the helmet of salvation and the sword of the Spirit*, *which is the word of God.* Protected, therefore, by these weapons, Gildas, the distinguished soldier of Christ, began to preach the name of Christ to the pagans, showing, by many proofs from the divine law, that what was worshipped by them did not exist at all. Adducing also the word of salvation, he led the heretics to the way of truth, recalling them even from all their errors. For our Lord Jesus Christ had given him such gifts of healings that, through his prayers, the blind received their sight, their hearing was restored to the deaf, and their power to walk to the lame and the maimed; the demoniacs were cured, the lepers were cleansed, and all the sick were healed. St. Gildas, therefore, continued in the preaching of the Gospel of Christ, teaching the true faith through all the provinces, and converted his nation to the true and catholic faith.

9 While St. Gildas was doing these and similar things, all the nation of the northern region began to flock, from every quarter, to the doctrine which he preached; with the result that, after forsaking its heathen errors, and learning, through his admonition, faith in the Holy Trinity, it was gathered together in the bosom of the holy mother the Church, so that it was called the bride of Christ and proved itself to be so. Accordingly, idols along with their temples were destroyed by those who had made them, and churches

uxoribus et filiis atque familiis. Cum autem videret beatus Gildas fecundam prolem Christianitatis et sanctae religionis ubique pullulare, inenarrabili gaudio repletus sic ait Domino: *Gratias tibi ago, Domine Iesu Christe, qui populum hunc diutius errantem sancti tui nominis gratia misericorditer illuminare dignatus es, et ad agnitionem tuam pervenire fecisti et qui hactenus infelices et hebetes erravimus in regione umbrae mortis, tandem lux tuae iustitiae illuxit nobis et pax perpetua iam regnat in nobis.*

10 Audiens autem beata Brigidda,[1] quae ipso tempore insignis erat in Hibernensi manens insula et monasterio virginum praeerat abbatissa, virgo praeclara, famam beati Gildae misit ad eum nuntium cum verbis deprecatoriis dicens: *Gaude, pater sancte ac semper in domino polle. Obsecro te, ut aliquod indicium tuae sanctitatis mihi transmittere digneris, ut semper apud nos tua vigeat perenniter memoria.* Tunc sanctus Gildas percepta sanctae virginis legatione propriis manibus formulam fecit fusili opere et tintinnabulum composuit secundum petitionem ipsius et per nuntium, quem miserat, ei transmisit; quod illa gaudens suscepit ac velut caeleste munus ab eo sibi transmissum libenter accepit.

11 Eo tempore regnabat Ainmericus[2] rex per totam Hiberniam,

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[1] *Brigidda.* The name elsewhere, as one may see from Petrie's *Descriptive Catalogue*, pp. 105-16, varies between Brigida and Briggitta: the English *Lives* have St. Bride or Bryde, while Welsh documents write Ffredde, Ffrêd which in Modern Welsh is Ffraid, as in Llansantffraid. The date of her death in the *Annales Cambriae* is 521; in Ussher's *Index Chronologicus* it is assigned to 523, and her application to Gildas "Albanius," as recorded in this passage, is placed in 484 (S. Brigida, legatione in Britanniam ad Gildam Albanium missa, nolam ipsius manibus fusam dono ab eo accepisse traditur). The date 523 is very generally accepted for the death of St. Bridget, but it renders any communication between her and Gildas next to impossible. On grounds discussed elsewhere, we may place Gildas' birth at *c.* 500, and the writing of the *De Excidio* a few years after 540, so that his fame can hardly have penetrated to the "holi maide of Hirlonde" at Kildare before 523. The story of Gildas' bell appears in the next *Vita* and in the *Vita Cadoci*, in connection with the Pope and Gildas; in the *Vita Iltuti* it is narrated respecting Illtud and Cadoc. There is an interesting chapter in Anderson's *Scotland in Early Christian Times* on Celtic Bells, pp. 169-215.

[2] *Ainmericus.* The *Annals oj Ulster* place the "murder of Ainmire, son of Setna, by Fergus, son of Nellen, in 568." Opposite 575 as well we have: "in this year, the killing of Ainmire, son of Setna, of whom was said:—

Femen, when there was a King,
Was not a place without valour.
To-day, crimson in its aspect
By Ainmere, son of Setna."

(*Rev. Celtique*, 1896, p. 148.)

were built in suitable places. Men of noble rank, together with their wives and children and families, were baptized. Now, when St. Gildas saw that the fruitful offspring of Christianity and the holy religion was everywhere increasing, he was filled with unspeakable joy, and said thus unto the Lord: *I thank Thee, Lord Jesus Christ, who in Thy mercy hast thought fit, by the grace of Thy holy name, to enlighten this people that have too long been straying, and hast made it attain unto knowledge of Thee; and that upon us who, up till this moment, unhappy and unfeeling, have been wandering in the land of the shadow of death, the light of Thy righteousness has shone at last, and eternal peace now reigns within us.*

10 Now, St. Bridget, an illustrious virgin, who dwelt and flourished at that time in the island of Hibernia, and presided as abbess over a nunnery, on hearing of the renown of St. Gildas, sent a messenger to him, saying with entreating words: *Rejoice, holy father, and be always strong in the Lord. I beseech thee to deem it worthy to send me some token of thy holiness, that the memory of thee may ever, without ceasing, be held in honour amongst us.* Then St. Gildas, having heard the holy virgin's ambassador, made with his own hands a mould of wrought work and, according to her petition, constructed a bell, and despatched it to her by means of the messenger whom she had sent. She joyfully took it, and gladly received it as a heavenly gift sent to her from him.

11 At that time, all Hibernia was governed by king Ainmericus.

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From the *Annals of Tigernach* we have substantially the same information, though the dates in *Tigernach* are uncertain: the other dates are, *Chron. Scotorum*, 569; *Annals of Inisfallen*, 561; *Four Masters*, 566. Further information respecting Ainmire may be gathered from *Vita S. Columbae*, i, 7, and iii, 5, in Dr. Reeve's notes.

It is easily seen that *eo tempore*, referred to the three years' reign of Ainmire, can in no way include the time when St. Bridget was Abbess of Kildare, neither could the Irish visit of Gildas cover the more than forty years which intervened between the two. Nevertheless, this reference to Ainmire seems to contain a really historical event; Welsh intercourse with Ireland began during the late sixties of the sixth century. "Unless all the traditions given in *Lives* of Saints are fictions, there can be no doubt that, during the sixth century, the Irish Church was in a way built anew. So great a multitude of monasteries are said to have been founded then, that there appears to have been no corner of Ireland without its monastery. Among the founders of these, some arrived at such a height of excellence that they had with them immense crowds of monks. Such were Finian, Abbot of Clonard, in Meath, whose disciple Columba himself is said to have been, and Comgall, Abbot of Bangor, in Ulster, a contemporary of

qui et ipse misit ad beatum Gildam rogans, ut ad se veniret, promittens se ipsius doctrinis in omnibus obediturum, si veniens ecclesiasticum ordinem in suo regno restauraret, quia paene catholicam fidem in ipsa insula omnes reliquerant. Cum haec itaque audisset Gildas Christi miles beatissimus munitus armis caelestibus petivit Hiberniam Christum praedicaturus. Contigit autem quadam die, dum pergeret ad regis palatium, occurrere sibi quemdem paralyticum, quem parentes sui circumquaque trahebant quaerentes alimoniam ab incolis terrae. Quem videns beatus Gildas misertus illius genua flexit ac pro eo domino orationem fudit et had vehiculum miseri accedens dixit: *In nomine Domini nostri Iesu Christi sta rectus super pedes tuos et a Domino pristinam recipe sanitatem.* Qui mox receptis viribus corporis sanus efficitur atque exclamans voce magna coepit magnificare nomen Domini et sancto viro magnificas laudes referre, dicens se ire cum illo, ubicumque voluisset. Quod sanctus non ferens ait illi: *Vide, ne mecum venias, sed revertere domum et non desistas Domini misericordiam collaudare, qui te sanitati restituit.* At ille magis magisque in laudem eius prorumpebat et cunctis, quos obvios habebat, indicabat dicens: *Venientes, venite omnes et videte virum sanctum Dei qui mihi sanitatem corporis et animae reddidit.* Tunc sanctus Gildas nolens tantum favorem et plausum plebis sustinere discessit protinus ab eis et abiit latenter, ne agnosceretur et abscondit se.

**12** Post paucos vero dies inventus a quibusdam nobilibus viris quondam sibi notis regi Ainmerico est praesentatus. Quem cum vidisset, multis precibus eum rogabat plurimaque offerens dona postulabat, ut apud se maneret et, sicut ei prius mandaverat, ecclesiasticum restauraret ordinem in regione eadem, quia penitus catholicam fidem a maximo usque ad minimum omnes amiserant. Tunc sanctus Gildas *munitus clipeo fortitudinis et galea salutis* omnes fines Hibernensium circuivit et ecclesias restauravit, clerum

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Columba." Loofs, *Antiquae Britonum Scotorumque Ecclesiae quales fuerunt Mores*, p. 55. These names and those of others who, by the traditions referred to in the words of Dr. Loofs, were disciples of Gildas and Dewi Sant, are found in the list of the "Second Order of Irish Saints," which covers the years from about 599 to 664. "Secundus ordo Catholicorum presbyterorum . . . . a Davide episcopo et Gilla (Gilda) et a Doco Britonibus missam acceperunt." Anon. [*c.* A.D. 750], *Incipit Catalogus Sanctorum Hiberniae, secundum diversa tempora.*

Gildas' visit to Ireland is placed by the *Annales Cambriae* in the year 565

He also sent to St. Gildas, begging him to come to him, and promising that he would obey his instructions in everything, if he should come and restore church order in his realm; for almost every man in that island had abandoned the catholic faith. When, therefore, Gildas, the most saintly soldier of Christ, heard this, he equipped himself with the heavenly weapons, and directed his course to Hibernia to preach Christ. Now it happened on a certain day, when he was going to the king's palace, that a certain man, sick of the palsy, met him, whom his parents were leading about, asking alms of the inhabitants of the country. Seeing him and taking compassion upon him, St. Gildas bent on his knees, and uttered a prayer to the Lord on his behalf. He then approached the wretched man's vehicle, and said: *In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, stand upright on thy feet, and receive from the Lord thy former health.* He at once received his bodily strength and was made whole; and, exclaiming with a loud voice, he began to magnify the name of the Lord, and to repeat lofty praises of the holy man, saying that he would go with him whithersoever he should wish. The saint could not endure this, and said to him: *See that thou comest not with me, but return home, and cease not to extol the mercy of the Lord who hath restored to thee thy health.* But the man more and more burst out in praise of him, and declared to all whom he met, saying: *Come, come ye all, and see a holy man of God, who has restored to me the health of my body and of my soul.* Then St. Gildas, as he cared not to be the object of such popularity and applause from the people, departed forthwith from them, and went away secretly that he might not be recognized, and concealed himself.

12 In a few days after he was found by some men of noble birth who had once been known to him, and was introduced by them to king Ainmericus. When the king saw him, he begged him with many entreaties, and with an offer of numerous gifts asked him to remain with him, and, as he had previously enjoined him, to restore church order in that island; for all, from the greatest to the least, had altogether lost the catholic faith. Then St. Gildas, protected with *the shield of courage and the helmet of salvation*, went round all the territories of the Hibernians and restored the churches,

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(Rolls Series edn.), but this event is absent from the more correct *Annals* as printed by Mr. Phillimore; his death is there assigned to 570; in the *Annals of Ulster* to 569, so also in the *Four Masters*; the *Chron. Scot.* gives 571; and *Annals of Inisfallen*, 562.

universum in fide catholica, ut Sanctam Trinitatem colerent, instruxit, populos graviter morsibus haereticorum sauciatos curavit, fraudes haereticas cum auctoribus suis ab eis longe repulit. Iamiamque pullulante in gremio sanctae matris ecclesiae segete multitudinis credentium et avulsis haereticorum spinis terra diu sterilis fecundata rore caelestis gratiae gratiores profert fructus ad agnitionem supernae vocationis. Fide namque crescente catholica regio gavisa est tantum se promeruisse patronum. Multa deinceps vir beatus monasteria construxit[1] in eadem insula, non paucos in eis nobilium filios enutriens et norma regularis disciplinae informans: et ut plures domino offerre posset alumnos, iam factus monachus collegit monachos secum tam ex nobilibus quam ex pauperibus pupillis et orphanis, necnon et captivos tyrannica servitute paganorum irretitos misericorditer liberavit, utque pastor bonus talenta sibi a domino credita fideliter duplicata ipsi ovans reportare curavit. Omnem denique regionem Hibernensium et Anglorum[2] necnon et exterarum nationum suo instruxit exemplo et erudivit sermone: quarum gentes et nationes actus et virtutes eius usque in hodiernum diem honorifice venerantur ubique.

Dimissa igitur post haec Hibernia atque Britannia et relictis omnibus suis beatus Gildas peregre proficiscens Romam[3] petiit sanctorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli merita deprecaturus, quatenus eorum intercessione a Domino posset peccatorum veniam obtinere et in Dei servitio firmiter perseverare atque sanctis omnibus in caelesti patria adiungi mereretur. Cum autem vigiliarum atque matutinorum laude finita quadam die diluculo de aula beati Petri egressus volens solito more exire et ceterorum oratoria sanctorum Romuleae Urbis circuire et suffragia eorum petere, occurrit ei quidam hydropicus inflatus humore dirae infirmitatis quaerebatque alimoniam ab eo. Cui beatus Gildas ait: *Non est mihi quicquam pecuniae in manibus, quod tibi possim dare: sed in nomine Domini nostri Iesu Christi et meritis beatorum apostolorum Petri*

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[1] *Multa monasteria construxit.* We have in these words an echo of the revival which took place in Ireland during the sixth century.

[2] *Anglorum.* This name may be significant; the only name used by Gildas himself is *Saxones*, and here *Anglorum* must mean *Britannorum*.

[3] *Romam petiit.* A visit to Rome is so far a part of the common material used in scores of *Vitae*, that we cannot decide where truth may be and where fiction. Such a pilgrimage on the part of Gildas late in the sixth century is, to say the least, very unlikely, though more credible than the legendary visit of David, Teilo, and Padarn to Jerusalem, or Cadoc's three journeys to Jerusalem and seven to Rome, as described in the *Vitae*.

instructed the whole body of the clergy in the catholic faith, that they might worship the holy Trinity, healed the people who were severely wounded by the bites of the heretics, and drove far away from them the heretical conceits along with their authors. And when now the harvest of the multitude of believers was growing in the bosom of the mother church, and the thorns of the heretics had been plucked off, the land, long sterile, was now fertilized by the dew of heavenly grace, and brought forth more pleasing fruits unto the knowledge of the heavenly calling. For as the catholic faith was increasing, the country rejoiced at having won so great a man for its patron. Afterwards the saintly man built many monasteries in the said island, rearing in them not a few sons of noble men, and fashioning them by the rule of a regular discipline. And, that he might be able to present more disciples to the Lord, being a monk, he now gathered monks to himself not only from the ranks of the nobles, but also from among poor orphans and bereaved persons; yea, in his compassion, he even set free the captives who had been ensnared by the despotic slavery of the pagans, and, as a good shepherd, triumphing over himself, he strove to pay back to Him, faithfully doubled, the talents entrusted him by the Lord. In short, he instructed by his example and taught by his words the whole country of the Irish and the English, and likewise of foreign nations: their peoples and their nations everywhere up to this day revere with deep honour his acts and his virtues.

13 After these events St. Gildas departed from Hibernia and Britain, and left all his friends behind him. Then, setting out for foreign parts, he directed his course to Rome, to plead the merits of the holy apostles Peter and Paul, that, through their intercession, he might be able to obtain from the Lord the remission of his sins and to continue steadfast in the service of God, and be deemed worthy of being united to all the saints in the heavenly country. But when, after finishing the praises of vigils and matins, he went out at dawn on a certain day from the palace of St. Peter, desiring, as was his wont, to go out and go round the oratories of the rest of the saints in the city of Romulus, and to seek their prayers, he was met by a certain man, sick of the dropsy, swollen with the water of his dread disease, and asking alms of him. St. Gildas said to him: *I have no money in my possession that I can give thee; but in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by the merits of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, be thou healed from this infirmity; and if*

*et Pauli sanus sis ab hac infirmitate, et si quis te interrogaverit, quis te sanum fecit, dicito, quod Dominus Iesus Christus per merita apostolorum suorum in me misericordiam suam fecit.* Sanus itaque statim factus aeger intravit in basilicam sancti Petri, laudens et benedicens Deum. Sanctus autem Gildas coeptam tenuit viam, cumque per aliquot dies ibi maneret perlustrans oratoria sanctorum, audivit Romanos cives graviter dolere ob pestiferum flatum draconis, qui erat latens in caverna cuiusdam montis, qui multos Romanorum et aliorum circumquaque vicinorum pestilenti flatu interemerat. Quod audiens beatus Gildas exivit ab hospitio suo latenter valde diluculo ascenditque in montem portans baculum in manu et oratione facta venit ad os speluncae et videns draconem invocato Christi nomine intrepidus dixit : *In nomine Domini nostri Iesu Christi praecipio tibi, ut statim intereas, ne populus fidelium a te amplius perimatur.* Qui mox in terram corruens mortuus est et cessavit eius plaga a populo.

14 Tunc beatus Gildas Ravennam abiit gratia orationis beati Apollinaris.[1] Cum autem appropinquaret portae civitatis, occurrit ei quidam caecus et mutus, quem ductor manu trahebat, ipse autem tabulam percutiebat malleolo ob significationem eleemosynae quaerendae. Quem videns beatus Gildas misericordia motus coepit flere et postulans deferri sibi aquam benedixit sparsitque super faciem caeci. Deo itaque donante lumen recepit et accipiens sal similiter benedixit misitque in os eius. Statim quoque loquutus est benedicens Deum et beatum virum magnificans, qui tantam sospitatem ei contulerat.

15 Factum est autem, cum inde reverteretur, contigit eum incidere in latrunculos. Quem videntes nitentem decore pulcritudinis alii conabantur eum capere, alii interficere. Quos ut vidit sibi appropinquare, invocato Christi nomine continuo nuto Dei fecit pedes eorum adhaerere terrae ipsosque velut lapides obrigescere, recedensque ab eis coeptam tenebat viam. Cum autem longe ab eis recessisset, conversus retrorsum elevavit manum et solvit eos. Qui soluti in fugam versi sunt et neminem postea in illis locis laeserunt.

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[1] *Orationis beati Apollinaris.* In the *Vita* by Agnellus, a presbyter of Ravenna, Apollinaris is represented as the first bishop of that city, and as having suffered martyrdom under Vespasian (*temporibus Vespasiani Cæsaris martyrio coronatus est*).

*anyone ask thee who made thee whole, tell them, it was the Lord Jesus Christ, through the merits of His apostles, that showed His mercy unto me.* Forthwith the sick man was made whole, and entered the basilica of the apostle Peter, praising and magnifying God. St. Gildas, however, proceeded on the journey he had begun; and while tarrying there for a few days visiting the oratories of the saints, he heard that the citizens of Rome were being grievously afflicted owing to the noxious breath of a dragon which was hiding in a cavern in some mountain, and which, by its pestiferous breath, had killed many of the Romans and of others dwelling in the neighbourhood. Hearing this, St. Gildas, at an early hour in the morning, went out secretly from his inn, and ascended the mountain, bearing a staff in his hand. After offering up a prayer, he came to the mouth of the cave; and, seeing the dragon, he called upon the name of Christ, and said fearlessly: *In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, I bid thee die at once, that the people of believers may be no more destroyed by thee.* All at once it sank down to the ground and died, and its plague ceased from among the people.

14 Then St. Gildas, to benefit by the prayer of St. Apollinaris, departed for Ravenna. As he was approaching the gate of the city, there met him a blind and dumb man, whom a man was leading about by the hand, while he himself was beating a board with a hammer, for a sign that he was asking alms. On seeing him, St. Gildas was moved with pity, and began to weep; and, requesting that water should be brought to him, he blessed it and sprinkled it on the blind man's face. And so, by the favour of God, he received his sight. Then, taking some salt, he similarly blessed it, and applied it to the man's mouth. Straightway he spoke also, blessing God and magnifying the blessed man who had conferred such great health upon him.

15 Now it came to pass that, when he was returning thence, he happened to fall among thieves. Seeing him shining by the splendour of his handsome person, some tried to capture him, others to kill him. When he saw them approaching him, he called upon the name of Christ; and forthwith, with the assent of God, he caused their feet to stick to the ground, and themselves to become stiff as stones. He then withdrew from them, and proceeded on the way he had begun. But, when he had gone a considerable distance from them, he turned back, lifted up his hand, and released them. When they were released, they took to flight, and after that injured no man in those districts.

Deinde cum disponeret in suam redire patriam, non permisit 16
*l.c.* i, 58. Deus, qui *suam nobiscum* volebat *magnificare misericordiam*. Nam cum Dei iussu pervenisset in Armoricam quondam Galliae regionem, tunc autem a Britannis, a quibus possidebatur, Letavia[1] dicebatur, ab eis honorifice et cum gaudio magno susceptus est. Ipse autem saeculares fugitivosque devitans honores theoricam magis desiderabat ducere vitam. Erat autem tunc temporis parva res regum regnique Francorum. Childericus[2] enim eo tempore Merovei filius gentilium errori deditus imperabat Francis, quod ex gestis veterum prudens lector cognoscere potest. Sanctus igitur Gildas triginta habens annos[3] venit ad quandam insulam, quae in

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[1] *Letavia.* The writer expressly informs us that this was a name employed by the *Britanni*, *i.e.*, the Bretons, themselves. Generally speaking, the only name we find in Latin writers, from Gregory of Tours down to the Middle Ages, is *Britannia*, sometimes with the adjective *minor* added, to imply the smaller Britain as distinguished from the island Britannia. Gregory has both the singular *Britannia* and the plural *Britanniae*, while the people in his pages are everywhere called *Britanni*, though once, seemingly, we read of a *quidam Britto.* Other writers employ the form *Brittones*, as for instance, Samson is made to say to King Hilbertus : " I have come into the country of the Brittones" —*in Brittonum patriam deveni.* These names, whatever date be given to the emigration or emigrations to Armorica, must have been carried over by the people themselves, and many other old names found new places to designate, such as Dumnonia (Devon), Cornubia (Cornwall), Léon, etc. Of such names of places or peoples conveyed *to* Armorica, *Letavia* is an instance.

In the *Vita S. Iltuti* the form is also *Letavia* (c. i) ; but the *Vita Cadoci* twice gives us the name as *Lettau* (cc. 32, 42). Nennius (*Historia Brittonum*, c. 27) is probably the earliest writer to mention Brittany under this name ; or, to speak more correctly, two MSS. of his work, which insert an interpolation of considerable length. After the record that the Britons who had left Britain with Maximianus (Maximus, more correctly) for the continent, never returned, but became the " Britons of Armorica" (Brittones Armorici), the interpolation proceeds to say that, having married Gallic wives, they cut the tongues of all, lest the children should learn their mothers' language. " For which reason those are called in our tongue *Letewicion*, that is, half-mutes, because they speak confusedly (*id est, semi-tacentes quoniam confuse loquuntur*)." The derivation so given to *Letewicion* is from *let* (=modern *llêd*) in the sense of "partly" ; and *tewicion* (*tewi*, *tewigion*), " silent ones": *Letewic*, however, is *Letevicus*, meaning an inhabitant of *Letau* or *Letaw*, which in modern Welsh is Llydaw. Henry of Huntingdon (i, 43) repeats the assertion of Nennius as to the settlement of Britons in Armorica in the time of Maximus : " Brittones vero quos Maximus secum adduxerat in Gallia Armorica usque hodie remanserunt."

[2] *Childericus.* There seems to be some confusion in the biographer's mind when he places the coming of Gildas to Letavia in the time of this prince. Zimmer is of opinion that he really means either *Childebertus I*, son of

16 When he was afterwards making arrangements to return to his own country, God, who willed *to magnify His mercy unto us* *Lk.* i, 58. would not permit him to do so. For when, at God's command, he had come to Armorica—formerly a territory in Gaul, but it was at that time called Letavia by the Bretons, in whose possession it was—he was received by the inhabitants with honour and great joy. But he himself, while shunning worldly and vanishing honours, was longing more and more to lead a life of contemplation. At that time, however, the resources of the kings and kingdom of the Franks were small. For in those days, as any wise reader can learn from the histories of the ancients, it was Childericus, the son of Meroveus, a man devoted to the error of the heathen, that was ruling over the Franks. St. Gildas, therefore, in the thirtieth year of his age, came to some island which lay in

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Clovis, who reigned from 511 to 558, or *Chilpericus*, son of Chlotochar, and grandson of Clovis, whose reign extended from 562 to 584. The *Historia Francorum* by Gregory of Tours introduces Meroveus in these words: "Merovechum regem fuisse adserunt, *cuius fuit filius Childericus* (ii, 9). This Childeric was the father of Chlodovech, or, as the name is generally written, Clovis, who succeeded him in 481; Clovis again had four sons, among whom his kingdom was divided after his death, viz., Chlotochar I, Childebert I, Theuderic I, and Chlodomer. For three years the kingdom was united under Chlotochar I, but on his death was again divided among his four sons, Charibert, Gunthram, Chilperic and Sigibert (*Hist. Fr.*, iv, 22). Gildas' later life might have been contemporary with Childebert or Chilperic, but when we remember that these two were Christian and Catholic kings, while the king whom our biographer had in mind was, as he represents him, a heathen (*gentilium errori deditus*), we can only conclude that he meant the Childericus who died in 481. He, as the son of Meroveus and father of Clovis, it is easily known, was a heathen king, but had been dead many years before the birth of Gildas. Besides the mention of his being a heathen, the expression *tunc temporis parva res*, in reference to "the kingdom of the Franks," can only apply to a time anterior to the conquests of Clovis. Our biographer, I conclude, is drawing upon his imagination, and has fallen into error.

[3] *Gildas triginta habens annos.* According to this account, Gildas migrated to Armorica when he was thirty years of age. I may refer to the notes on pp 62, 64, and 156 of the *De Excidio*, where I believe the right conclusion is drawn, that Gildas had not, when he wrote that work, retired as fully as he intended from the struggles of an active life: seclusion was as yet something to be longed for when he was in the forty-fourth year of his age. The visit to Ireland, by many indications, must be placed in the sixties of the sixth century, while the years spent by several Irish saints, such as Finian and Brendan, with Gildas and Dewi at Kil-muine (St. David's), suppose a lengthened stay in his native country either before or after that visit. Gildas, therefore, cannot have emigrated to Brittany before the evening of his days. Here

Reuvisii pagi prospectu sita est, ibique aliquamdiu solitariam duxit Matth. v, 15. vitam. Sed non post longum tempus, cum iam non posset *accensa lucerna sub modio* manere, *sed super candelabrum*, ut vicini quique ac noti eius tam prope quam longe claritatis illius lumine fruerentur, coeperunt hinc et inde venire ad eum et eius magisterio et doctrinae commendare filios suos erudiendos: quos omnes libenter suscipiens spirituali eos eruditione erudiebat. Veniens itaque ad quoddam castrum in monte Reuvisii[1] in prospectu maris situm ibi potioris fabricae construxit monasterium atque in eo claustra coenobitali ritu perfecit. Ubi tantum eius emicuit vita, ut plurimi infirmi ac debiles et leprosi, qui circumquaque erant, ad eum venientes sanitati eius actionibus et meritis reddebantur, quod usque in praesens tempus facere non desinit in eodem loco eius meritis omnipotens Deus.

Tunc denique construxit parvum oratorium super ripam flumi- 17

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again, we are driven to conclude that our biographer is wrong as to the time of the fact he records.

The solitary sojourn upon an island is an extremely probable incident of Gildas' life; we see that he sighs for a retirement of this kind in the middle of his warfare. The *Book of Llandâv* represents him as leading such a life on the Island of Echni (*in insula Echni ducens anchoritalem vitam*), of which island the position is clearly indicated by words found on another page: "along the Wye till it falls into the Severn; along the Severn Sea by the island of Echni as far as the estuary of the Towy" (*Book of Llandâv*, Evans' edition, pp. 135, 139, 368). The *Vita S. Cadoci*, c. 29, also mentions this hermitage: "Cum beatus Gildas in insula Echni" (c. 29); see also *Vita II*, c. 9. The anchorite life on the island mentioned in this passage may well have been a continuation of that which was begun on the island in the Bristol Channel. In c. 28 it is called *Horata*, and by Breton writers is identified with the island *Houat*.

[1] *In monte Reuvisii.* Here Gildas built the monastery called after his name *Saint Gildas de Ruys*; at first it must have been a place where the severe Celtic discipline, afterwards made famous on the continent by St. Columbanus and his disciples, was practised; in time, however, the community yielded to the general progress which transformed so many cloisters into Benedictine houses.

Perhaps I cannot do better than translate the description given by the Dominican, Albert la Grand, in his *Vies des Saints de la Bretagne Armorique*, which I take from the new issue (1901) of the third edition of 1680. "The Benedictine Abbey of St. Gildas is situated in the see of Vannes, on the peninsula of Rhuys, which might be called a terrestrial paradise, or Land of Promise, since it brings forth in abundance provisions, wines, salt, wood, forests, wool, flax, butter, honey, hay, pasture, fruit, fish, game, etc., and everything that the most fertile countries can produce by way of delicacies for the life of man. Therefore the Dukes of Brittany have built there the fine castle of Succinio

sight of the district of Reuvisium, and there, for a considerable time, spent a solitary life. But, after no long time, as the lamp *Matt.* v, 15. that had been lit could no longer remain under a bushel, but upon a stand, that all his neighbours and acquaintances, both near and far away, might enjoy the light of its brightness, the people began to flock to him from all directions, and to entrust their sons for their instruction to his superintendence and teaching. He gladly took them all under his charge, and began to instruct them in spiritual knowledge. Coming, therefore, to some fort on a mountain in Reuvisium, situated in sight of the sea, he built there a monastery of more skilful workmanship, and in it he constructed defences after the fashion of cloisters. There his life shone forth so brilliantly that a large number of sick and maimed persons and lepers, who were in the country round about, came to him, and were restored to health by his actions and merits,—a wonder which, even up to the present time, by the merits of the saint, Almighty God has not ceased to work in that place.

17 He then, finally, built a small oratory on the bank of the river

. . . . ; it is only six leagues in extent. . . . . The isle of Rhuys contains three large parishes: in that of Sarzean, at the entrance, are situated the castle, forests, estates and park of Succinio, a convent of Mathurins, and the beautiful priory of Hezean; in the parish of St. Gildas, to the south, is the abbey of the same name, and in that of Arzon, to the west, is an ancient convent of Cordeliers." The famous Abelard, who was born not far from the neighbourhood, spent some part of his romantic life as abbot of this monastery; one of his letters to Heloise gives a graphic description of his treatment at the hands of the monks over whom he had to preside. He must have followed soon after the Felix mentioned below.

Reuvisium, or Reuvisius (in À Bosco's edition, *Reumuisii* and *Reumuysii*), is probably a compound, *Reu-Visius*, in which *v* of the second part would appear as the semi-vowel *w* in a modern form; hence M. Loth is inclined to regard *Visius* or *Uysius* as the equivalent of the second part of *Caer-Wys*, if not also of *Powys* (Pou-Vis). See *L'Emigration Armoricaine*, pp. 186, 187. Of the three main tribes found among the Armorican settlers, the names *Domnonii* and *Domnonia*, *Cornovii* and *Cornubia*, plainly show from what parts of Britain two had come; as to the original home of the third tribe, the people of Bro-Waroch, in the neighbourhood of Vannes, among whom Gildas settled, there are hardly any names that give precise information (see note on c. 32).

The *pagus* of Reuvisium covered the small peninsula which forms the southern border of the inner sea of Morbihan; that sea and the "ile de Rhuys," or "presqu'ile de Rhuys," for both names are found, lie almost directly south from Vannes. The present abbey stands on the edge of a high rocky promontory called Grand Mont, facing the sea on the south, which, no doubt, is the place mentioned by the writer as *Mons Reuvisii*.

nis Blaveti[1] sub quadam eminenti rupe ab occidente in orientem ipsam concavans rupem et ad latus eius dextrum erigens parietem congruum fecit oratorium, sub quo de rupe emanare fecit fontem perlucidum. Cum vero fenestram orientalem eiusdem oratorii vitro claudere vellet beatus Gildas et vitrum ei deesset, prostratus in terra Dominum deprecatur. Surgens autem ab oratione abiit ad quandam rupem et ex ipsa Domino largiente optimum tulit vitrum. Molam quoque ibi fecit, cui triticum immisit ac manu vertit, quae usque in praesens tempus in eodem loco servatur et a fidelibus infirmis, operantibus cum Christo sancti viri meritis, languores ad eam expelluntur. Nec est silentio praetereundum et illud, quod per eum fecit Dominus, miraculum. Nam cum in cella quadam die cum fratribus moraretur, venerunt ad eum hospites: quos libenter suscipiens duxit ad orationem ac deinde omnem eis adhibuit humanitatem et lavans pedes eorum ac manus, quod habuit, cum caritate dedit eis. Sed cum non haberet vinum quod eis tribueret, oratione facta iussit implere vasa vinaria aqua dataque super eam benedictione iussione divina in optimum vinum est conversa. Quam virtutem admirantes cuncti qui aderant omnipotenti Domino gratias retulerunt, qui in euangelio suis fidelibus
*Ioh.* xiv, 12. promiserat dicens: *Opera, quae ego facio, et ipsi facient et maiora horum facient.*

Quamvis autem talis ac tantus esset, ut per eum Deus tot 18
miracula faceret, nulli tamen se praeferebat, sed humilior omnibus esse videbatur. Licet vero abbatis locum teneret, tamen, ut sibi subditis exemplum humilitatis ostenderet, secundum divinum
*Matth.* xxii, 12. praeceptum quod ait: *Qui maior est vestrum, erit minister* et ipse omnibus servire curabat. Et ne Domini Iesu surdus esset auditor
*Matth.* xi, 29. dicentis: *Discite a me, quia mitis sum et humilis corde*, satagebat etiam ipse et in hoc Domini salvatoris obedire praeceptis; nam
*Num.* xii, 3. sicut de Moyse scriptum est, erat et ille *mitissimus omnium illius*

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[1] *Fluminis Blaveti.* This is the river Blavet, which enters the sea some distance to the north-west of the Bay de Quiberon and Morbihan Sea; L'Orient is situated on its estuary. "The rock, at the foot of which St. Gildas made his retirement, is in the parish of Bieuzy-des-Eaux, on the right bank of the Blavet, quite close to the mountain or promontory of Castennec . . . . It may be seen clearly from the line of railway going from Auray to Pontivy, 200 or 300 metres before entering the tunnel near the station of St. Nicolas-des-Eaux. The rock is steep, and at a certain height overhangs about two metres, forming a kind of shelter, which the Saint completed by placing there a double cell, one for him and the other for his companion and disciple, St. Bieuzy. This hermitage existed in its primitive state down to the seventeenth century; now it is replaced

Blavetum under a certain overhanging rock: he hollowed out the rock itself from west to east, raised a wall on its right side, and thus made a suitable oratory, underneath which he caused a fountain of clear water to issue forth from the rock. But when St. Gildas wished to close up the east window of that oratory with glass, and could not find any glass, he prostrated himself on the ground, and prayed to the Lord. On rising from his prayer, he went off to a certain rock; and from that very rock, by the bountifulness of the Lord, he brought excellent glass. He also made a mill there, to which he put the wheat, and which he turned with the hand. This mill is preserved in the same place up to the present day; and into it, as the merits of the saint avail with Christ, sick Christians banish all their ailments. Nor must we pass by in silence the following miracle also, which the Lord wrought through him. For, as he was one day tarrying with his brethren in his cell, some guests came to him. He joyfully welcomed them and led them to prayer, and showed every kindness to them, washing both their hands and feet, and with love gave whatsoever he had. But as he had not wine to offer them, he prayed, and then bade the servants fill the wine-vessels with water; and when he had blessed it, the water, by the divine command, was turned into the best wine. Wondering at this power, all who were present returned thanks to the Almighty Lord, who, in His Gospel, has promised to His faithful followers: *The works that I do, shall they do also; and greater works than these shall* *John* xiv, 12. *they do.*

18 But, although he was a man of such character and greatness that God worked so many miracles through him, he nevertheless placed before himself no one, but appeared to be more lowly than any. Although, indeed, he held the office of an abbot, nevertheless, that he might show to his inferiors an example of lowliness, according to the divine precept which says, *He that is greater* *Matt.* xxiii, 12. *among you shall be a servant*, he himself also would strive to be a servant to all. And that he might not be a deaf listener to the Lord Jesus, who says, *Learn of Me, for I am meek and lowly in* *Matt.* xi, 29. *heart*, he was in this also diligent to obey the commandments of the Lord his Saviour: for as it has been written of Moses: *Num.* xii, 3.

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by a chapel, where are found also two compartments and two altars in commemoration of the two Saints."—M. Alexandre M. Thomas' note, "Ermitage du Blavet" in Albert le Grand, *Les Vies des Saints*, p. 29.

*temporis hominum.* Sapiens quoque tam in doctrina quam in actione erat, verax in collocutione, *in orationibus assiduus*, pernox in vigiliis, ieiuniis corpus macerans, *in iniuriis patiens*, in colloquio affabilis, in eleemosynis largus, in omni bonitate conspicuus. Docebat quoque haereticos post primam et secundam correptionem devitandos esse, eleemosynis autem peccata redimere praedicabat, esurientes satiare, sitientes potare, nudos vestire, infirmos et in carceribus positos visitare, mortuos sepelire, nulli malum pro malo reddere, ieiunium amare, vigiliis et orationibus semper insistere. Sic clericos, sic monachos, sic etiam laicos doctor egregius instruebat nihilque aliis quam quod ipse faceret praecipiebat. Itaque
1 *Cor.* ix, 22. *Rom.* xii, 15. *omnibus omnia factus cum lugentibus lugens, cum gaudentibus* erat *gaudens.* Erat itaque pater pauperum atque orphanorum, lugentium consolator. Litigantes ad concordiam revocabat, homicidas autem, adulteros, sacrilegos, fures, raptores, cuiuscumque condicionis essent, arguebat, nullius personam verens. Et primitus quidem ex euangelicis dictis atque apostolicis et propheticis eos terrens, deinde ad paenitentiam revocans, Dei misericordiam confidenter promittebat eos promereri, si tamen digne paeniterent.

19 Denuo sanctus vir a fratribus rogatus religiosis, qui ad eum e Britanniis venerant, post decem annos, ex quo inde recesserat, scripsit epistolarem libellum,[1] in quo quinque reges ipsius insulae redarguit diversis sceleribus atque criminibus irretitos. Quam eleganter itaque et succincte eorum ignaviam commemoraverit et nominatim unumquemque de suis nequitiis reprehenderit, huic
*Supra*, pp. 65, 66. paginae addere placuit. *Enimvero*, inquit, *celabunt cives, quod non solum nostrorum, sed exprobrant iam in circuitu nationes? habet etenim Britannia reges, sed tyrannos; iudices habet, sed impios; saepe praedantes et concutientes, sed innocentes; vindicantes et*

[1] *Epistolarem libellum, epistola.* The biographer represents Gildas as writing his "epistolary book," by which he means the *De Excidio*, ten years after his settlement in Brittany. The title here given, and *epistola* below, are derived from Gildas' own words, *In hac epistola*, with which his work commences; and the idea of "ten years" must be sought in the same chapter, where he says that he kept silence *spatio bilustri temporis.* But, as has been previously mentioned, Gildas must have written his book while yet in Britain, and at a time of intense activity as a preacher and reformer (see notes on c. 65 of *De Excidio*). In respect of this detail, we are again led to decide that the biographer has fallen into error by a misinterpretation of the allusions made in the work which he had before him: that work is rightly regarded as an

he also was *the meekest of all the men* of that time. He was, moreover, wise both in his teaching and in action, truthful in conversation, *diligent in prayers*, continuing through the nights in watchings, torturing his body with fastings, *long-suffering in wrongs*, affable in conference, bountiful in alms, distinguished in all goodness. And, further, he was wont to teach that heretics, after the first and second reproof, should be avoided ; and, in his sermons, he exhorted men to atone for sins by alms, to feed the hungry, to give drink to the thirsty, to clothe the naked, to visit the sick and those cast into prison, to bury the dead, to return evil for evil to no man, to love fasting, to be always assiduous in watchings and prayers. It was thus that the illustrious teacher instructed the clergy, thus the monks, and thus too the laics ; and he enjoined upon others nothing save what he himself was wont to do. And so, *having made himself all things to all men, he mourned* (I *Cor.* ix, 22. *Romans* xii, 15.) *with them that mourned*, and *rejoiced with them that rejoiced.* He was, therefore, a father to the poor and the orphans, the comforter of those who grieved. Those who quarrelled he would call back to peace, but reproved murderers, adulterers, sacrilegious persons, robbers, and plunderers, of whatsoever condition they might be, being no respecter of persons. Frightening them, indeed, at first by quotations from the words of the Gospel and from those of the apostles and the prophets, and then recalling them to penitence, he would confidently promise that, provided they sincerely repented, they would win the mercy of God.

19 Once more: the holy man, at the request of brother monks who had come to him from Britain, ten years after he had departed from the country, wrote a short epistolary book, in which he reproved five of the kings of that island who had been ensnared by various crimes and sins. I have, therefore, thought it proper to add on this page a few words to show how elegantly and how concisely he has related their worthlessness, and censured each of them by name for his iniquities. *For, of a truth*, says he, (*Supra*, pp. 65 66.) *will the citizens conceal not only what belongs to our* (*kings*), *but what the nations round about are now casting in our teeth? For Britain has kings, but they are despots. It has judges, but they are impious men. They are often engaged in plunder and rapines, but always preying on the innocent ; exerting themselves to avenge or*

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"Epistola." We have, it is interesting to observe, evidence in this passage that copies of Gildas' *De Excidio* were preserved and read in Brittany at least as early as the ninth century.

*patrocinantes, sed reos et latrones ; quam plurimas coniuges habentes, sed scorta et adulteras ; crebro iurantes, et periurantes ; voventes et continuo propemodum mentientes ; belligerantes, sed civilia et iniusta bella agentes ; per regionem quidem fures magnopere insectantes, eos autem qui ad mensam sedent latrones non solum amantes, sed etiam remunerantes ; eleemosynas largiter dantes, sed e regione immensum montem scelerum exaggerantes ; in sede arbitrum sedentes, sed raro recti iudicii regulam quaerentes ; innoxios humilesque despicientes, sanguinarios, superbos, parricidas, adulteros, Dei inimicos, si sors, ut dicitur, tulerit, hos, qui cum ipso nomine delendi erant, ad sidera prout possunt efferentes : vinctos plures in carceribus habentes, quos dolose potius quam merito proterunt, catenis onerantes : inter altaria intrando demorantes et haec eadem paullo post ac si lutulenta saxa despicientes.* Et quae sequuntur in dicta epistola. Nunc igitur Domino adiuvante ad id unde digressi fueramus redeamus.

Erat ergo in illis diebus quidam tyrannus nomine Conomerus[1] in superioribus partibus illius regionis, perversa credulitate et diabolica fraude seductus, qui hanc habebat consuetudinem, ut quotiescumque suam cognovisset coniugem concepisse in utero, statim iugulabat eam. Et cum iam multas interemisset mulieres nobili prosapia exortas, coeperunt parentes earum multum super hoc contristari et longius se ab eo submovere. Nullus itaque alicuius discretionis homo neque colloquendo neque ullius negotii causa in qualicumque re illi adhaerebat neque mandata ei dirigebat, ut non particeps fieret malitiae illius. Videns itaque se despici ob omnibus, sancto Gildae mandat, ut verborum ipsius petitionem perciperet. Verum sanctus vir calliditatem malitiae eius perspiciens nullo modo assensum ei praebuit, sed longe promotus ab eo est, ne quolibet modo per interlocutionem eius nobiles et principes regionis illius penitus deciperentur. At ipse praefatus tyrannus non valens pertingere ad hoc quod petebat misit ad quendam principem, ut multi testes sunt fideles, nomine Werocum,[2]

[1] *Conomerus.* This *tyrannus* is probably the count (*comes*) of whom we find mention in the *Historia Francorum* as Chonomor or Chonober (intervocalic $m = b = v$ or *f* of modern Welsh). In iv, 4, Gregory relates that Chonomor saves Macliavus from an attempt made upon his life by his brother Chanao (or Chano), adding also that the Breton princes, being after the death of Clovis in subjection to the Franks, are always called counts (*comites*), not kings. After this, in the year 560, the same Chonomor was killed while aiding Chrammus against his father Chlotharius (iv, 20). Of the cruel acts attributed to him here, we find no trace in the *Historia Francorum.*

*protect, but in favour of criminals and robbers; having an abundance of wives, but unchaste and adulterous wives; ever ready to take oaths, but often perjuring themselves; making vows, but almost immediately acting falsely; making wars, but stirring up civil and unjust wars; rigorously prosecuting thieves throughout the country, but not only loving but even remunerating those thieves who sit at table with them; giving alms plentifully, but, in contrast to this, piling up a huge mountain of crimes; sitting in the seat of judgment, but rarely seeking for the rule of right judgment; despising the innocent and the lowly, but seizing upon every chance to exalt to the very stars the bloody-minded, the proud, murderers, adulterers, the enemies of God, who with their very name ought to be utterly destroyed; having many prisoners in their gaols, loading them with chains, whom they maltreat more in treachery than as a deserved punishment; entering among the altars and abiding there, and yet despising these altars shortly after, as if it were a mere heap of dirty stones.* And so what follows in the said epistle. Now, then, with the Lord's help, let us return to the point from which we have digressed.

Now there lived in these days, in the upper parts of that country, a certain tyrant whose name was Conomerus, a man allured by a perverse credulity and a diabolical crime, who made it a practice, as soon as he learnt that his wife had conceived, to put her to death at once. And when he had already done away with many women sprung from noble families, parents began to feel much saddened on this account, and to move further away from him. Accordingly, in order not to become participator in his wickedness, no man of any discretion, whether in conference or in transacting business, would adhere to him in any manner whatever, or execute his mandates. Seeing, therefore, that he was despised by everybody, he sends to St. Gildas asking him to observe the petition of his words. But the saint, perceiving the cunning of his wickedness, assented in no way to his request, but removed far away from him, lest in any way, through intercourse with him, the nobles and princes of that part of the country might be completely deceived. But, being unable to attain his object, the aforesaid tyrant personally sent, as many trustworthy witnesses inform us, to some

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[2] *Werocum.* The *Historia Francorum*, under the forms Warocus, Warochus, or Varocus, Varochus, mentions this person in circumstances and ways far from honourable. He and his father, the Macliavus mentioned in the previous

mandans, quatenus ei daret in coniugium filiam suam. Quod cum Werocus Venetensium comes audisset, statim ad internuntium eius retulit dicens: *Quomodo possum dare filiam meam mucrone domini vestri nefando interficiendam? num quid non audivi stragem, quam fecit de mulieribus, quae sibi fuerant copulatae? nequaquam id faciam: filia enim mea mortem non incurret, dum ab ea potero eam propellere.*

Regressi itaque nuntii ad praedictum maleficum retulerunt quae 21
eis Werocus dixerat. Ille autem non desistens ab hoc quod inceperat iterum atque iterum Weroco mandat dicens: *Quoscumque volueris obsides vel fideiussores tibi dabo, tantum fac quod posco.* Cui Werocus: *Vana est petitio tua et frustra rogitando laboras. Nisi enim beatum virum Gildam mihi fideiussorem dederis, minime quod quaeris impetrabis, quia nisi per manum ipsius eam nulli tradam.* At ille mox nuntios misit ad beatum Gildam postulans ab eo, ut quantocius veniret et puellam fide sua de manu patris reciperet et sibi coniugem legitimo traderet matrimonio. Sanctus itaque vir eorum verba renuens respondit dicens: *Nostis, quia dominus vester callidissimus est et tyrannica feritate perversus: si consensero ei et me fideiussorem posuerit et post puellam occiderit, gravi lapsus sum peccato apud dominum et parentes eius vehementi orbatione prolis seduxi atque intolerabili dolore tradidi congemiscendos. Sed tamen vobiscum proficiscar et utrorumque voluntates discutiam, parentum scilicet et eius, qui vos ad me direxit.* Tunc veniens simul cum eis reperit ipsos principes ob huiusmodi causam in unum convenisse. Et dum de hac re loquerentur inter se, ait pater puellae beato Gildae: *Si manu tua susceperis filiam meam, tibi credam, tibi eam tradam. Quod si illam suscipere nolueris, hic numquam habebit.* Cui beatus Gildas dixit: *Mihi eam trade et ego protectus Dei virtute eam sanam restituam.* Praefatus itaque tyrannus de manu sancti

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note, are pictured as basely untrustworthy men (*H. Fr.* 16; *ib.* 26; ix, 18; x, 9). He is, however, in conformity with what is related here, found in the neighbourhood of *Venetus urbs* and *civitas*, or, as the place is named now, Vannes, which is not far distant from the peninsula where Gildas built his monastery. From him this part of Brittany was called *Bro-Waroch*, or as we see in c. 32, *Bro-Guerec*. The older material upon which this part of the *Vita* was framed, is suggested by the form *Werocus*, as compared with *Guerecus* in c. 32; just as *Venedotia* became *Guenedotia* (= Gwyndawt = Gwynedd) or *vitrum gwydr*, etc., sometime about the ninth century, as philologists inform us, so the sixth and seventh century form *Werocus* became *Guerecus* at the later period. For this portion of his work, the biographer would have an early seventh or eighth

prince called Werocus, commanding him to give his daughter in marriage. When Werocus, Count of Vannes, heard this, he straightway answered the messenger, saying: *How can I give my daughter to be slain by your master's accursed sword? Have I not heard of the massacre he has made of the ladies who had been married to him? I certainly will not do so: for my daughter shall not risk death as long as I can drive it away from her.*

21 The messengers, therefore, returned and reported to the aforementioned malefactor the reply which Werocus had given them. But he desisted not from the course he had begun, and again and again charged Werocus, saying: *Whatever hostages or sureties thou desirest, I will give thee: do thou but grant me my request.* Werocus answered him: *Vain is thy suit; to no purpose dost thou labour in thy request. For unless thou givest me St. Gildas as surety, thou wilt in no way succeed in thy petition; for to no one, except through his hands, will I deliver my daughter.* Now the king at once sent messengers to St. Gildas, desiring him to come with all speed, and receive, on the promise of his protection, a daughter from her father's hand, and give her to him in legitimate wedlock as his wife. But the saint, in disapproval of their words, said in answer to them: *You know that your master is a very cunning man, and ruined by a tyrannical savageness: if I assent, and if he pledge me as a surety and then kill the maiden, I shall have fallen into a grievous sin before the Lord, and have separated her parents from me by the violent bereavement of their child, and caused them to sigh deeply with intolerable grief. But, nevertheless, I will come with you, and discuss the wishes of both parties, even of the parents and of him who has directed you to me.* Then he goes along with them, and finds the princes themselves had assembled to discuss this business. And while they were deliberating about this matter, the maiden's father said to Gildas: *If thou wilt receive my daughter under thy charge, I will trust thee, I will deliver her to thee. But if thou refuse to take her, this man shall never have her.* St. Gildas said to him: *Deliver her to me, and I, protected by the power of God, shall restore her to thee safe.* The aforesaid tyrant, therefore, received

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century document to work upon, as the use of this name Werocus for the Breton Count of Venetum shows; but that the document did not extend further than the beginning of c. 32, is made plain by the late and extraneous matter there introduced, and the forms of the names mentioned; of these *Guerecus* is one.

Gildae recepit eam in coniugio sibi copulandam. Beatus vero Gildas revertitur ad monasterium suum, pollens claris virtutibus.

22 Peractis igitur nuptiis coepit tyrannus sponsam fovere dilectam et ut cognovit eam concepisse in utero, cogitavit eam occidere solito more. Sed pertimescens iusiurandum, quod pactus fuerat beato Gildae, dicit apud se non posse se fallere sanctum virum. Timebat enim iram dei incurrere, si mulierem, quam de manu sancti viri Gildae susceperat, nefando ense interimere conaretur. At diabolus e contra occasiones sibi ministrat, asserens non oportere eum in tantum sanctitatem beati Gildae timere, ut quod facere decreverat, velut timidus et nullius audaciae homo propter quendam monachum ad effectum ducere dimitteret. Interea mulier pluribus indiciis percipiens animum eius furibundum adversum se eo quod gravida esset, timore perterrita in fugam latenter elapsa est. Quod ut cognovit vir eius maleficus, maiore iam ira succensus insecutus est eam: quam cum invenisset iuxta viam latentem sub frondibus, erat enim ex itinere fatigata, exempto mucrone amputavit caput eius et sic demum ad domum suam reversus est.

23 Pater igitur illius audiens, quod accidisset filiae suae, magno concussus dolore sub magna festinatione mox misit ad beatum Gildam dicens: *Redde mihi filiam meam, quia propter tuam intercessionem perdidi illam. Cognosce enim, quia qui in coniugio eam de manu tua accepit, proprio gladio eam iugulavit.* Super hoc igitur sanctus vir valde commotus concitus venit ad quandam munitiunculam, ubi praefatus tyrannus habitabat, volens ab eo audire, utrum ipse coniugem suam, sicut rumor ferebat, interemisset. Verum tyrannus ubi sensit sanctum Gildam approprinquare, praecepit ostiario domus, ne ullo modo sanctum virum ad se permitteret ingredi: sciebat enim se in Deum et in beatum Gildam deliquisse per hoc, quod uxorem suam occiderat. Sed quamvis hoc non ignoraret, orare tamen sanctum virum dedignabatur, ut suis precibus obtineret apud Deum, quatenus daret ei cor contritum et humiliatum ad agendam paenitentiam de malo quod egerat. Cum ergo sanctus Gildas diu pulsasset ad portam tyranni et nullus ei aperiret, sed potius ab his qui erant intus dideretur, oravit Deum, si eius vita in melius non esset mutanda, ut dignaretur malitiae eius finem imponere. Completa itaque oratione circumiens totam munitionem, in qua pessimus tyrannus manebat, accepit

her to be joined in marriage to him. But Gildas, mighty in glorious virtues, returned to his monastery.

22 When, therefore, the marriage had been celebrated, the tyrant began to caress his beloved bride; and, as soon as he learnt that she had conceived, he meditated killing her as had been his custom. But dreading the oath which he had sworn to St. Gildas, he said to himself that he could not deceive a holy man. For he feared to incur God's anger if he attempted to murder, with his accursed sword, a lady whom he had received from the hands of St. Gildas. But the devil, on the other hand, supplied him with pretexts, declaring that he ought not to fear the holiness of St. Gildas to such a degree as, like a coward and a paltroon, to give up, for the sake of a mere monk, accomplishing what he had set his heart on. As the woman, in the meantime, perceived, by many indications, that his heart was enraged against her because she had conceived, she was struck with fear and secretly escaped. When her wicked husband learnt this, he was now incensed with greater anger, and pursued her. Having found her on the road-side, hiding under some leaves—for she was wearied by her journey—he drew out his sword, cut off her head, and then returned home.

23 Now, when her father had heard what had befallen his daughter, he was stricken with deep grief, and sent at once, with great haste, to St. Gildas, saying: *Give me back my daughter; for it is owing to thy intercession that I have lost her. For know that he who received her in marriage from thy hand, has murdered her with his own sword.* Thereupon the saint, deeply moved, hurried to some small fortification where the aforesaid tyrant used to dwell, desiring to hear from him whether, as the rumour was, he had slain his wife with his own hands. But when the tyrant saw St. Gildas approaching, he charged the porter of the house to let the saint, on no account, enter in to him; for he knew that, through the murder of his wife, he had sinned against God and against the holy man. But, although he was not ignorant of this, he nevertheless disdained to request that the saint should prevail with God in prayer to grant him a contrite and humble heart to do penance for the evil he had done. When, therefore, St. Gildas had knocked long at the door and no one opened to him, but rather he was mocked by those within, he prayed unto God that, unless it was His will that that man should be changed for the better, it might seem good to Him to put an end to his wickedness. Having ended his prayer, he went round the whole fortification in which the nefarious tyrant

plenum pugillum terrae et proiecit super illam habitationem, quae statim Deo volente tota corruit.

Deinde abiit usque ad locum, ubi exanime iacebat cadaver 2.
mulieris interfectae prolem in utero habentis, et hoc modo oravit: *Domine Deus, qui hominem ex limo terrae formasti et propter illum liberandum de potestate diaboli, in cuius se dominium iniecerat propriae libertatis arbitrio, dum tuum transgressus est praeceptum, filium tuum, quem ante saecula ex aeternitate genueras, mori voluisti, te invoco, ut me exaudias. Exaudi, inquam, Domine, quia te in nomine unigeniti tui Domini nostri Iesu Christi peto. Tuus enim filius magister noster Christus Iesus promittere dig-*
*Ioh.* xvi, 26. *natus est in se credentibus, si quid te peterent in nomine suo, quod aurem tuae clementiae non averteres ab illorum prece.* Et facta oratione accepit caput et adhaesit corpori trunco dicens: *In nomine Domini nostri Iesu Christi, Trifina,*[1] *tibi dico, surge et sta super pedes tuas et indica mihi, quid videris.* At illa continuo surrexit sana et illaesa ab omni corruptione et respondens sancto viro dixit: *Mox ut interfecta sum, angelico sustentabar vehiculo quasi ferenda et iungenda choro martyrum, sed tua vocatione reversa sum ad te.* Tunc beatus Gildas duxit eam ad patrem suum et accepta manu eius dextera reddidit ei dicens: *Ecce depositum, quod mihi tradidisti: custodi eam ut filiam et prolem, quem gestat in utero, diligenter fac enutrire, cum natus fuerit, donec ad intelligibilem aetatem perveniat.* At illa sub iureiurando aiebat, quia *numquam te deseram, pater.* Cui beatus Gildas respondit: *Non decet mulierem subsequi monachum quolibet modo, sed mane interim in domo patris tui, donec parias, et cum pepereris, inducemus te in monasterium virginum ut cum ceteris virginibus vitam castimoniae ducere possis.* Tunc placuit ei viri Dei sermo et remansit in domo patris sui paucis diebus.

Non multo post peracto tempore, cum mulier filium peperisset, 2
nuntiatum est ad beatum Gildam: qui iussit puerulum baptizari nomenque suum ei imponere fecit, et ablactatum liberalibus litterarum studiis erudiendum tradidit matremque eius in monasterio virginum una cum ceteris ancillis Dei permanere fecit. Quae postea in castitate Deo serviens, in ieiuniis et orationibus vitam

[1] *Trifina, Trechmorus.* Albert le Grand calls the lady "la Comtesse Triphine"; and the son, whom Gildas desired to be named after himself, to whom, however, the Bretons gave the name *Trechmorus*, he informs us is called *St. Trever* in Britanny (les Bretons l'appellent S. Trever); there was an earlier form, *Trémeur*. Dom. Lobineau, in his *Vies des Saints de Bretagne*, has published *Acta* of Trifina and her son Trechmorus (p. 78).

dwelt, took a handful of earth, and cast it upon that dwelling; and immediately, by the will of God, it all fell to the ground.

24 He then left for the place where lay the lifeless corpse of the murdered woman with her offspring in her womb, and prayed in this wise: *Lord God, who didst form man of the dust of the earth, and who, in order to deliver him from the power of Satan, under whose dominion, when he transgressed Thy commandment, he cast himself of his own free will, didst will that thy Son, whom Thou hadst begotten, from eternity before the generations, should die, I invoke Thee to hearken unto me. Hear me, I say, O Lord! for I beseech Thee in the name of thine Only Begotten, our Lord Jesus Christ. For unto Thy Son, our Master, Jesus Christ, it seemed good to promise unto them that believed on Him that, if they should ask Thee aught in His Name, Thou wouldest not turn* (*John* xvi, 26) *away the ear of Thy mercy from their supplication.* When he had prayed, he took the head and fastened it on to the trunk of the body, and said: *In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, Trifina, I say unto thee, Arise, and stand on thy feet, and declare unto me what thou hast seen.* And forthwith she arose whole and safe from all corruption: and, in answer to the saint, she said: *As soon as I was slain, I was borne in an angelic chariot, as if to be carried away, and joined to the band of martyrs; but at thy call I returned to thee.* Then St. Gildas brought her to her father, and, taking her right hand, restored her to him, saying: *Behold the trust which thou didst commit to me. Guard her as thy daughter, and her progeny too, which she bears in her womb. See that he be diligently nurtured when he is born, until he reach the age of understanding.* But she protested with an oath: *Father, I will never leave thee.* St. Gildas answered her: *It becomes a woman in no wise to follow a monk; but meanwhile abide thou in thy father's house until thou givest birth; and when thou hast done so, we shall lead thee into a nunnery where, in company with other virgins, thou mayest be able to lead a life of chastity.* Then did the words of the man of God seem good to her, and she tarried a few days in her father's house.

25 Not long after, when her time was come, and the woman gave birth to a son, the news was told to St. Gildas. He ordered the child to be baptized, and to be called after his own name; and when weaned, he had him taught in the liberal pursuits of literature, and caused his mother to abide in a nunnery along with other maid-servants of God. Afterwards, while serving God in chastity, and leading a life of fastings and prayers, she was at length called by

ducens tandem a Domino vocata beato fine quievit. Filius vero eius et ipse clarus virtutibus et miraculis beatam, quam duxerat, vitam beato fine complevit. Hunc ergo Britanni ob discretionem alterius beati Gildae, non Gildam eum, sed Trechmorum vocant.

Et quia per miracula sanctorum, quae in aure fidelium reci- 26
tantur, omnium rerum creator laudatur ac veneratur, qui in sanctis suis manens mira per illos operatur, dignum duximus scribere etiam virtutem, quam Dominus dignatus est operari per servum suum Gildam in plebe sancti Demetrii.[1] Erat enim in praefata plebe stagnum, in cuius portu residebant latrunculi, qui nudos ac verberatos, saepe etiam semivivos permittebant abire illuc advenientes. De quorum igitur nequitia omnes circumquaque ibi habitantes vehementer commoti, cum per se illos illinc non valerent expellere, praesidium sancti exposcunt: qui perveniens usque ad os stagni exorat dominum, ut concludat illius stagni aditum. Completa itaque oratione ex arena erectus est tumulus magnus, ubi prius malignorum ad insidiandum erat locus. Quod miraculum cernentes qui cum sancto viro illuc advenerant, Deum glorificaverunt ac sanctum Gildam deinceps in magna veneratione habuerunt.

In eadem quoque regione est oratorium, quod incolae vocant 27
mons Coetlann,[2] quod sonat interpretatum monasterium nemoris. Cumque homines, qui se faciebant illius terrae heredes, servis Dei ibi contemplativam vitam ducentibus saepe iniurias inferrent, asserentes illos de terra excolere, quae circum oratorium sancti Gildae adiacebat, plus quam eis ostenderat, vir vero Dei volens

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[1] *In plebe sancti Demetrii.* Du Cange gives several quotations showing how the word *plebs*, *plebem*, besides its ordinary Latin meaning of "people," took also the signification, in Celtic countries particularly, of "district" and "church." When used of a church, it denotes the Mother Church of a district, where the sacraments could be administered, that is, the *ecclesia baptismalis.* From the acc. *plebem* the Welsh language has borrowed *plwyf* as meaning "congregation", and in its territorial meaning of "parish"; so also in Britanny, the old form *ploeb*, *ploev*, became *plou*, and is found in a great number of compound place-names: to-day the communal name of *Ploudelmezeau*, for instance, stands for *Plebs Telmedovia* of the *Vita Pauli.* M. de la Borderie explains that the *plebs* or *plou* of St. Demetrius is Plozévet, which in the *Cartulary oj Landevenec* (tenth century) is called *vicaria Demett.*

[2] *Coetlann.* À Bosco and Mabillon print *coerlahem*, which appears meaningless. The biographer, knowing no meaning of *lann* except *monasterium*, explains the name as implying "the monastery of the wood, or grove"; Dr. Zimmer ventures upon a different interpretation, that is, "the grove of the monastery." I am inclined to believe that both are wrong. For from the *Book of Llandâv*

the Lord and laid to a blessed rest. Her son also was distinguished for his virtues and miracles, and completed with a blessed end the saintly life he had led. Now the Bretons, in order to distinguish him from the other St. Gildas, do not call him Gildas, but Trechmorus.

26 And because through the miracles of His saints, which are recited in the ears of His believers, the Creator of all things, who dwells in His saints and works wonders through them, is praised and adored, we have deemed it proper to write also of the power which it seemed good to the Lord to work through His servant Gildas in the district of St. Demetrius. For, in the aforesaid district there was a pool, at the entrance of which robbers used to loiter, who used to let off people who came thither, only when they had been stripped naked and beaten, often even half dead. The inhabitants, therefore, of the surrounding country were greatly roused by their wickedness; and as they were unable of themselves to drive them thence, they sought the protection of the saint. He, on arriving at the mouth of the pool, entreated the Lord to close up the entrance to that pool. When he had finished his prayer, there arose from the sand a big mound on the spot which was the resort of the wicked men to lay their plots. On perceiving this miracle, those who had come thither with the saint, glorified God, and ever after held St. Gildas in deep veneration.

27 In the same district also there is an oratory which the inhabitants call Mount Coetlann, which, being interpreted, means the "monastery of the grove." As the men who were making themselves out to be possessors of that land often inflicted injuries upon God's servants who were there leading a life of contemplation, asserting that they were tilling more of the land which lay around the oratory of St. Gildas than he had marked out for them, the man of

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we have an instance of the name, with the meaning given by the biographer, as *Lan-coit* (p. 32), which in Modern Welsh is *Llangoed*; and the many names into which *Lan-* enters in Britanny, lead us to expect the same order here also. Against Dr. Zimmer, the name appears to me to belong to the same category as, *e.g.*, the words *yd-lan*, *gwin-llan*, not to mention others, where the implication is, *an enclosed or special area*, for corn (*yd*), or for the vine (*gwin*). In Welsh, a *wooded* enclosure or area is called *coedlan*.

> Bwrlymu mae'r ffynon, a llonydd yw'r llyn,
> A minnau a grwydraf i *goedlan* y glyn.

The word in Britanny must be a very ancient survival, and of interest as to the meaning of *lan* as a Celtic word.

omnes quietam agere vitam, accessit ad litus maris et cum sanctis sibi adhaerentibus fixis genibus misericordem Dominum, qui facit in caelo et in terra omnia quae vult, orat devotus, surgensque ab oratione sanctissimus homo baculum, quem manu ferebat, terrae impressit et sic atrium sui oratorii cir-
*Psalm.* xlvii, 1. cuivit. *O quam bonus es, Deus Israel, his qui tibi recto sunt corde!* lucidissimus enim fons ad nutum Dei de loco, ubi sanctus oraverat, surrexit et ad ostendendam certissimam metam atrii secutus est vestigia sancti. Quod miraculum audientes fideles, etiam quidam usque in hodiernum diem hoc cernentes omnipotenti Domino, qui mira per sanctos suos operatur, non minimas referunt laudes.

Cum vero disponeret misericors Deus et beatum Gildam a 28
laboribus huius mundi et aerumnis educere et ad gaudia aeterna, quae diligentibus se promisit, perducere, per visionem angelicam ei dignatus est denuntiare. Quadam enim nocte cum esset utique, ut antiqui affirmant, in amabili sibi insula Horata, ubi olim heremiticam duxerat vitam, apparuit ei in somnis angelus Domini dicens: *Audi et intellege, Domini Iesu Christi amice, quoniam exaudivit Deus orationes tuas et vidit lacrimas tuas. Et ecce octava ab hodierna die solutus sarcina carnis videbunt spiritales oculi tui, quod semper ab infantia desiderasti: videbis etenim in maiestate sua desideratam faciem Domini Dei tui. Confirma ergo discipulos tuos in Dei timore et amore et instrue eos solito more, ut eius praeceptis obediant atque operibus studeant ea implere, ut ad gaudia aeterna quae promisit possint pervenire.*

Facto igitur mane convocatis in unum discipulis dixit eis:[1] 29
*Reg.* ii, 2. "Quoniam ego, filii carissimi, *viam ingredior universae terrae,*
*Eph.* v, 1, 2. dissolvi mihi expedit, ut Deum possim videre. Vos igitur *estote imitatores* Christi *sicut filii carissimi et ambulate in dilectione Dei*
I *Io.* ii, 15, 17. et estote semper memores verborum ipsius. *Nolite* autem *diligere mundum nec ea, quae in mundo sunt: mundus enim transit et concupiscentia eius,* Dominum vero Iesum Christum et eius sermones
*Ioh.* xiv, 23. toto corde diligite, quoniam ipse dixit: *Si quis diligit me, sermones meos servabit et ego diligam eum et manifestabo ei me ipsum.* Videte itaque, carissimi, quam magnum praemium et quam optandum

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[1] *Dixit eis.* It is difficult to refrain from remarking that this address, though its genuineness can in no way be maintained, possesses a strong, vigorous character that arrests our attention. One is tempted to say that it is, apart from the peculiar circumstance, quite "modern" in tone.

God, as he wished all to lead a peaceful life, went to the sea-shore. There, bending his knees to the earth, he, with the saints that adhered to him, earnestly prayed to the merciful Lord, who makes all things He willeth in heaven and earth. On rising from his prayer, the saint pressed a staff which he was carrying in his hand, against the ground, and thus walked round the court of his oratory. *O! how good thou art, thou God of Israel, unto them that are of* Psalms xlviii, 1.
*an upright heart to Thee.* For, at the command of God, a fountain of sparkling water sprang from the spot on which the holy man had prayed; and, to mark beyond dispute the boundary line of the court, it followed the footsteps of the saint. On hearing of this miracle, believers, even some who behold this up to the present time, return no small thanks to the Almighty Lord, who works wonders through his saints.

28 Now, when the merciful God determined to lead St. Gildas from the toils and cares of this life to the eternal joys which He has promised unto them that love Him, it seemed good to Him to announce it through an angel in a vision. For, when indeed he was, as the ancients assert, in Horata, an island which he loved, where formerly he had lived a hermit's life, there appeared to him in a dream, on a certain night, an angel of the Lord, saying: *Hearken and understand, thou friend of the Lord Jesus Christ; for God has heard thy prayers and beheld thy tears. And, behold, on the eighth day from this, thou shalt be delivered from the burden of the flesh, and thy spiritual eyes shall see what thou hast always from thy childhood longed for: for thou shalt see in its majesty the longed-for face of the Lord thy God. Confirm, therefore, thy disciples in the fear and the love of God, and instruct them in the usual manner to obey His commandments, and to strive to fulfil them with deeds, that they may be able to attain the eternal joys which He has promised.*

29 Now, when the morning was come, and he had called his disciples together, he said unto them: " Since, my beloved sons, *I* 1 Kings ii, 2.
*am going the way of all flesh*, it is expedient for me to be released, that I may be able to see God. *Be ye, therefore, imitators of* Eph. v, 1, 2.
Christ, *as beloved sons; and walk in the love of God*, and be always mindful of His words. But *love not the world, neither the things* 1 Jo. ii, 15, 17.
*that are in the world. For the world passeth away, and the lust thereof*; but love ye the Lord Jesus Christ and His words with all your hearts: for He has said, *If any man love Me, he will keep My* John xiv, 23.
*words, and I will love him, and will manifest Myself unto him.* See ye, therefore, my beloved, how great a reward and how desir-

lucrum promittit nobis ipsa veritas, quae est Christus. Ipse enim,
*Ioh.* xiv, 6. ut dixit est *via, veritas et vita.* Se ipsum itaque nobis daturus
est. Non ergo negligamus ipsum habere, ipsum possidere.
I *Ioh.* iv, 8. Habete autem et in vobis continuam caritatem, quia, *Deus caritas*
*est et qui manet in caritate, in Deo manet et Deus in eo.* Humili-
tatem etiam studete habere et esse mites, quoniam Dominus in
*Matth.* xi, 29. euangelio dicit: *Discite a me, qui mitis sum et humilis corde.*
Patientiam quoque semper habere mementote, nam in euangelio
*Luc.* xxi, 19. idem ipse loquitur: *In patientia vestra possidebitis animas vestras.*
*Phil.* ii, 8. Obedientes etiam estote, sicut et *Christus obediens fuit usque ad*
*Luc.* vi, 36. *mortem. Estote vero misericordes sicut pater vester misericors est.*
*Iac.* iv, 6. II *Petr.* v, 5. Superbiam autem execrate, quia *Deus superbis resistit, humilibus*
*autem dat gratiam.* Avaritiam vero declinate, quae ab apostolo
*Coloss.* iii, 5. *idololatria*[1] nominatur. Luxuriam quoque et ebrietatem fornica-
I *Cor.* vi, 10. tionemque fugite, quoniam, sicut apostolus ait, *Neque ebriosi neque*
*fornicatores regnum Dei possidebunt.* Omnia ergo vitia, quae
homines a regno Dei separant, omnimodis sunt fugienda vobis.
I *Petr.* v, 8. *Estote quoque sobrii et vigilantes in orationibus semper, quia adver-*
*sarius vester diabolus tamquam leo rugiens circuit quaerens quem*
*devoret. Cui resistite fortes in fide.* Odium etiam et invidiam
tristitiamque de cordibus eradicare vestris satagite et pro his
*Gal.* v. 22. *longanimitatem, bonitatem, benignitatem* habere mementote. Quat-
tuor vero virtutes, sine quibus nemo sapiens esse potest, id est
prudentiam, iustitiam, fortitudinem atque temperantiam, semper
habere curate."

His et similibus verbis per septem continuos dies, quamvis invalescente morbo iam iamque vir sanctus deficere videretur, discipulos tamen confirmare non cessabat suos. Octava vero die iussit se in oratorium duci ibique oratione facta viaticum dominici corporis suscepit. Deinde discipulos protestatus est dicens: *Per Christum vos filios meos moneo, ne contendatis pro corporis mei cadavere, sed mox ut spiritum exhalavero, tollite me et in navim deponentes supponite humeris meis lapidem illum, super quem recumbere solitus eram: nemo autem ex vobis in navi mecum remaneat, sed impellentes eam in mare permittite ire, quo Deus voluerit. Providebit autem Dominus sepulturae mihi locum, ubi fuerit ei placitum. Confido autem in Domino, quod in die resurrectionis resurgere me faciet cum ceteris. Deus autem pacis et dilectionis sit semper cum omnibus vobis.* Et cum respondissent

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[1] The Vulgate reading is *simulacrorum servitus.*

able a gain the Truth itself, which is Christ, promises unto us.
For He Himself, as He has said, is *the way, the truth, and the life.* *John* xiv, 6.
He will, be assured, give Himself unto us; let us, therefore, not
neglect to have Him Himself, to possess Him Himself. Have
ye also in you constant love: *for God is love; and he that abideth* I *John* iv, 8.
*in love abideth in God, and God in him.* Be diligent also to possess
lowliness and to be meek, since the Lord says in the gospel: *Learn* *Matt.* xi, 29.
*of Me; for I am meek and lowly of heart.* Remember also to have
patience alway; for He likewise speaks in the gospel: *In your* *Luke* xxi, 19.
*patience ye shall possess your souls.* And be ye obedient, even as
*Christ was obedient unto death.* Yea, *be ye merciful, as your* *Phil.* ii, 8.
*Father is merciful.* Abhor pride; for *God resisteth the proud, but* *Luke* vi, 36.
*giveth grace to the humble.* Shun covetousness, which is called *James* iv, 6. II *Peter* v, 5.
idolatry by the Apostle. Flee also from luxury and drunkenness *Col.* iii, 5.
and fornication; since, as the Apostle says, '*neither drunkards nor* I *Cor.* vi, 10.
*fornicators shall inherit the kingdom of God.*' You must, therefore,
in every possible manner, flee from all the evils which separate men
from the kingdom of God. *Be ye also sober and watchful in* I *Peter* v, 8.
*prayers always; because your adversary, the devil, as a roaring lion,*
*walketh about, seeking whom he may devour: whom withstand*
*steadfast in faith.*' Be likewise diligent to root out from your
hearts hatred and enmity and gloom; and, instead of these,
remember to have *long-suffering, goodness, and kindness.* Four *Gal.* v, 22.
virtues, indeed, without which no man can be wise, strive always
to possess, even prudence, righteousness, fortitude, and moderation."

30 It was with these and similar words that the holy man, through seven days in succession, unceasingly confirmed his disciples; although, as his illness was increasing, he seemed already to be failing. But, on the eighth day, he commanded that he should be brought into his oratory, and there, after offering a prayer, he took the eucharist of the Lord's body. Then he testified to his disciples, saying: *I charge you through Christ, my sons, not to contend for the remains of my body; but as soon as I have given up the spirit, bear me away, lay me down in a ship, and under my shoulders place the stone on which I was wont to lie down. Let no one of you remain with me in the ship, but push the ship into the sea, and let it drift whither God willeth. The Lord will provide for me a place of burial, where it shall seem good unto Him. I trust in the Lord that, in the day of resurrection, He will cause me, along with others, to rise again. May the God of peace and love be ever with you all.* And when they had all said *Amen,* he

omnes amen, reddidit spiritum quarto kalendas Februarii[1] senex et plenus dierum. Discipuli vero illius tollentes corpus eius fecerunt, sicut praeceperat eis. Sed hi qui de Cornugallia[2] venerant, qui plures erant, conabantur eum tollere et in patriam suam transferre. Dum ergo inter se colloquerentur et facere disponerent, nutu Dei navis cum sancto corpore demersa est in profundum maris: illi vero per multos dies illud huc illucque requirentes, cum nullo modo invenire possent, ad propria sunt reversi.

Discipuli quoque eius qui ex Reuvisii coenobio erant, per tres 31
menses[3] cum non possent et ipsi invenire eum, tandem consilio accepto triduanum statuerunt ducere ieiunium. Quo peracto cuidam ex eis revelatum est, quando et ubi inveniendus esset. Igitur cum dies rogationum essent et ipsi orationis gratia ad quoddam oratoriolum, quod ipse in honore sanctae crucis construxerat, venissent, invenerunt navem in aestuario quod vocatur Croest(i),[4] id est domus sanctae crucis, cum sancto corpore integro et illaeso, sicut ab ipsis collocatum fuerat in navi. Videntes autem gaudio magno gavisi sunt et lapidem quidem super altare eiusdem

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[1] *Quarto kalendas Februarii.* This day, the 29th of January, has been generally accepted as the *natalicium* of Gildas. That he died on that day rests upon the sole authority of this *Vita*; but in a detail of this kind, the earlier narrative upon which our biographer has, most probably, based his narrative, may be regarded as having preserved a trustworthy fact. We find, on this account, that in the *Acta Sanctorum*, the *Lives* of Gildas are assigned to this 29th of January (ii, 958), while the year, according to the *Annales Cambriae*, was A.D. 570. A very elaborate attempt to arrive at a more correct calculation will be found in a pamphlet written by Mr. Alfred Anscombe, bearing the title, *St. Gildas of Ruys and the Irish Regal Chronology of the Sixth Century* (1893); see first part, "The Obit of St. Gildas." Mr. Anscomb concludes that we "may date the discovery of the vessel containing the body of Gildas of Ruys, on Rogation Monday, May 11th, A.D. 554." The problem is a most difficult one, and the data for determining it are meagre in the extreme: the steps which lead to this conclusion as to the year 554 appear too precise for the scanty details afforded us by the records.

[2] *Hi qui de Cornugallia.* This name must mean that part of Britanny which was also called *Cornubia*, peopled by the *Cornovii* of Cornwall, and is now written Cornouailles in French. "There is," we are told by M. de la Borderie, "an extensive region in higher Cornouailles, forming a kind of triangle, in which, under diverse forms, souvenirs of Gildas and his disciples abound." The words *qui plures erant*, become in this light very significant, since no particular monastery is mentioned; many places in Cornouailles had, probably, felt the influence of the monk preacher. *Domnonia* lay to the west of it, Bro-Weroch to the east, around Vannes.

[3] *Per tres menses.* The monks of Ruys, feeling that they had a larger share

gave up the ghost on the 29th of January, an old man and full of days. And his disciples bore his body away, and did as he had directed them. But those who had come from Cornugallia, and who were the majority, tried to carry him away and bring him over to their own country. While, therefore, they were consulting together and were arranging to do so, the ship, by God's command, sank with the holy body into the depth of the sea. They searched, however, for it in different places for many days; but, as they could in no way find it, they returned to their own.

31 His disciples also, who were from the monastery of Reuvisium, having themselves too, for the space of three months, failed to find him, took counsel at last, and determined to make a three days' fast. When this was ended, it was revealed to one of them when and where he was to be found. When, therefore, the Rogation days were come, and the men had come to pray to a small oratory which the saint had built in honour of the holy cross, they found the ship in a creek which is called Croes-dy, that is, the house of the holy cross, with the holy body in it, whole and unharmed, just as it was when placed in the ship by them themselves. On seeing it, they rejoiced with great joy, and placed the stone for a

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in the departed saint than those disciples from Cornouailles, waited three months and then fasted three days. On the expiration of this fast, the time and place of finding the body was revealed to one of them. The time came during the Rogation days, when they had met for prayer in a small oratory. Our biographer, with further detail, expresses the belief of his time that this day was the 11th of May (*quinto idus Maii*); it is quite legitimate for us to put aside the miraculous threads of this story, woven into it by the pious imagination of a wonder-loving generation, and at the same time to regard the 11th of May as a reliable date for the removal of the body of Gildas to rest in his own church at Ruys. It is quite probable that the Rogation days, as days of fast and prayer, were commonly observed in Britanny, as in other places, after the Council of Orange in 511; these were the three days, Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, before Ascension Day. But in the year 570, the year of Gildas' death according to the *Annales Cambriae*, May 11th is a Sunday, which is not one of the Rogation days, though sometimes called Rogation Sunday. Mr. Anscombe, using these details, arrives at the conclusion that the finding of the body, and so the death on January 29th, must be placed in the year 554. On other grounds this seems far too early a date.

[4] *Croest(i)*. Á Bosco and all editors print *Eroerst*, but, with the added explanation, that the name means "house of the cross", the first part can be no other than *Croes*: *crux* takes this form in both Breton and Welsh. The latter part of the compound, surely, ought to be *-ti* (for *tig*), which is now *ty*, meaning "house." The modern Welsh would be *Croes-dy*.

loci in testimonium posuerunt, corpus vero sancti viri cum hymnis et laudibus ad suum monasterium deferentes maxima multitudine populorum prosequente cum gaudia et laetitia magna, quoniam patronum et advocatum magnum patriae suae et apud Dominum intercessorem invenerant. Dies autem illa, quae est quinto idus Maii, ab illo tempore usque ad praesens tempus celeberrima colitur et servatur apud provinciales Venetenses.[1] Plurimas etiam in illa die solitus est Dominus facere virtutes ad eius sepulcrum, sicut et ipsi oculis nostris vidimus. Positum est autem corpus sancti viri in ecclesia, quam ipse in antiquo castro Reuvisii construxerat, eadem qua praefati sumus die, ubi per multa annorum curricula servabatur et ab universa Brittonum gente venerabiliter colebatur, quoniam innumerabiles a Domino fiebant virtutes.

Interfecto crudeliter ab impiis religioso rege Salomone[2] et dissi- 32
dentibus inter se ipsos Britannis bellaque intestina gerentibus, a foris autem piratis Danorum universam Britanniam longe lateque depopulantibus : nam eo tempore gens ipsa Galliarum quoque partes vastabat maritimas et quasi quadam grandinis intolerabili tempestate conterebat. Itaque Britannia, quae olim Letavia dicta fuit, sicut diximus, eo tempore tam a suis quam ab extraneis crudeli modo vastabatur. Civitates, castella, ecclesiae, domus, monasteria virorum atque sanctimonialium igni tradebantur, donec in solitudinem et vastam eremum omnino regio tota Dei iudicio redigeretur. Eo tempore Alanus atque Pasquetenus frater eius Veneticam provinciam regebant, quae a Guereco Bro Guerec[3] dicitur, eo quod occiso Belpoleno duce cum exercitu suo, effugato etiam alio Francorum duce Ebracario regionem ipsam viriliter defenderit : sed capto a

[1] *Venetenses . . . . Venetica provincia.* These two adjectival forms refer to the district called *Vannetais* in French, of which the leading centre was the ancient city called *Venetum*, now *Vannes*. The second adjective is found in the Synodical Letter of the Council of Vannes, held in the second half of the fifth century—*in ecclesia Venetica.* By the Bretons it is called *Gwened* ; but as this is a late form for the Gallo-Roman name *Venetum*, it can bear no relation to the Welsh name for North Wales, *Gwynedd* ; nor can we found thereon any argument for a North Wales contingent among the British emigrants who settled in the neighbourhood of Vannes.

We observe that the two forms, *Brittones* and *Britanni*, are both used for the same people ; cf. *Britanni* in c. 3.

[2] *Salomone.* Hitherto the biographer seems to have depended upon materials derived from an early date ; but in this chapter we gather that other and later sources are drawn upon. The change from *Werocus* to *Guerecus* has already been mentioned ; but we must add also that events are, in this section apparently, mixed together in a very confused way. The death of the saintly

testimony upon the altar of that place ; but they conveyed the saint's body to his own monastery, singing hymns and praises, and a large crowd of people following them in joy and gladness, because they had found the great patron and advocate of their country, and their intercessor with the Lord. Now that day, which is the 11th of May, is kept and celebrated from that time up to our time as a most solemn day among the provincials of Venetum (Vannes). On that day, too, as we also have seen with our own eyes, the Lord was wont to perform very many mighty deeds at his grave. The saint's body, on the day we have previously mentioned, was placed in the church which he himself had built on the ancient fort of Reuvisium, where through the course of many years it was kept and honoured in reverence by the whole nation of the Bretons : for innumerable powers were wrought by the Lord.

32 When the devout King Salomon was cruelly murdered by wicked men, and the Bretons were quarrelling together and waging civil wars, piratical Danes from abroad were devastating the length and breadth of Brittany ; for at that time the people of Gaul were themselves also laying waste the sea-coast districts, and spreading havoc like an irresistible hailstorm. And so, Brittany which, as we have said, was formerly called Letavia, was at that time ravaged in a cruel manner as much by its own inhabitants as by foreigners. Its cities, castles, churches, houses, monasteries and nunneries were delivered up to fire, until the whole land, by the judgment of God, was totally reduced to a wilderness and waste desert. At that time Alanus and his brother, Pasquetenus, were reigning over the province of Vannes. This province is called Bro Guerec, from Guerecus ; because, when Duke Belpolenus and his army were slain, and Ebracarius, another duke

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King Solomon, for instance, belongs to the year 874, whereas Waroch (or Guerecus), Belpolenus, and Ebracarius carried on their struggles to about 590 ; yet these personages are placed before us as contemporaries (*eo tempore*) : Beppolenus, as Gregory of Tours gives the name, was *dux* and general under the Frankish King Chilperic in 579 ; so also was Ebrocharius (*H. F.*, v, 29 ; x, 9-11). It is probable that we have, further, a confusion of the Danish pirates for the terrible Normans, at the time of whose great invasion in the tenth century we have Alanus Magnus, and his grandson, another Alanus. The placing of Alanus and Pasquetenus side by side with Warocus makes a strange medley.

[3] *Bro Guerec* : Á Bosco has *Guereco*, Mabillon *Werco*. The name *Bro-Waroch* was applied to Vannetais until the eighteenth century ; in Albert le Grand's *Vies* we find *Bro-Erech*, which is the name employed in many *Acta* from the Middle Ages (cf. Loth, *L'Emigration Arm.*, p. 178)

Nortmannis Pasqueteno atque redempto ac postea a quodam per insidias occiso solus cum filiis, prout poterat, Alanus ipsam provinciam regebat. Ea tempestate duo monasteria virorum, Lochmenech,[1] id est locus monachorum, et locus sancti Gildae effugatis habitatoribus deserta sunt atque destructa: quorum habitatores coniuncti simul compulsi sunt alienas petere regiones atque in Bituricensi regione novas ponere sedes, secum deferentes sanctorum corpora, sanctarumque patrocinia, quae tunc temporis apud Britannos festa devotione nimioque venerabantur affectu.

[Moriacensi siquidem coenobio, quod est Locmenech,[1] praeerat 33 eo tempore Taneth abbas; monasterium vero sancti Gildae regebat Daiocus venerabilis vitae abbas. Hic sub altare huius sanctae ecclesiae reliquias beati Gildae, octo scilicet de maioribus ossibus in sarcophago ipsius recondidit, quae tempore nostro reperta sunt, cetera vero simul cum reliquiis sancti Paterni Venetensis episcopi et aliorum sanctorum cum libris et ornamentis monachi secum transtulerunt. Simili modo ex omni Britannia sanctorum corpora per diversas regiones sunt dispersa.]

Cum autem omnipotenti Domino complacuisset, ut et ecclesiae 34 sanctorum in Britannia restaurarentur et gens Brittonum, quae in alienis regionibus misero modo exulabat, ad proprias rediret sedes, resumunt vires iterum Britanni et qui intra regionem remanserant et qui dispersi fuerant per regiones collecti in unum sumunt arma, expugnant viriliter hostes suos, terra marique effugant et a cunctis finibus suis expellunt. Eo tempore erat comes in Redonensi civitate Iuchael, qui et Berengarius dicebatur: hic habuit filium nomine Conanum illustrem et bellicosum virum, ex quo ortus est Gaufredus vir et ipse in armis strenuus, qui totius Britanniae monarchiam tenuit. Hic ergo rogavit Gauzlinum Floriacensis tunc monasterii abbatem, qui etiam postea Bituricensi ecclesiae praefuit archiepiscopus, ut transmitteret sibi Felicem monachum ad restauranda monasteria, quae erant in sua regione solo tenus
A.D. 1008. destructa. Anno igitur dominicae incarnationis millesimo octavo missus est Felix a supra dicto abbate ad Gaufredum comitem, qui

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[1] *Lochmenech.* This word, originally a common noun, has become a proper name: the modern form is *Locminé.* Its interest, however, for us is linguistic; we found, in the Penitential, *locus* used for cloister; and in this passage, besides *locus sancti Gildae*, we are furnished with the explanation that *loc-menech* or *loch-menech* means *locus monachorum*; in this way men*ech* is a plural, which may be compared with the old Welsh *myneich* (cf. *minih* in *Book of St. Chad*, Gw. Evans' *Book of Llandâv*, xlv), and the compound as a whole is equivalent to the Welsh *mynach-log* (*monachi locus?*).

of the Franks, had been routed, he bravely defended that country. But, when Pasquetenus was captured by the Normans and then redeemed, and afterwards treacherously murdered by someone, Alanus alone, with his sons, as far as could be, reigned over that province. At that time two monasteries—Lochmenech, that is, the place (locus) of monks, and the monastery of St. Gildas—when their occupants were routed, were abandoned and destroyed. Their occupants were forced, in a body, to seek other districts, and to set up new homes in the territory of the Bituriges, carrying away with them the bodies of the saints and nuns as relics which at that time were revered amongst the Britons with festal devotion and excessive feelings.

33 While the monastery of Moriacum, which is Locmenech, was presided over at that time by the abbot Taneth, Daiocus, an abbot of venerable life, was the head of the monastery of St. Gildas. Under the altar of this holy church, in his own sepulchre, he buried the remains of St. Gildas, that is, eight of his larger bones, which have been discovered in our own time; but the monks carried away with them the rest of them, together with the remains of St. Paternus, the bishop of Vannes, and of other saints, along with their books and ornaments. In a similar manner the bodies of the saints from the whole of Britanny were scattered through various countries.

34 But when it seemed good to the Almighty Lord that the churches of the saints in Britanny should be restored, and that the British nation, which was in exile in a pitiable plight in foreign countries, should return to its own homes, the Bretons regained their strength. Both those who had remained in the country and those who had been dispersed throughout the lands, gathered together and took up arms, bravely fought their enemies, routed them on land and sea, and drove them out from all their territories. At that time there lived in the city of Rennes a count, named Iuchael, who was also called Berengarius. This man had a son named Conan, a distinguished and warlike man, from whom was descended Geoffrey, himself, too, an active warrior, who held the sovereignty of the whole of Britanny. Now this man besought Goslin, the then abbot of the monastery of Floriacum (Fleury), who afterwards presided as archbishop over the church of the Bituriges, to send over to him Felix, the monk, to restore the monasteries which had been destroyed in his territory. Therefore, in the year of the Lord's incarnation, 1008, Felix was sent by the A.D. 1008.
above-named abbot to Count Geoffrey, and was honourably

honorifice ab eo susceptus est atque praedicta coenobia ei donavit cum omnibus appendiciis suis, rogans et multum deprecans, ut omni studio reaedificaret ea, promisitque plurima se ei largiturum dona, cum de itinere rediisset quo festinabat ire. Properabat enim eo tempore idem dux Romam ire gratia orationis: ivit itaque, sed non rediit, quia in ipso itinere mortuus fuit. Commendaverat autem ipse dux supra dictum Felicem, dum proficisceretur, coniugi nobilibusque suis, fratri etiam suo Iudicaeli episcopo Venetensi, in cuius dioecesi ipsa monasteria erant.

Sed libet nunc retro redire et beati Pauli episcopi in ipso factum 35
referre miraculum. Cum esset idem Felix[1] in supra dicto Floriacensi coenobio tempore Abbonis abbatis et languore gravi deprimeretur et desperatus a medicis nullo modo vivere crederetur, apparuit ei vigilanti et oranti beatus Paulus episcopus assistens ante lectum ipsius cum magno lumine eique dixit: *Quomodo te habes, frater? vel ubi te tenet hoc malum?* *at ille: Quis es, domine? Ego, inquit, sum Paulus episcopus, quem quaerebas. Domine, ecce,* ait, *in hoc latere me diu tenet malum,* et ostendit ei locum. At ille appropinquans digito leniter de latere eius putrefactam abstulit costam et ei ad lumen lampadis ostendit dicens: *Haec amplius non te nocebit.* Et hoc dicens proiecit eam et ab admirantis oculis cum lumine suo disparuit, odor vero suavissimus permansit tota nocte in eadem domo. Sanus itaque cum esset factus, nemo praevenit eum ad vigilias nocturnas. Mirantur omnes quem sperabant iam mortuum vivere, et interrogant, quomodo sanatus fuerit: ille a beato Paulo se visitatum et quid sibi dixerit, qualiter etiam de latere suo fractam, putrefactamque abstraxerit costam, et en illam, inquit, et elevans a terra omnibus ostendit eam. Mirantur cuncti factum, simulque laudes Domino cum sonitu reddiderunt cymbalorum. Sed ad narrationis ordinem redeamus.

Post mortem autem Gaufredi ducis, cum redire voluisset Felix 36
ad suum monasterium, Hadegogis comitissa non permisit illum ire, sed multis precibus rogavit, ut maneret et perficeret ea, quae vir suus in restaurandis coenobiis inchoaverat facere. Retentus igitur

[1] The work done by Felix (970-1038), in the way of restoration of monastic life, and of ecclesiastical architecture in general, appears to have had important and permanent results; but all these chapters belong to the history of the Abbey of St. Gildas de Ruys, not to the history of Gildas; for this reason, I have not attempted more than the translation. One point, however, it will be well to notice. On p. 317 the close intercourse between Fleury and Brittany is mentioned as a reason why Breton, and probably British, documents have been preserved at the monastery of Fleury. In this part, that intercourse, in the person of Felix, is vividly pictured for us by a contemporary.

received by him. He gave Felix the aforementioned abbeys, with all their appendages, begging him and earnestly entreating him to rebuild them with the utmost zeal; and he promised to make him numerous gifts when he had returned from a journey on which he was in haste to proceed. For that Prince was at that time hurrying to go to Rome to pray. Accordingly he went, but did not return, for he died on the journey. But the Prince had commended the above-mentioned Felix, while he should be on his journey, to the care of his wife, and his nobles, and also of his brother Judicaël, the bishop of Vannes, in whose diocese those monasteries were.

35 But let us now return and relate the miracle wrought through the blessed bishop, Paul, upon Felix. When Felix, in the days of the abbot Abbo, was in the abovementioned monastery of Fleury, he was depressed with a severe illness, and given up in despair by the physician. But, as he was watching and praying, the bishop, St. Paul, appeared to him, sitting at his bedside, with a great light, and said to him: *How art thou, brother? or where dost thou feel the pain?* He said: *Who art thou, my lord? I*, said he, *am the bishop Paul, whom thou wert seeking? Oh! my lord*, said he, *it is in this side that the evil has long troubled me;* and he showed him the place. The other approached, and with his finger he gently extracted from his side a putrid rib; and, holding it to the lamp-light, he showed it to him, saying: *This will no more injure thee.* Saying this, he threw it away, and disappeared, with his light, from before the eyes of the amazed man; but a most refreshing fragrance remained in the house throughout the night. When, therefore, he had been restored to health, no one was present before him at the nocturnal vigils. All were amazed that he, whom they expected to find dead by now, was still alive, and they began to question him how he had been healed. He told them that he had been visited by St. Paul, and related what the latter had said to him: how also he had extracted from his side the broken and putrid rib, and "Here it is," said he, lifting it from the ground; and he showed it to them all. They all wonder at the deed, and all together, to the sound of cymbals, give praises to the Lord.

36 But let us now return to the order of the narrative. When, after the death of the Duke Geoffrey, Felix desired to return to his own monastery, the Duchess Havoise would not let him go, but begged him, with many entreaties, to stay and finish the works which her husband had begun to do in the restoration of the convents. Being thus detained by the Duchess and her

a comitissa et consiliariis eius maximeque ab episcopo Venetensi Iudicaele, qui eum unice diligebat, primo quidem parva erexit habitacula in supra dictis locis. Erant vero ibidem ecclesiae sine tectis et ex parte dirutae et inter ipsos parietes annosae arbores creverant, sed et ostia ipsa quaedam concluserant. Nulla ibi tunc habitationis domus erat, nulla hominis conversatio, sed erant in ipsis etiam ecclesiis cubilia ferarum. Videbatur ergo omnibus laboriosum valde et difficile aggredi tam immensum opus. Sed ille habens fiduciam in Domino non dubitavit invadere illud nec fuit spe sua frustratus. Nam infra paucos dies convenerunt ad eum optimi et religiosi viri, quorum adiutorio et ecclesias restauravit et domos aedificavit, vineas plantavit atque pomaria: ab his etiam pueri enutriti in Dei servitio fuere.

Per idem tempus Britanni iterum in seditionem versi bella 37
commoverunt. Nam rustici insurgentes contra dominos suos congregantur: at nobiles iuncto secum comite Alano[1] agmina rusticorum invadunt, trucidant, dispergunt, persequuntur, quoniam sine duce et sine consilio venerant in proelium. Deinde quidam nobilium insurrexerunt contra comitem, sed non praevaluerunt, quoniam ipse vir ignavus et sine scientia non erat. Inter hos tumultus Felix, quoniam non poterat quiete et pacifice vivere, statuit ad monasterium suum redire, nam sedecimum annum agebat, ex quo ab abbate suo ibidem transmissus fuerat. Conatum vero ipsius praevenit Hadegogis comitissa. Misit namque per quendam virum, qui cum eo pergebat, nomine Filim epistolam ad abbatem illius rogans, ne ullo modo eum retineret, sed abbatis ei benedictionem daret et ad se illum iterum transmitteret, quoniam filii eius Alanus et Eudo iam adulti parati erant perficere omnia, quae pater eorum ei promiserat.

Cum igitur legisset Gauzlinus abbas epistolam, vocat Felicem 38
monachum interrogatque, ad quid venerit vel cur dimiserit loca ipsa et congregationem, quam ei commiserat. Ille: *Quoniam,* inquit, *nec pacifice neque cum quiete possum ibi Deo servire.* Cui abbas: *Tu autem in tua putas habere patria, quod Christus non habuit in sua? Si igitur ad Christum vis pervenire, debes, sicut*
*Io.* ii, 6. *et ille ambulavit, et tu ambulare. Per multas enim tribulationes,*
*Act.* xiv, 22. sicut dicit apostolus *oportet nos intrare in regnum Dei. Ergo*

[1] Some of the best-known names have been put in their French form in the translation, such as Fleury, Alain, Havoise, Goslin, etc.

counsellors, and particularly by Judicaël, the bishop of Vannes, who specially loved him, he at first built small dwelling-houses in the afore-said districts. But in those parts there were churches without roofs and partly pulled down; and between the walls themselves old trees had grown, while some had blocked up the very doors. At that time there was in that part no dwelling-house, no intercourse between man and man, but even the churches themselves were the haunts of wild beasts. Now, to undertake a work of such magnitude seemed to everybody a laborious and difficult task. But he, trusting in the Lord, did not hesitate to attack it, and was not frustrated in his hope. For within a few days the best men and the clerics flocked to his aid; and by their help, he restored the churches, built houses, and planted vineyards and orchards: even the children were brought up by them in the service of God.

37 Throughout that time also the Bretons broke out in rebellion and stirred up wars. For the peasants rose and flocked together against their lords. But the nobles, when Count Alain had joined them, attacked the bands of peasants, killed, scattered, and pursued them; for they had entered the battle without a leader and without deliberation. Afterwards some of the nobles rebelled against the Count; but they did not succeed, for he was not a cowardly and inexperienced man. Since, during these tumults, he could not live in quiet and peace, Felix determined to return to his own monastery; for it was now sixteen years since he had been sent over to this place by his abbot. But the Duchess Havoise anticipated his attempt. For she sent, by a certain man named Filim, who was travelling with him, a letter to his abbot, beseeching him not to detain him on any account, but to give him an abbot's blessing and send him back again to her; for her sons, Alain and Eudo, were now grown up, and ready to perform everything which their father had promised him.

38 When, therefore, the Abbot Goslin had read the letter, he called the monk Felix to him, and asked him wherefore he had come, and why he had left those places, and the congregation he had committed to his charge. *Because*, said he, *I cannot serve God there in peace and quiet.* The abbot said to him: *Dost thou, then, expect to have in thy country what Christ did not find in* [1 *John* ii, 6.] *His? Therefore, if thou wishest to attain to Christ, thou oughtest thyself also to walk even as He walked. For it is 'through many* [*Acts* xiv, 22.] *tribulations,' as the apostle says, that 'we must enter into the Kingdom of God.' Therefore, my beloved son, bear vexations patiently*

*patienter, carissime, fer molestias, ubicumque fueris, et esto nobis obediens, sicut in tua professione Deo vovisti et suscipe curam abbatis atque benedictionem, ut cum ipsis, quibus te praeesse voluimus, pervenire valeas ad aeternam vitam.* Sed cum ille se excusaret et nullo modo hoc facere se posse diceret, abbas, qui erat, sicut diximus, episcopus, arreptum eum invitum ad altare duxit atque ad abbatis officium promovit quarto nonas Iulii. Accepta itaque Felix iam abbas tam abbatis sui quam cunctae congregationis suae benedictione revertitur, commendaticias secum deferens litteras principibus Britanniae et episcopo Venetensi. Cum autem dubitaret, quem potiorem locum de duobus statueret sedem abbatiae habere, ducem Alanum[1] episcopumque Venetensem super hac re consuluit. Illi convocatis nobilibus viris, aliquibus etiam episcopis statuerunt locum sancti Gildae, qui erat antiquior et terrae fertilitate frumenti etiam et vini arborumque pomiferarum abundantior, diversorum quoque magnorum piscium generibus suis temporibus affluentior.

Erat autem in eodem loco ipso tempore quidam Dei servus 39
solitariam vitam ducens nomine Ehoarn, super quem nocte irruentes latrunculi eum ex adhaerenti ecclesiae domo extraxerunt. Quidam vero ex ipsis Leopardus cognomine arripiens securim super limen ecclesiae cerebrum illius excussit. Qui mox correptus a daemonio in terram corruit atque cum surrexisset, cultellum accipiens se ipsum in pectore vulneravit et nisi cito a sociis suis fuisset defensus, semet ipsum interfecisset. Ligatus igitur ab ipsis domum reversus est, sed numquam postea sensum recepit. Vidimus namque eum per viginti annos nullo tegi indumento, non tunica, non camisia, non calceamento, sed miro modo aestate et hieme nudum incedere. Huic si quis pro misericordia aliquod indumentum porrexisset, ille, si forte sub arbore sedisset vel in quolibet loco, non discedebat, donec ipsum indumentum omnino discidisset. Et si quidem laneum vel lineum fuisset, in ipso loco diffilabat eum, si vero pelliceum, et ipsum ad nihilum redigebat. Itaque et aestatis immensos calores atque intolerabilia hiemis frigora sicut diximus, per multos annos nudus incedens domi foresque pertulit. O ineffabilis Christi clementia! O bonitatis et misericordiae ipsius immensitas! O beati Gildae gloriosa merita, quae sic

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[1] *Alanus.* This was Duke Alain III, and the Bishop of Vannes was his uncle Judicaël. We are told that there is in the apsidal chapel of the church an inscription—P GOSFREDO DM ORATE, "Pray God for Geoffrey"—in Roman characters of a form and date anterior to those known to be of the twelfth century.

*wherever thou art, and be obedient unto us, as in thy profession thou didst vow to God; and take an abbot's charge and blessing, in order that thou mayest, together with those over whom we wish thee to preside, be able to attain unto eternal life.* But as he continued making excuses, and saying that he could in no way do so, the abbot who, as we have said, was also a bishop, seized him and led him to the altar, and on the 4th day of July preferred him to the office of an abbot. Therefore, when Felix, now an abbot, had received the blessing both of his own abbot and of his congregation, he returned, bringing with him letters of recommendation to the princes of Britanny and to the bishop of Vannes. As he was hesitating which of two places was preferable to fix upon as the seat for his abbey, he consulted Duke Alain and the bishop of Vannes upon this matter. After calling together the nobles, and some bishops also, they fixed upon the monastery of St. Gildas, which was older, and owing to the fertility of the soil, was richer in corn and wine and fruit-bearing trees, and was likewise most abounding in season in various kinds of large fish.

39 Now, there was in that neighbourhood, at that time, a certain servant of God, of the name of Ehoarn, who was leading a solitary life. One night robbers rushed in upon him, and dragged him from his house which adjoined the church. One of them, Leopardus by name, seized an axe, and dashed out the man's brain upon the threshold of the church. He was at once seized by an evil spirit, and fell to the ground. When he rose up, he took a knife and wounded himself in his breast; and had he not been speedily prevented by his comrades, he would have killed himself. He was, therefore, bound by them, and returned home, but he never afterwards recovered his senses. For we saw him through the course of twenty years, clothed with no garments—without a tunic, shirt, or shoes—but in a strange manner walking about naked, both in summer and winter. If any one, out of pity, offered him some garment, he, if he had chanced to sit down under a tree, or indeed in any place whatever, would not depart until he had torn that garment to shreds. If it had been a woollen or a linen garment, he would pull it to pieces, thread by thread, upon the spot; but if one made of skins, he would cut it up to nothing. And so walking about naked for many years, he endured at home and abroad the intense heat of summer and the intolerable cold of winter. Oh! the unspeakable mercy of Christ! Oh! the immensity of His goodness and His compassion! Oh! the glorious merits of St. Gildas! merits which thus, in one and the same man, both

in uno eodemque homine et puniunt crimina et impios castigant, ne similia facere praesumant, ne similiter puniantur! Credimus autem virum illum per hoc, quod Deus non vindicat bis in id ipsum, salvum pro Dei misericordia fuisse.

Festivitas beatissimi Gildae,[1] qua de mari translatum est corpus 40
eius, appropinquabat et populus undique confluens ad diem festum occurrere festinabat. Tunc quidam, qui diu in lecto iacuerat gravi detentus infirmitate, cum videret vicinos et amicos suos properare ad diem festum, clamabat, ut se ad sanctum locum ducerent. Dicebat enim, quod, si sancti viri sepulcrum contingere meruisset, mox sanitati redderetur: hoc se credere, hanc fidem se habere testabatur. Adductus itaque ab amicis est et ante sepulcrum beati Gildae positus. Cum vero vigiliae sollemniter celebrarentur et ille ante sanctum iaceret sepulcrum, subito se extendens in mortui modum diriguit, plangere cessavit, eius oculi eversi erant, pedes manus pectus frigescebant et toto corpore mortuus esse videbatur. Populi multitudo, quae circumdederat, conclamabat: *Quoniam mortuus est, educite eum foras.* Igitur vociferantibus illis et circa eum magis magisque sese comprimentibus cum nemo neque manum ponere neque ad eum prae multitudine accedere per tres fere horas posset, tandem ascendens quidam ex monachis Iunior nomine et accipiens baculum sancti in manu sua eum tertio signavit cum baculo signo sanctae crucis. Illico mirantibus cunctis erexit se atque dixit: *Num quid non vidistis beatum Gildam stantem super istum lapidem et suame manu erigentem?* Tunc in conspectu omnium sanus atque gaudens surrexit et manu sua deferens candelam super altare posuit et qui aliorum manibus ad sanctum deductus fuerat sepulcrum languens, suis pedibus domum sanus revertitur gaudens. Hanc vero virtutem cum postea narrarem nobilibus quibusdam ante ecclesiam Plomorcat, ille affuit et iureiurando affirmabat ita fuisse, sicut dicebam.

Notissima res est et per cunctas partes Britanniae vulgata, ut, 41
si in parrochia[2] vel etiam in aliqua regione mortalitas incubuerit, illius habitatores ad huius sanctissimum confugere locum[3] atque a Deo ibidem sine dubio praestolare remedium. Veniebat pro eadem causa de Ilfintinc multitudo plebis, sed unus ex ipsis nomine

[1] *Festivitas b. Gildae.* This day, as we are previously told, was the 11th of May. In the *Aa. Ss.*, however, the *Lives* of Gildas are placed by the Bollandists, in accordance with their adoption of the mediæval form of the Hieronymian Martyrology, on January 29th, the reputed day of death.

[2] *Parrochia. Parrochia* must be taken in the once common meaning of "diocese," *i.e.*, the diocese of Vannes.

[3] *Locum.* As in many other places, *locus* can only mean "monastery"; cf. c. 32.

punish crimes and chastise the wicked, that they may not presume to commit similar sins lest they be similarly punished! But we believe that through punishment—for God does not twice avenge the same deed—that man has been saved by God's mercy.

40 The festival of St. Gildas—the day on which his body had been recovered—was approaching; and the people, flowing together from all quarters, were hastening to celebrate that festive day. At that time, some man, who had for a long time lain on his bed laid up with a serious illness, on seeing his friends and neighbours hurrying to that festival, cried out that they should lead him to the holy burial-place. For he said that, if he could be worthy to touch the holy man's grave, he would soon be restored to health: he kept testifying that this was his belief, that he had this confidence in him. He was consequently brought by his friends, and placed before the grave of St. Gildas. But as the vigils were being solemnly celebrated, and he was lying before the sacred grave, he suddenly stretched himself, and grew stiff like a dead man: he ceased to wail, his eyes were completely destroyed; his hands, feet, and breast grew cold, and he seemed to be dead in every part of his body. The crowd of people that had been standing round cried out: *Since he is dead, bear him away.* While, therefore, they were clamouring and crushing each other round him more and more, so that no one, for nearly three hours, could either touch or approach him owing to the crowd, at length one of the monks, named Junior, came up; and taking a saint's staff in his hand, he marked him three times with the sign of the cross. Thereupon, to the amazement of all, the man rose up and said: *Did you not see St. Gildas standing upon that stone, and lifting me up with his hand?* Then, in the sight of all, he rose up sound in body and rejoicing; and bearing a candle in his hand, he placed it upon the altar; and he who in weakness had been led by the hands of others to the sacred grave, returned home on his feet, whole and rejoicing. When I was afterwards relating this miracle to some nobles before the church of Plomorcat, that man was present, and asserted with an oath that the fact was just as I stated it.

41 The event became very well known through every part of Brittany; so that if, in the diocese, or even in any district, mortality weighed heavily upon the people, its inhabitants fled for refuge to his most sacred monastery, and waited there without any doubt for a cure from God. For this same reason a multitude of people used to come from Ilfintinc; but one of them, named Dongual, fell

Dongual subita eadem clade percussus cecidit et ante ecclesiam Sarthau remansit. Socii vero ipsius cum ad sanctum venissent locum, rogaverunt me, ut caballum, quo eum deferrent, transmitterem, quod et feci. Adductus itaque est, sed quia stare non poterat, in domo hospitum collocatus est. Erat autem ad videndum horribilis et sanguinem vomens. Nemo eum usque in crastinum vivere sperabat, sed iam iamque mori exspectabatur. Hunc visitatura cuncta congregatio venit oratque pro eo Dominum et oleo sancto perungit. Hic itaque ab illa hora paulatim ad se rediit et vires recepit et post aliquos dies ex integro sanitati est redditus. Socii eius ad propria redeuntes uxori eius mortuum eum fuisse et apud sanctum Gildam sepultum dixerunt. Venit illa eleemosynas pro anima viri sui factura, sed quem sperabat mortuum, invenit non solum viventem, verum etiam sanissimum. *Sic, sic operaris, Deus noster, in sanctis tuis atque mirabilia magna solus facis.* Revertitur itaque vir ille cum uxore sua gaudens atque sanus, qui venerat maestus et moribundus. Hunc ego nuper vidi sanum et gratias referentem Deo et beati Gildae virtutes magnificantem, qui etiam ea de se recordatur, quae enarravimus.

42 Nec praetereundum silentio est, quas eodem tempore priores nostri qualesque humani generis inimici in hoc sacro coenobio pertulerint molestias. Videns namque ille antiquus hostis, quod servi Dei locum desertum incolere coepissent atque se ab eo, quem diu possederat, loco diu deserto expellere deberent, ad suas antiquas revertitur artes et quos Dei virtute videbat munitos, fantasmatibus et nocturnis terroribus eos effugare omnibus modis conabatur. Nam nocte quadam dum pueriles monachi ad mensam sederent et psalmos firmarent, adversarius adfuit, alludens lumini candelae apparuit extendensque frequenter manum inter duos puerulos, hanc denuo retrahens et iterum extendens atque iterum retrahens et hoc, donec candelae deficeret lumen, indesinenter faciens. Species vero brachii atque manus, quae solummodo videbatur, erat nigra et horrida pilis. Pueri timore exterriti ac perturbati erant. Alter puerorum Ratfredus, alter vero Mangisus vocabatur: tertius vero adolescentulus, qui eos docebat, Rannulfus dicebatur. Senex igitur, qui eos servabat, nomine Iovethen, videns quae fiebant et timore pueros perterritos, dicebat eis:

struck by the same sudden scourge, and remained before the church of Sarthau. But when his friends had come to the sacred grave, they asked me to send over a nag to convey him thither. And I did so. He was, therefore, brought; but because he could not stand, he was placed in the house of some friends. He was dreadful to look at, and was vomiting blood. No one thought he would live until the morrow, but was expected every moment to die. The whole congregation came to visit him, and prayed to the Lord on his behalf, and anointed him with oil. And so from that hour he gradually returned to himself and recovered strength, and in a few days after was quite restored to his health. His friends, on returning to their own, told his wife that he was dead, and had been buried at the church of St. Gildas. She came to give alms for her husband's soul; but she found him whom she expected to see dead, not only living, but even in perfect health. *Thus, yea thus, Oh, our God! dost Thou work in Thy saints, and alone dost perform mighty miracles.* And so that man, who had come sorrowful and dying, returned home with his wife, rejoicing and in health. I lately saw him in good health, and returning thanks to God, and magnifying the virtues of St. Gildas; and he also records about himself the things which we have related.

42 Nor must we pass by in silence the tribulations and the nature of the tribulations which our priors, at that time, endured in this sacred convent from the enemy of the human race. For that old enemy, when he saw that the servants of God had begun to inhabit the deserted place, and that they thought it their duty to expel him from that long-deserted place which he had long possessed, returned to his old wiles, and by means of ghosts and horrid apparitions in the night, tried in every way to drive away those whom he saw protected by the power of God. For, on a certain night, while some young monks were sitting at table and repeating psalms, the adversary stood by them, and appeared playing with the candle-light, often reaching out his hand between the two boys, drawing it in again, and again reaching it out and drawing it in, doing this incessantly until the light of the candle failed. Now, the outward appearance of his hand and arms, the latter being barely visible, was black and bristling with hairs. The boys were stricken with great fear and utterly confused. One of the boys was named Ratfredus, and the other Mangisus; and the third youth who was teaching them was called Rannulfus. Now, an old man, who was watching them, named Jovethen, seeing what was happening, and finding the boys terrified with fear, said to them: *Sign yourselves,*

*Signate vos, pueri, signate vos signo sanctae crucis et psalmos Daviticos decantate.* Improbus vero daemon consumptam extinxit candelam et se in risum movens per acervum lapideum, qui iuxta erat, proruens terrorem immensum ex sonitu lapidum concussit: deinde scutulas, quae in refectorio erant positae, tota nocte movens atque removens inquietam habitatoribus noctem reddidit. Vasculum vero, quod iuxta erat positum vino repletum, dum minister requisisset, vacuum invenit neque ullum vestigium, ubi in terram defluxerit, repertum est. Felix abierat: qui cum venisset et a fratribus quae praeterita nocte pertulissent phantasmata audisset, acceptam aquam cum sale benedixit et in circuitu et intus aspersit, atque ab illo die per Dei gratiam quieta habitatio permansit.

Fuit tempore illo inter priores huius sacri coenobii monachus 43
quidam nomine Gingurianus, laicus quidem, sed Spiritu Sancto omnibusque virtutibus plenus. Hic cum aliquamdiu innocentem et simplicem vitam agens in monasterio Deo deservisset et eius patientiam per molestiam corporis comprobare aliisque in exemplum ostendere Dominus decrevisset, per Spiritum Sanctum ei revelare dignatus est finem vitae suae. Venit itaque quadam die ante abbatem Felicem atque omnem congregationem, humiliter satisfaciens et petens ab omnibus sibi veniam dari. Dum igitur in circuitu tamquam innocenti et simplici viro respondissent: *Dimittat tibi Dominus ignorantias tuas atque ab omnibus peccatis tuis te absolvat, scitote ergo*, inquit ille, *carissimi fratres, quia ab hodierna die neque ambulare inter vos neque manere potero. Rogo caritatem vestram, ut vestris orationibus me commendetis Deo et oleo sancto ungatis.* Mirantur omnes, quod, quem sanum videbant, ungi se rogaret. Ille autem rogabat, instabat, ut quamdiu loqui poterat ungeretur. Post capitulum autem detulit omnia utensilia atque ferramenta sua et posuit ante pedes abbatis dicens: *Domine, ecce obedientiam, quam mihi servare praecepisti: commenda eam alicui ex fratribus.* Fuerat enim ipse beatus vir custos alvearii ab initio conversionis suae, habens sub cura sua plurima apum vasa. Deinde cum missa celebraretur, post pacem ad sanctum accedens altare communionem sanctam de manu sacerdotis accepit ac post, ambas manus ad pectus adducens, iuxta

*boys, sign yourselves with the sign of the holy cross, and chant the psalms of David.* But the evil spirit blew out the wasted candle, and, bursting into a laugh, rushed through a heap of stones which was near, and struck immense fear into them in consequence of the noise of the stones. Then, by moving backwards and forwards throughout the night the dishes which had been placed in the refectory, he gave the inmates a restless night. When a servant had gone for a small vessel, which had been placed near full of wine, he found it empty ; but no trace was found where the wine had been poured on the ground. Felix had gone away. When he came and heard from the brethren of the phantasms they had endured on the previous night, he took water with some salt, blessed it, and sprinkled it round about and inside ; and from that day, by the grace of God, the dwelling remained undisturbed.

43 There was, at that time, amongst the priors of this sacred abbey, a certain monk named Gingurianus, a layman indeed, but full of the Holy Spirit and of all virtues. When he had for some time, with a pure and simple life, served God zealously in this monastery, and the Lord had decreed to make trial of his long-suffering through a bodily pain, and to point him out as an example to others, it seemed good to the Lord to reveal to him, through the Holy Spirit, the end of his life. One day, therefore, he came before the Abbot Felix and all his congregation, humbly apologising and begging the pardon of everybody. And when they had all round replied to him as an innocent and simple-minded man, he said : *May the Lord forgive you your ignorance and absolve you of your sins ; for you must know, beloved brethren, that from this day forth I can neither walk nor stay among you. I beseech your love, that you may commend me to God in your prayers, and anoint me with holy oil.* They were all surprised that a man whom they saw in good health should seek to be anointed. But he kept entreating and soliciting them earnestly that he might be anointed, as long as he could speak. But after the chapter he brought down his materials and implements, and placed them at the abbot's feet, saying : *Behold, my lord, the obedience which thou didst command me to keep : commend it to one of the brethren.* For that saintly man had been the guardian of the apiary from the commencement of his abode in the place, having a great number of bee-hives under his charge. Afterwards, at the celebration of the mass, after the *pax*, he approached the sacred altar and received the holy communion from the hand of the priest. Then,

gradum altaris se extendens recubuit atque inter manus eductus est in domum infirmorum, ubi statim, sicut postulaverat a fratribus, oleo sancto unctus est atque ab illo die, sicut praedixerat, per totum annum paralysi solutus in lecto iacens neque in latere altero se vertere neque manum ad os ducere potuit.

Per annum vero unum ei manifeste Dominus per angelum 44
suum dignatus est obitus sui diem denuntiare: qui mane Riaulum monachum ad se vocavit eique dixit: *Dio, rogo, frater, omni congregationi nostrae, ut gratias Deo semper agant et in Domino iugiter gaudeant et noverint pro certo, quoniam ad nocturnas vigilias Sanctum Michaelem archangelum secum hac nocte habuerint, qui antequam omnino vigiliae sonarentur, in specie pulcherrimi infantis mihi cum maximo lumine apparuit et quis esset dixit.* Et adiecit: *Ne timeas, inquit, sed praepara te, quia cum luce huius diei de corpore tuo exibis ad meliorem vitam.* Ac deinde per fenestram orientalem cum suo lumine ecclesiam intravit et quamdiu vigiliae celebrabantur, praeclarum illud lumen ab ecclesia non recessit. *Nunc ergo, carissime frater, nuntia fratribus nostris, quae tibi dixi et quod gratias caritati eorum refero, quia obsequium mihi per totum istum annum exhibuerunt. Obsecro autem, ut communionem sanctam mihi deferas atque ab hora vespertina obitum meum observes.* Igitur post vesperas vocavit servitorem suum eique dixit: *Voca fratres meos ad me, quia iam de hac vita exeo.* Omni itaque congregatione ad eum coadunata de hac vita eadem, qua praedixerat, hora migravit ad Dominum quarto kalend. Octobris.

Vir quoque vitae venerabilis et memoria dignus eisdem tempo- 45
ribus in hoc sacro coenobio refulsit Gulstanus. Hic etiam laicus erat, sed psalmos et orationes, quas memoriter didicerat, nocte dieque ante Deum decantare non cessabat, pernox in vigiliis, ita ut etiam decrepita aetate vix eum vidisses tribus horis aestate aut hieme in lecto iacere. Hic vero in adolescentia sua a piraticis praedonibus est separatus per Felicem, qui eo tempore in Ossa[1] insula heremiticam necdum monachus ducebat vitam. Ipsam quoque, quam eo tempore ab eo didicerat, semper dilexit usque ad finem vitae suae ducere vitam, parcus in cibis et in potu, in vigiliis

[1] *Ossa:* in French Ile d'Ouessant, in English better known as Ushant. The monk's name appears both as Gulstan and Gunstan.

putting both his hands on his breast, and stretching himself upon the step of the altar, he sank down, and was carried in their arms into the house of the sick, where, as he had requested of his brethren, he was at once anointed with holy oil. From that day, as he had foretold, he was seized with palsy; and for a whole year lay in his bed, and was able neither to turn on his other side nor to lift his hand to his mouth.

44 But throughout one year it seemed good to the Lord, through his angel, to announce to him clearly the day of his death. In the morning he summoned the monk Riaulus to him, and said to him: *Brother, I beseech thee, tell our congregation always to give thanks unto God, and to rejoice continually, and to know for certain that they had with them, this night, at their nocturnal vigils, the Archangel Michael; for, before the vigils were quite finished, he appeared to me in the form of a very handsome child, with a very great light, and told me who he was.* And he added: '*Be not afraid,*' *said he,* '*but prepare thyself; for, with the light of this day, thou wilt depart from thy body to a better life.*' He then, with his light, entered the church through the east window; and, as long as the vigils were celebrated, that very brilliant light did not depart from the church. *Now, therefore, my most beloved brother, announce to the brethren the things that I have told thee, and that I am returning thanks for their love, in that they showed their indulgence towards me through all this year. I entreat thee to bring me the holy communion, and to watch for my death from the hour of the vespers.* And so, after vespers, he called his servant, and said to him: *Call my brethren to me, because I am now departing from this life.* Accordingly, when all the congregation had gathered together to him, he departed from this life to the Lord, on the hour he had foretold, on the 28th of September.

45 In those times, Gulstan also, a man of venerable life and worthy of commemoration, flourished in this sacred convent. He, too, was a layman; but night and day he did not cease to chant before God the psalms and prayers which he had committed to memory. He spent the night in watchings, so that, whether in summer or winter, one would scarcely see him, even in weak old age, lie in bed more than three hours. In his youth he had been drawn away from a piratical band of robbers by Felix, who was not at the time a monk, but was living a hermit's life in the island of Ushant. Always to the very end of his days did he love to live the life which he had learnt at that time from Felix—sparing in food and drink, but constant in vigils and prayers. Accordingly it

et oratione assiduus. Huius itaque viri merita Dominus declarare dignatus est etiam in vita sua: nam longe lateque laudes et praeconia ipsius in ore omnium navigatorum huius regionis resonabant. Plurimas namque per eum Dominus dignabatur operari virtutes et miracula, ita ut enarrare vel dinumerare ea vix aliquis posset. Defunctus autem est quinto kalend. Decembris apud Bellum-videre castrum, ubi pro utilitate monasterii sui venerat, in domo monachorum Sancti Petri Maliacensium.[1] Sed ubi voce praeconis fuit auditum, quod beatus Gulstanus de hac vita migrasset (media enim nocte transierat), continuo de lectulis dissilientes viri nobiles simul cum matronis et cunctis qui audiebant certatim festinabant ire cum cereis et lampadibus, ut obsequium ferrent viro Dei, ita ut vix posset ipsa domus continere multitudinem. Videntes itaque monachi Sancti Philiberti multa ornamenta, pecuniam quoque copiosam et cereorum diversam multitudinem circa corpus viri Dei aggregari, persuaserunt omnibus qui convenerant, ut ad ecclesiam suam sanctum corpus deferrent. Sed resistentibus monachis, in quorum hospitio defunctus fuerat, famulis etiam contradicentibus, ne ab illa domo moveretur, donec illud possent ad suum reducere monasterium, illi e contrario concitata multitudine rapientes illum de domo illa cum omni apparatu suo et luminibus ad ecclesiam suam deportaverunt et immensam quae offerebatur per triduum pecuniam colligentes post tertium diem sepelierunt eum. Igitur cum ad monasterium eius haec nuntiata fuissent, Vitalis[2] abbas illuc perrexit et ut corpus monachi sui sibi redderetur, humiliter rogavit. Sed illi non sancti viri dilectione, sed potius amore pecuniarum, quae quotidie ad eius undique deferebantur sepulcrum, nullum reddiderunt responsum. Ille ad episcopum Pictavensem Isembardum[3] abiit, clamorem ferens de iniuria ablati sibi corporis monachi sui. Episcopus quia inobedientes praeceptis suis ipsi monachi fuerant, praecepit eos cum suo abbate ad synodum suam venire, abbatem etiam Vitalem praecepit adesse. Cum ergo venissent et in synodo utrique eorum causam dixissent, episcopus praecepit abbatibus atque canonicis nobilibus qui aderant, ut . . . .

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[1] *Maliacensium.* On certain details connected with Maliacum, and the French form *Maillé*, see *Gallia Christiana*, Tom. ii, 282B, Instrumenta.

[2] *Vitalis.* This Vitalis was the successor of Felix (1038).

[3] *Isembardum.* Mabillon prints the name *Isambardus;* there were two bishops of Poitiers of this name, of whom an account may be found in *Gallia Christiana*, Tom. ii, col. 1164. The name in the *Gallia Christiana*, and in the list of *Pictavenses Episcopi* printed by Duchesne (*Fastes Episcopaux*, ii, p. 77),

seemed good to the Lord to proclaim the merits of this man even in his lifetime: for far and wide were his praise and commendation resounding in the mouths of the sailors of that part of the country. For it seemed good to the Lord to work so many powers and miracles through him that hardly anyone could relate or count them. He died on the 27th of November, in the house of the monks of St. Peter of Maillé, in the fort of Bellum-videre, whither he had repaired owing to the advantages of its monastery. But when it had been announced by the public crier that the saintly Gulstan had departed this life—for he had passed away in the middle of the night—noblemen, and their wives, and all who heard the news, forthwith jumped out of their beds, and hastened emulously to go with wax-lights and lamps to pay their allegiance to the man of God, so that the house could scarcely contain the crowd of people. Now, when the monks of St. Philibert saw that many ornaments, large sums of money, and a great number of wax-lights scattered round the body of the man of God, were being brought there, they advised all who had assembled there to convey the holy body to their church. But while the monks in whose house he had died resisted this, and the servants also objected to its being removed from that house until they could bring it back to their own monastery, the other party, when the crowd was in a turmoil, stole it from that house together with all its appendages and lights, and carried it away to their own church. Having collected a large sum of money which was being offered for the space of three days, they buried him on the fourth day. When this news had been told at his monastery, the Abbot Vitalis hastened thither, and humbly begged that the body of his monk should be restored to him. But they returned him no answer; not, however, from any affection for the saint, but from love of the sums of money which flowed in daily from every direction to his grave. He went to Isembard, the Bishop of Poitiers, loudly complaining of the wrong of stealing his monk's body. The bishop, because the monks had refused to obey his injunctions, ordered them and their abbot to repair to his synod; he ordered the Abbot Vitalis also to attend. When, therefore, they had come, and both sides had pleaded their case in the synod, the bishop ordered the abbots and the noted clergy who were present, to . . . .

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is *Isembertus*, the first and second so named following each other as fifty-fourth and fifty-fifth bishops of Poitiers. There is a variant *Ysambertus* in Duchesne's list.

# VITA II.

## "VITA GILDÆ," WRITTEN BY CARADOC OF LLANCARVAN (OR NANCARVAN).

THIS "Life" was first published for the English Historical Society by the Rev. Joseph Stevenson, to accompany his edition of Gildas for that Society (1838). Stevenson printed the *Vita* with meagre help from a MS. which belongs to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge—139, 24, vell. folio (twelfth century) (Petrie, *Descriptive Catalogue*, 436)—but he made use, as basis, of another MS., of which the original home was Finchale, near Durham—MS Burney 310 (fourteenth century)—together with the second transcript mentioned below. Another MS. at the British Museum of the same work as is found in the C C C MS., is described by Mr. Petrie (440), "*MS. Eccl. Dunelm.*, Bk. II, 35, 7, folio. A fine copy, written about the year 1166." It is upon the Burney MS. from Durham (B), together with the fine Cambridge Codex (C), that the *Vita*, as printed here, is based by Mommsen (*M. G. H.*, *Chronica Minora*, vol. iii, fasc. 1). The British Museum possesses also two transcripts of the *Burney MS.*, which are described by Petrie under 438, 439, as "*MS. Sloane*, 4785, ff. 9-15, and *MS. Reg.* 13, Bk. VII, ff. 20-25b." An epitome made by John of Tynemouth, about the middle of the fourteenth century, is printed in Capgrave, *Nova Legenda Angliae*, ff. 156-560, and by Colgan in *Acta Ss. Hiberniae*, 177-78. A very useful account of some of these documents will be found in *MSS. Relating to Wales in the British Museum*, by Mr. Edward Owen, pp. 101, 111.

An attempt is made in the Introduction to weigh the amount of credibility which may be attached to this *Life* as compared with the preceding. We only note now that it is probably from three to four centuries later than the earlier part of our *Vita I*, and that the whole perspective of events narrated is different. With the sole exception of the name of his father, Caradoc seems

to have known nothing about the early life of Gildas. There is no mention of his teacher, Illtud, nor of any of his contemporaries except Cadoc, the reputed founder of the monastery where the imaginative biographer lived. The account given, so bare and pointless, of visits to Gaul and Rome, can have no meaning to us, when we have known how frequently such constituents enter into the making of *Lives of Saints*, but particularly from our reading of the *De Excidio*. It is further impossible to accept the story, introduced from Menevian sources, respecting the failure to preach, when St. David's mother was present in the church; because, from many reliable sources, we know that these two men had a common time of childhood under one abbot and teacher. We recognise a germ of truth in what is said of Gildas' activity in Ireland, *studium regens et praedicans in civitate Ardmaca;* so also in the account of the anchorite life on the island of Echni, and the preservation of a codex of the Gospels at Llangarfan, believed to have been written by the saint's own hand. But all the sections 10-14, in reference to Glastonbury and Gildas' tarrying there, can be no otherwise regarded than as a piece of literary fiction, his life in Britanny being entirely ignored, in order to magnify King Arthur and Glastonbury. The poor attempt made by Caradoc, in the last section, at an etymological explanation (Holder calls it *volks-etymologie*) has led many of us astray; but it is of a piece with the whole matter of the *Vita* in relation to this place (see note on *Ynisgutrin*, c. 14).

Stevenson, in the Preface, is inclined to doubt the authorship of this *Vita* by Caradoc, partly on documentary grounds, partly because of the writer's conception of Arthur. He regards it as impossible that a contemporary of Geoffrey of Monmouth could speak of Arthur as *rex rebellis*, or as undergoing penance, *dolens et lacrimans*, for his past misdeeds. But it may be observed that a representation of Arthur quite in accordance with this may be found in the *Vita David*, and that, though such a picture is not found *after* Geoffrey, it is quite possible in a contemporary. We have, however, what appears to be strong documentary evidence in the thirteenth-century Cambridge MS. that Caradoc was the author. Stevenson seems to have made but very partial use of this MS., and in his notes refers to the verses at its end as found "in Ussher's MS." The archbishop mentions a codex that was in his possession, adding that it contained the rude distich printed below, from the CCCC MS., clearly attributing the authorship to Caradog of Llangarvan. "Albanii [Gildae] vitam

habeo," he writes, "a Caradoco Lancarvanensi descriptam: quod rude illud distichon ad scripti calcem adiectum indicat:—

> Lancarbanensis dictamina sunt Caratoci;
> Qui legat emendet, placet illi compositori."—*Antiq.*, vol. v, 507.

One objection occurs to anyone that has read the *Life* somewhat carefully; here we read *Lancarbanensis*, but in the *Vita* itself *Nancarbanensis ecclesia* (cc. 7, 8), *Carbane valle* (c. 6), *Carbanam vallem* (c. 9), which might serve as an argument that the verses were added by a copyist. As this point will be discussed presently, it is sufficient to state here that the two names may, on good grounds, be regarded as used contemporaneously. But, further, the verses are found, as was said, in the oldest MS., that of C C C, Cambridge, and also in a copy of that *Burney MS.* 310, which Stevenson made the basis of his text. As they distinctly assign the authorship to Caradoc, there seems no good reason for doubt upon the very slight internal grounds advanced by Stevenson.

Of Caradoc it is but little that is known with any certainty; he is regarded as the author of certain *Annals*, or *Brut*, giving an account of British princes from the time of Cadwaladr, with whom Geoffrey of Monmouth finishes his work. Of this supposed *Brut*, carried down to the year 1270, there existed about 1559 "a hundred copies at the least, whereof the most part were written two hundred yeares ago. This booke Humffrey Lhoyd, gentleman (a paineful and a worthie searcher of Brytish antiquities) translated into English, and partlie augmented, chieflie out of Matthew Paris, and Nicholas Triuet." So writes Dr. David Powel, who, in 1584, published *The Historie of Cambria* from the MS. of Humphrey Lloyd: "the translation of H. Lhoyd," he adds further on, "I have conferred with the Brytish booke, whereof I had two ancient copies, and corrected the same, when there was cause so to doo." This work, often reprinted, purports to be a *Historie* based upon the work of Caradoc, who "collected the successions and actes of the Brytish Princes after Cadwalader, to the yeare of Christ 1156." Ussher makes frequent mention of the *Chronicon* of Caradoc. A *Brut*, which in its title purports to be compiled by Caradoc, may be read in the *Myvyrian Archaiology* (p. 385, second edition; cf. p. 601), but it is difficult to believe that this "Gwentian Brut," as it is styled by Mr. Aneurin Owen, can be in any way connected with the monk of Llangarfan, except as being based upon some Latin Chronicle or Annals of Princes that he had written, but is now lost. This surmise seems to be rendered more than probable by

the way in which Geoffrey of Monmouth mentions his "contemporary," Caradoc, or, as the old Welsh version seems to imply, his "fellow-worker."[1] We have, undoubtedly, solid historical ground to stand upon in these words with which Geoffrey of Monmouth closes his *Historia Regum Britanniae*: "As to the kings who afterwards ruled in Wales, I commit them to my contemporary Caradoc of Lancarban, to write" (Book xii, 20).

We notice that Geoffrey calls his friend "Caradoc of *Lan*-carban", and the same form of the name appears in the distich with which the *Vita* closes, as given by Ussher's MS., though not in our text. The suggestion has been made from time to time, by writers well versed in these subjects, that *Lan Carban* is a corruption from *Nant Carban*, or, after euphonic loss of *t*, from *Nancarban*. The note on p. 347 of *Owen's Pembrokeshire* tells us: "The modification of *Nant* into *Llan* is common in Wales; thus *Nanhyfer* (Nevern) became *Llanhyfer*, *Nant Honddu Llanthony*, *Nant Teyrnon Llantarman*, *Nant Carfan Llancarvan*, etc." The explanation that the change may be partly explained by *glan*, "a bank", seems to me excluded by the Latin, e.g., *Concen abbas Carbani uallis* (*Book of Llandâv, passim*, pp. 147-157), and *Carbana vallis* of this *Vita*, for which the only possible Welsh is that on p. 145 of the former book, viz., *Nant Carban.*

The compound of *Llan* (= monastery) appears also in the same book, as on p. 274, *magister sancti Catoci de Lanncaruan*, and in the *Vita Cadoci*, but the employment of it by Geoffrey is very significant; the two names are found in one chapter (9) of the *Vita Cadoci*, where we learn that the *precipuum monasterium* is Lancarvan, and that "the *principale sancti Cadoci oppidum* was called by the ancient settlers of the Britons Nant caruguan, which means the valley of deer, hence Nantcarbania." It seems a sound conclusion to regard the names as equally correct, simply remembering that Llancarfan implies the cloister, while Nancarfan denotes the locality.

Geoffrey of Monmouth died in the year 1154 (*Bruts*, Evans' edition, p. 318), so that the active life of Caradoc, his contemporary and intimate, may also be placed approximately about the middle of the twelfth century.

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[1] "Y Garadawc o Lan Garban vyg *kyt-werswr* y gorchymynaf i eu hyscrivennu" (*Bruts*, Evans' edition, p. 256). Reges autem illorum (eorum, *Berne MS.*), qui ab illo tempore in Gualiis successerunt Karadoco Lancarbanensi, contemporaneo meo in materia scribendi, permitto (*Hist. R. Br.*, xii 20).

II.

# Vita Gildae.

## Avctore Caradoco Lancarbanensi.

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Nau[1] fuit rex Scotiae nobilissimus regum aquilonalium, qui XXIIII 1
filios habuit victores bellicosos, quorum unus nominabatur Gildas, quem parentes sui commiserunt studio litterarum. Puer bonae indolis et studiosus floruit ingenio, quicquid audiebat a magistro,[2] commemorabat diligentissime, nec laedebat oblivio. Studuit studiosus assidue inter suates[3] in artibus septem, donec pervenit ad iuventutem, dum iuvenis factus cito deseruit regionem.

Transfretavit mare Gallicum, in civitatibus Galliae[4] remansit 2
studens optime spatio VII annorum et in termino septimi anni cum magna mole diversorum voluminum remeavit ad maiorem Brittanniam. Audita fama famosissimi advenae confluxerunt ad eum scolares plurimi undique,[5] audierunt ab eo VII disciplinarum scientiam subtilissime, unde ex discipulis magistri effecti sunt sub magistrali honore.

Religio sapientissimi doctoris magnificabatur et conlaudabatur 3
in tantum a Britannigenis omnibus, quod nec par ei inveniebatur nec poterat inveniri pro suis meritis excellentibus. Ieiunabat ut

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[1] *Nau.* See Introduction to *Vita I.* There can hardly be any doubt that *Nau* is a clerical error for *Cau.*

[2] *Quicquid audiebat a magistro.* The omission of the name of the teacher by a writer of Morganwg is significant; Illtud is similarly unnoticed in the *Vita David* by Ricemarcus, writing at St. David's more than half a century earlier. "Rychmarch doeth mab Sulyen escob" (A.D. 1096).—*Bruts*, p. 273.

[3] *Inter suates.* This is the reading of B and C; the same appears in the extract made by Ussher (vol. vi, 216): the *British Museum MS. Reg.*, 13 B. vii, by conjecture, apparently, gives *uates* or *vates.* This latter reading is adopted by Stevenson and San Marte, but is almost as meaningless in this place as the other is inexplicable. The last clause seems to demand some such meaning as "among his own people."

[4] *In civitatibus Galliae.* Of the statement made here we have no confirma-

II.

# The Life of Gildas,

## By Caradoc of Llangarfan.

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1 Nau, the king of Scotia, was the noblest of the kings of the north. He had twenty-four sons, victorious warriors. One of these was named Gildas, whom his parents engaged in the study of literature. He was a boy of good natural disposition, devoted to study, and distinguished for his talents. Whatever he heard from his master he would repeat most diligently, and forgetfulness did not harm him. He eagerly and diligently studied among his own people in the seven arts until he reached the age of youth; when, on becoming a young man, he speedily left the country.

2 He crossed the Gallic Sea, and remained studying well in the cities of Gaul for seven years; and at the end of the seventh year he returned, with a huge mass of volumes, to greater Britain. Having heard the renown of the very illustrious stranger, great numbers of scholars from all parts flocked to him. They heard him explaining with the greatest acuteness the science of the seven rules of discipline, according to which men, from being disciples, became masters, under the master's office.

3 The religion of the very wise teacher was magnified and extolled to such a degree by the inhabitants of Britain, in that his equal was neither found, nor could be found, owing to superior merits.

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tory evidence whatever; it has against it all that we know from Gregory of Tours of the state of Britanny and the Frankish kingdom (or kingdoms) in Gaul at the time.

[5] *Scolares plurimi undique.* We have in this detail something which does not belong to the common stock of legendary material, used up by writer after writer in the biographies of saints. It is confirmed by the accounts given of several Irish saints, such as Finian of Clonard and Brendan of Clonfert, who are said to have resorted to Gildas in Wales for instruction; below we have *Gildas doctor*, where see note respecting the monasteries as schools, with *discipuli* or *scolares* as well as *famuli*.

heremita Antonius[1] : orabat vir religiosissimus cilicio indutus : quicquid dabatur ei, continuo impendebat pauperibus. Abstinebat se a lactea dulcedine et a melle, caro fuit in odio, fontanae herbae potius in amore, panem ordeiceum comedebat commixtum cinere, fontanam aquam bibebat cotidie. Balnea non intrabat, quod diligebatur a sua gente maxime. Macies apparebat in facie, quasi quidam febricitans videbatur gravissime. Fluvialem aquam intrare solebat[2] media nocte, ubi manebat stabilitus, donec diceretur ab ipso ter oratio dominica. His peractis repetebat suum oratorium, ibi exorabat genu flectendo divinam maiestatem usque diem clarum. Dormiebat modice, iacebat supra petram vestitus solummodo una veste. Manducabat sine saturitate, satiatus tantum metando praemium caeleste, caelestia praemia erant ei in desiderio.

Praecipiebat spernere, ammonebat despicere quae transeunt in 4
momento : praedicator erat clarissimus per tria regna Britanniae[3] :

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[1] *Heremita Antonius.* Ever since the *Vita Antonii*, now very generally recognised anew as the work of Athanasius, had become known in the West, Antony stood prominent as the ideal hermit. This was particularly the case in the British churches, where the Egyptian form of the cloister life also, as founded by Pachomius, was held in highest veneration. But this representation of Gildas as an eremite is inconsistent with the previous reference to his work as a teacher ; at this stage it seems a purely legendary addition.

[2] *Fluvialem aquam intrare solebat.* This particular way of making the subjugation of the body excessively severe is very commonly narrated in the account given of Celtic asceticism. We must regard it as so common a characteristic, that any biographer felt it just to introduce it into his narrative. The Hymn of St. Fiace says of St. Patrick (*Liber Hymnorum*, ii, p. 33, vv. 27, 30, 31) :—

> " Cold of weather did not keep him from sleeping at night in pools,
> He sings one hundred psalms each night to an angel's King whom he served.
> He sleeps on a bare stone thereafter, with a damp mantle around him."

So also the Homily on him in the *Leabhar Breac* : " In the second watch he used to be in cold water ; the third watch in contemplation ; the fourth watch on bare clay, with a stone under his head, and a wet mantle around him " (*Tripartite Life*, p. 485). The *Vita II*, 9 of Comgall, relates how he and seven brethren retired to lead an eremite life, and that the seven died in consequence of the severities imposed upon them and himself by the saint.

Beda describes an Irish monk in North Britain, who would stand in the River Tweed with the water up to his loins and sometimes to his neck (*usque ad collum*), going over his psalms and prayers ; when the bystanders, as they saw him letting the wet clothes dry on his body, wondered that he could bear such cold, he suavely answered *Frigidiora ego vidi* ; and when they questioned the severity he was willing to undergo, again gave answer, *Austeriora ego vidi.*

He used to fast like the hermit Antony: most thoroughly devoted to religion, he used to pray clad in goat's skin. If anything was given him, he would forthwith expend it upon the poor. He abstained from milk-foods and honey: flesh was hateful to him: fresh-water herbs were rather a favourite dish with him: he ate barley-bread mixed with ashes, and drank spring water daily. He used not to take a bath, a habit very much in favour by his nation. Thinness appeared in his face, and he seemed like a man suffering under a very serious fever. It was his habit to go into a river at midnight, where he would remain unmoved until he had said the Lord's Prayer three times. Having done this, he would repair to his oratory and pray there on his knees unto the divine majesty until broad daylight. He used to sleep moderately, and to lie upon a stone, clothed with only a single garment. He used to eat without satisfying his wants, contented with his share of the heavenly reward; the longing of his heart was after heavenly rewards.

4 He warned men to contemn, he advised them to scorn mere transitory things. He was the most renowned preacher throughout the three kingdoms of Britain. Kings feared him as a man to

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Like things are said of Columba (cf. *Vita III*, 17), and others, of whom a list made by the Bollandists is given in Reeves' *Adamnan*, p. 219. To these we may add, as to severity of abstinence, the rigours described in the *Life* of Dewi Sant, and notably the impressive picture of Aidan and his disciples given by Beda: *quod non aliter, quam vivebat cum suis, ipse docebat. Nil enim huius mundi quaerere, nil amare curabat.*

[3] *Per tria regna Britanniae.* On the meaning of *Britannia* in the twelfth century, cf. *Romania*, Janvier, 1899. Asser, who died in 909, in his *Life of Alfred the Great*, relates how the King urged him to remain "in Saxony"; but owing to his own reluctance to leave the Welsh St. David's, was at last prevailed upon to spend six months with Alfred, or alternately "three months *in Britannia* and three in Saxony." Britannia in the tenth century, we conclude, meant Wales. The *Book of Llandâv*, written in the twelfth century, seems to vary in its denotation of the name: the early parts, which contain accounts of Dubricius, Samson, Teilo, Oudoceus, etc., must be taken as denoting the country of the Brythons, without any reference to the English. But other parts, which are considerably later than the facts they relate, employ *Britannia*, also, as applied to the parts peopled by the ancient inhabitants. For instance, the clause, *confirmatum apostolica auctoritate*, proves that the *privilegium* described on p. 118 is late, yet "the kings and princes of Britannia," mentioned in the same passage, are really kings and princes of Wales. On p. 192 we have even such words as "from both parts of Anglia and Britannia" (*ex utraque parte Anglie et Britannie*). Nevertheless, the same volume speaks of kings and princes of "Cymry" (p. 120); also of Edgar, as *rex tocius Britanniae*, though he is also called *rex Anglorum*.

reges timebant timendum, cui obediebant audita acceptabili sua praedictione. Praedicabat omni dominica apud maritimam ecclesiam, quae stat in Pepidiauc regione,[1] in tempore Trifini regis[2]; innumerabili multitudine plebis illum audiente, et dum inciperet praedicare, retenta est vox praedicationis in praedicante, unde plebs ammirata est valde pro admirabili retentione. Sanctus Gildas illud comperiens praecipit omnibus astantibus exire, ut

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The *Saxon Chronicle* speaks of persons going "with ships from Bristol about *Brytland*" in 1063; also of "going to Hirland and to Brytland . . . . and so to Hereford," in 1055; still, there are not wanting instances where *Britain* must include England. We gather that *Britannia* continued long as a name for that part of the island, whatever its extent, that was inhabited by its old Celtic people, but particularly by the Welsh, yet that writers of the twelfth century were in the habit also of extending its compass so as to include the English portion of the island as well. *Britanni* seems to have prevailed much longer as a name exclusively for the Welsh people, and so also the adjective *Britannicus* in reference to them.

At the time when Caradoc wrote, South Wales, and himself, probably, were under Norman influence, and accordingly he employs the name *Wallia* (c. 9) for Wales, and *Walenses* (c. 8) for its inhabitants (cc. 7, 8); *maior Britannia* is twice used in the well-known meaning of contrast, as well as *Britannia* in the older sense. One is almost driven to conclude that *tria regna Britannia* must refer to Wales, England and Scotland, just as Geoffrey's main divisions of Britain are Cambria, Loegria, and Albania. Still, Caradoc was a reader of Gildas' *De Excidio*, from which fact it would appear impossible for him to speak of Gildas' popularity as a preacher reaching to parts held by the "Saxons, hated of God and man." His words may imply the influence of Gildas' last days at Glastonbury, related by himself in this *Vita*, as exerted among the English; but William of Malmesbury quotes a charter of the year 601, which proves that Glastonbury at that time belonged to a British king (*Gesta Reg. Angl.*, c. 27). Neither is Gildas' mission to the North, recorded in *Vita I*, mentioned by Caradoc. A possible solution suggests itself to my mind, if we regard *tria regna Britanniae* as a petrified phrase, which, in its time of life, had a definite and intelligible meaning. In the so-called Gwentian Brut, printed in the *Myvyrian Archaiology* (p. 688, 2nd edit., vol. ii, p. 468 of 1st edit.), and in the *Historie* of Powel (p. 29) Rhodri Mawr is said to have divided Wales into three divisions, "which they called kingdoms, which remained untill of late daies. These three were Gwynedh, in English, North Wales; Deheubarth, in English, South Wales; and Powysland" (Sir John Price, *Description of Wales*). That these three territories were called "kingdoms" (*regna*) is probable, since the princes themselves are called *reges* in the *Annales Cambriae*, *e.g.*, 909 *Catell rex moritur*; 915 *Anaraut rex moritur*; Merfyn is *Merminus rex*, in Nennius, c. 16; also, in the earliest *Brut y Tywysogion* they are named, "brenhinoedd" (kings). 'Ac yna y duc y Saeson *vrenhinyaeth* Powys;" "bu varw Anarawt vab Rodri *brenin y Brytanyeit*," so we read in the *Brut* published by Mr. G. Evans, pp. 159, 160. Now, side by side with this tradition we place the fact that Wales is

be feared, and obeyed him after hearing his acceptable preaching. In the time of king Trifinus, he preached every Lord's day in his church on the sea-shore, in the district of Pepidiauc, with a countless number of people listening to him. And when he was once just beginning to preach, the words of the preaching were checked in the preacher himself; and the people were struck with amazement at the wonderful retention. On finding this, St. Gildas bade all who were present to go out, that he might be able to know whether

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several times called *Britannia* by Asser, a contemporary of Rhodri's three sons, so that the divisions belonging to Cadell, Anarawd and Merfyn would, *at that time* be called *tria regna Britanniae*. Caradoc may thus, unconsciously, have used a phrase belonging to the old order. The threefold division is spoken of as ancient (*antiquitus*) by Giraldus Cambrensis in his *Descriptio Kambriae*; his names also are, Venedotia, Sudwallia, and Powisia, though they are not termed *regna* by him (vol. vi, p. 166, Rolls Series).

[1] *Pepidiauc regione*. Giraldus Cambrensis, writing somewhat more than half a century after Caradoc, mentions Pebidiauc several times; he calls it the "Cantred" of Pebidiauc, asserting that it had been given to the Church of Menevia by the pious generosity of the princes of South Wales: previous to the time of Bishop Bernard it had extended as far north as Fishgard (*De Iure et Statu Men. Eccl. II*, vol. iii, p. 154). Elsewhere he speaks of *terra de Pebidiauc, quae adiacet Meneviae* (*Itiner. Kambriae*, ii, 7; p. 127). This must have been the ancient name for the part afterwards called Dewisland, because in the list of Cantrefs and Cymwds, given in *Myv. Arch.*, p. 733 (2nd edit.), and *Y Cymmrodor*, ix, p. 330, the Cantrev of Pebidiog is said to contain the Cymwds of Mynyw, Penkaer, and Pabidyawc. On the name, we may refer to George Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, p. 351; cf. p. 398.

That Gildas should be found here in the very same neighbourhood as Dewi Sant agrees with Irish accounts of the saints who crossed over to benefit by the instruction of David and Gildas. We have previously mentioned Finian, the founder of the leading Irish monastery, who is said to have remained long with David, Gildas, and Cathmael at Kil-muine, in Wales. By Kil-muine we can only understand what would be written in Welsh as Cil-mynyw, the *Cil* (Latin *cella*), or cell, of Menevia. Strange things are told of the Irish saint Brendan, and his wonderful voyages; but none more wonderful than some incidents of his life when at the Welsh monastery with his master Gildas (see p. 420). The continuous preaching, every Sunday, described by Caradoc here, should be regarded as a genuine local tradition of that burning energy which made Gildas a great revival preacher of his day. The church by the seaside is called the Church of *Kaemorva* (or *Kairmorva*—the MS. reads *Kanmorva*) by Giraldus (*De Vita S. Davidis*, p. 381, vol. ii, Rolls Series).

[2] *Trifini regis*. Ussher's MS. reads *Trifuni*; the name is found in the Genealogies printed in *Y Cymmrodor*, ix, p. 171, *Triphun map Clotri* and *Triphun map Regin*, but referring, of course, to a much later personage. (See also *Archiv für Celtische Lexicographie*, 1898, pp. 187-212).

posset scire, utrum per aliquem illorum fiebat impedimentum praedicationis divinae, nec etiam post recessionem eorum potuit praedicare. Interrogavit postea, si aliquis vel aliqua esset in ecclesia latenter. Cui respondit Nonnita[1] praegnans Devvi sanctissimi pueri mater futura: *Ego Nonnita hic maneo inter parietem et iannam nolens intrare turbam.* His auditis praecepit illi exire et postquam exiverat, vocavit plebem, quae vocata venit, ut audiret euangelicam praedicationem. Post finitum sermonem interrogavit angelum Dei praedictam rem, scilicet qua de causa inceperat praedicare et non poterat ducere ad finem. At ille revelavit ei talia dicens: *Nonnita mulier sancta manet in ecclesia, quae nunc praegnans puerum paritura est cum immensa gratia, pro quo non potuisti praedicare divina potestate sermonem retinente. Maioris gratiae erit puer venturus; nullus ei aequiparabit in vestris partibus.* Ego relinquam illi istam regionem, ipse cito crescet et florebit de aetate in aetatem. Angelus enim Dei nuncius mihi declaravit istam veram destinationem. Unde contigit, quod sanctissimus praedicator Gildas transivit ad Hiberniam,[2] ubi innumerabiles convertit ad fidem catholicam.

Contemporaneus Gildas vir sanctissimus fuit Arturi regis totius 5
maioris Britanniae, quem diligendum diligebat, cui semper cupiebat obedire. Confratres tamen XXIII resistebant regi rebelli praedicto, nolentes pati dominum, sed crebro fugabant et expellebant a saltu et bello. Hueil maior natu belliger assiduus et miles famosissimus

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[1] *Nonnita.* The name in the Welsh Buchedd is *Nonn*, and so in Breton records. This story is also told in the *Life* of David, by Ricemarcus, and is, therefore, at least about sixty years older than the narrative before us. Perhaps David appears to us in the wonders by which he is known, because clothed in them by this biographer of the eleventh century; he is the creation, probably, of Ricemarcus: such a character, with the intent of magnifying the see of St. David, has this striking story of the *sancta monialis*, *Nonnita virgo*, *puella pulcra nimis et decora.* As in this place, the preacher is *Sanctus Gildas Cau filius*, and "in the time of king Trifunus" (*Vita S. David*, *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 120). Geoffrey of Monmouth, a contemporary of our Caradoc, alludes to the same incident in the prophecy which he puts into the mouth of Merlin: "Menevia pallio urbis Legionum induetur; et praedicator Hiberniae propter infantem in utero crescentem obmutescet" (Bk. VII, 3). "Mynyw a wiscir o vantell Kaer-llion ar Wysc; a phregethwr Iwerddon a vyd mut achaws y mab yn tyfu yg kalon y vam" (*Bruts*, p. 145).

We have in the present legend a very marked disagreement with the narrative of *Vita I*; there Gildas and Dewi are disciples, in boyhood and youth, of Illtud, but here Gildas is a renowned preacher, "the preacher of Ireland," before David's birth. Perhaps, by the same dislocation, the hint is

it was owing to one of them that this impediment to the divine preaching was caused ; and yet, even after their withdrawal, he could not preach. He then asked whether there was any man or woman hiding in the church. Nonnita, who was with child, and was destined to become the mother of a most holy boy, Dewi, answered him : *I, Nonnita, am staying here between the walls and the door, not wishing to mingle with the crowd.* Having heard this, he bade her go out ; and when she had gone out he called the people. They were called, and came to listen to the preaching of the gospel. At the close of the sermon, he asked the angel of God the purport of the above-mentioned matter, to wit, why when he had begun to preach he had failed to proceed to the end. And he revealed the matter to him in such words as these : *Nonnita, a saintly woman, remains in the church, who is now with child, and is destined, with great grace, to give birth to a boy before whom thou couldst not preach, the divine power withholding thy speech. The boy that is to come will be of greater grace : no one in your parts will equal him.*

"To him will I leave this part of the country : he will quickly grow and flourish from one period of life to another. For an angel, the messenger of God declared unto me this as my true destiny." Whence it happened that the most holy preacher Gildas crossed over to Ireland, where he converted a great number of people to the Catholic faith.

5 St. Gildas was the contemporary of Arthur, the king of the whole of Britain, whom he loved exceedingly, and whom he always desired to obey. Nevertheless his twenty-three brothers constantly rose up against the afore-mentioned rebellious king, refusing to own him as their lord ; but they often routed and drove him out from forest and the battle-field. Hueil, the elder brother, an active warrior and most distinguished soldier, submitted

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confirmed, which is thrown out by the Bollandist editor, that "Paulinus," the name of David's teacher, was meant, in reality, for "Paulus," the fellow-disciple of Gildas (afterwards Paul of Léon) ; the *Vita Iltuti* agrees in erroneously giving the name Paulinus instead of Paulus.

[2] *Transivit ad Hiberniam.* Gildas' visit to Ireland is given here, without the historical detail that brings him into relation with Ainmire, and so to a fixed historical date. His object is the same as that described in the previous *Vita*, and accords with the Irish traditions which connect Gildas with the new life of Monasticism in that island (see extract from *Catalogue of Irish Saints*, below). The *Annales Cambriae* places *Navigatio Gildae in Hibernia* in A.D. 565, though not in the older form of that document.

nulli regi obedivit, nec etiam Arthuro. Affligebat eundem, commovebat inter utrumque maximum furorem. A Scotia veniebat saepissime, incendia ponebat, praedas ducebat cum victoria ac laude. Unde rex universalis Britanniae audiens magnanimum iuvenem talia fecisse et aequalia facere persecutus est victoriosissimum iuvenem et optimum, ut aiebant et sperabant indigenae, futurum regem. In persecutione autem hostili et in conventu bellico in insula Minau[1] interfecit iuvenem praedatorem. Post illam interfectionem Arthurus victor remeavit, gaudens maxime quod superaverat suum fortissimum hostem. Gildas Britonum historiographus[2] tunc remanens in Hibernia studium regens et praedicans in civitate Ardmaca audivit fratrem suum ab Arthuro rege interfectum fuisse. Doluit ab auditu, flevit cum gemitu, ut frater carissimus pro carissimo fratre ; oravit pro spiritu fraterno cotidie, orabat insuper pro Arthuro fratris sui persecutore et interfectore complens apostolicum preceptum quod dicit: *Orate pro persequentibus vos et bene facite his qui oderunt vos.*

*Luc.* vi, 27.

Interea sanctissimus Gildas venerabilis historiographus venit ad 6
Britanniam portans unam pulcherrimam et dulcissimam campanam,[3] quam voverat offerre apostolico Romanae ecclesiae in presentationem. Pernoctavit honorifice receptus a Cadoco[4] venerabili abbate

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[1] *Minau.* The Cambridge MS. reads *Mynau* ; both must be for *Manau*, which in modern Welsh is *Manaw* (with probably an older form *Manav-ia*), the Isle of Man. "Tres magnas insulas habet, quarum una . . . secunda sita est in umbilico maris inter Hiberniam et Brittanniam, et vocatur nomen eius Eubonia, id est Manau" (Nennius, *Hist. Brit.*, 8).

[2] *Britonum historiographus.* This epithet is significant as indicating the view held of Gildas' work, the *De Excidio*, by mediæval writers. Geoffrey of Monmouth, Caradoc's contemporary, speaks of *Gildas historiographus* (*Hist. Reg. Br.*, i, 17) ; William of Newbury also mentions *historiographus Gildas*. The *Life of Teilo* refers to *historia Gilde Britannorum historiografi* (*Book of Llandâv*, p. 100), and the Life of Oudoceus to the *vir bonus et iustus et totius Britannie historiographus Gildas sapiens* (*ibid.*, p. 138). Compare also the statement in c. 10, that Gildas wrote *historias de regibus Britanniae* at Glastonbury. To these men Gildas' work is a history, which betrays a strange misconception on their part of Gildas' real purpose ; it is by Beda that he is first mentioned, I believe, in this character, when he calls Gildas *historicus eorum* (i, 22). There may, however, be some reason for this mediæval view, in the fact that the work of Nennius was also current under the name of Gildas, and that their own leading aim was of this type.

[3] *Campanam.* The story of the bell, substantially the same, is told also in the *Vita Cadoci* (cc. 23, 29), where, however, the *apostolicus* is named as (an impossible) Pope Alexander. The use of the bell and the Evangelistarium in

to no king, not even to Arthur. He used to harass the latter, and to provoke the greatest anger between them both. He would often swoop down from Scotland, set up conflagrations, and carry off spoils with victory and renown. In consequence, the king of all Britain, on hearing that the high-spirited youth had done such things and was doing similar things, pursued the victorious and excellent youth, who, as the inhabitants used to assert and hope, was destined to become king. In the hostile pursuit and council of war held in the island of Minau, he killed the young plunderer. After that murder the victorious Arthur returned, rejoicing greatly that he had overcome his bravest enemy. Gildas, the historian of the Britons, who was staying in Ireland directing studies and preaching in the city of Armagh, heard that his brother had been slain by king Arthur. He was grieved at hearing the news, wept with lamentation, as a dear brother for a dear brother. He prayed daily for his brother's spirit; and, moreover, he used to pray for Arthur, his brother's persecutor and murderer, fulfilling the apostolic commandment, which says: *Love those who persecute* Luke vi, 27.
*you, and do good to them that hate you.*

6 Meanwhile, the most holy Gildas, the venerable historian, came to Britain, bringing with him a very beautiful and sweet-sounding bell, which he had vowed to offer as a gift to the Bishop of the Roman Church. He spent the night as a guest honourably entertained by the venerable abbot Cadocus, in Nant Carban.

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the administration of oaths is also related there, more at large than here. In other *Vitae* we find *tintinnabulum* and *clocca* or *cloca* (whence the Welsh *cloch*), even *clocus* and *cloccum*. Bells as old as the time of Columba (died 597) are still preserved; they are quadrangular in form, and made of sheet-iron (cf. Johnstone's *Antiqq.*, Reeves' *Adamnan*, p. 33). These bells called the brethren together, as we see from Adamnan's *Vita Columbae*, i, 8; Beda, *H. E.*, iv, 23.

[4] *Cadoco.* Cadoc is Abbot *in* the valley of Carban, or Nant Carban; in the next section he is "Abbot of the *Church* of Nancarban;" neither of these expressions is inconsistent with the use as well of *Lan Carban* as a name implying the monastery of which he was Abbot. Cadoc is here made contemporary with Gildas, and in the *Vita Cadoci* with David as well, and so in other *Vitae*; we can thus see the confusion that too frequently reigns in these legendary writings, when we remember that he is also represented as the one to whom the conversion of Illtud was due. In Irish hagiology, "the three holy men, Gildas, David, and Cathmael," are named together, and *Catmail* is known from the *Life* to have been another name which Cadoc bore (p. 25). The two names seem to have the same element in their first part—*Cat*-ocus, *Cat*-mail, and both are used in the *Book of Llandâv* as names of Llangarfan. See Introduction.

in Carbana valle, qui monstravit illi laudabilem campanam, monstratam accepit, acceptam emere voluit magno pretio, quam possessor vendere nolebat. Audito adventu Gildae sapientis ab Arthuro rege et primatibus totius Britanniae episcopis et abbatibus convenerunt innumerabiles ex clero et populo, ut Arthurum pacificarent ex supra dicto homicidio. At ille, sicut primitus fecerat, cognito rumore de obitu fratris indulsit inimico, veniam postulanti osculum dedit et benignissimo animo benedixit osculanti. Hoc peracto rex Arthurus dolens et lacrimans accepit ab episcopis adstantibus paenitentiam et emendavit in quantum potuit, donec consummavit vitam.

7 Inde egregius Gildas vir pacificus et catholicus adivit Romam et apostolico Romanae ecclesiae tribuit praedictam campanam, quae commota a manibus apostolici nullum sonitum emittebat. Unde hoc ille videns talia dicebat: *O vir dilecte a Deo et ab homine, revela mihi quod tibi contigit in itinere de hac presentatione.* At ille revelavit sanctissimum Cadocum Nancarbanensis ecclesiae abbatem eam voluisse emere, sed quam voverat sancto Petro apostolo offerre, nolebat vendere. Apostolicus his auditis dixit: *Nosco Cadocum venerabilem abbatem, qui septies adivit civitatem istam et ter Ierosolimam post inmensa pericula et assiduum laborem; remeato et cupienti habere ut des concedo. Destinatum est enim illi, ut habeat, ex hoc praesenti miraculo.* Gildas itaque benedictam campanam recepit et reversus est et reportatam Sancto Cadoco gratis impendit. Recepta a manibus abbatis intonuit illico pulsata ammirantibus cunctis. Unde remansit omnibus portantibus per totam Gualiam pro refugio et quicumque per illam illicite iuraret, aut privaretur linguae officio aut malefactor fateretur suam iniuriam continuo.

8 Cadocus abbas Nancarbanensis ecclesiae rogavit Gildam doctorem, ut regeret studium scolarum[1] per anni spatium, et

[1] *Gildam doctorem . . . studium scotarum.* These words, which represent Gildas as a teacher, and the monastery of Llangarfan as a school, remind us of the new order which had begun in Wales, probably with Illtud. On the Continent we can trace the history of that universal system of education under local authorities, which carried on, until the fifth and sixth centuries, the Graeco-Roman training of youth in all parts. "Ainsi, dans quelques villes importantes, quelques chaires en petit nombre fondées et doties par l'Etat; dans toutes les autres, c'est-à-dire à peu prés dans l'empire entier, des écoles entretennes aux frais des municipalités; tel etait le régime sous lequel a vécu l'enseignement public jusqu'au 5e siècle" (Boissier, *La Fin du Paganisme*, i, 196). These municipal schools must have existed in Britain; the edicts of latest dates, as

The latter pointed out the bell to him, and after pointing to it, handled it; and after handling it wished to buy it at a great price; but its possessor would not sell it. When king Arthur and the chief bishops and abbots of all Britain heard of the arrival of Gildas the Wise, large numbers from among the clergy and people gathered together to reconcile Arthur for the above-mentioned murder. But Gildas, as he had done when he first heard the news of his brother's death, was courteous to his enemy, kissed him as he prayed for forgiveness, and with a most tender heart blessed him as the other kissed in return. When this was done, king Arthur, in grief and tears, accepted the penance imposed by the bishops who were present, and led an amended course, as far as he could, until the close of his life.

7 Then the illustrious Gildas, a peace-making and Catholic man, visited Rome, and presented the afore-mentioned bell to the Bishop of the Roman Church; but when the bell was shaken by the hands of the bishop, it would give forth no sound. Therefore, on seeing this, he thus said: *O thou, man beloved of God and men, reveal unto me what happened unto thee on thy journey to make this presentation.* And he revealed that the most holy Cadoc, abbot of the church of Nancarvan, had wished to buy the bell, but that he refused to sell what he had vowed to offer to the apostle St. Peter. When the Apostolic bishop heard this, he said: *I know the venerable abbot Cadoc, who seven times visited this city, and Jerusalem three times, after countless dangers and incessant toil. I consent that, if he come again and wishes to possess it, thou mayest give it to him. For, in consequence of this present miracle, it has been decreed that he should have it.* Gildas, therefore, took back the bell after it was blessed, and returned; he brought it back and bestowed it gratuitously upon St. Cadoc. When received by the hands of the abbot and struck, it forthwith sounded, to the surprise of all. Then it remained as an asylum for all who carried it throughout the whole of Gwalia, and whosoever swore illegally throughout that land, he was deprived of the use of his tongue, or if an evil-doer would straightway confess his crime.

8 Cadoc, the abbot of the church of Nancarban, asked the teacher Gildas to superintend the studies of his schools for the

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given in the Theodosian Code, show plainly that the imperial control of them was universal, but with the fall of the empire, there fell also these means of culture. Then the work was taken up by the monasteries. "In order to judge of the merit of these schools, and of the care which the monks took of literary

rogatus rexit utillimum, nulla mercede recepta a scolaribus praeter orationes cleri et scolarium. Ubi ipsemet scripsit opus quatuor euangelistarum,[1] quod adhuc remanet in ecclesia sancti Cadoci auro et argento undique coopertum ad honorem Dei et scriptoris sanctissimi et euangeliorum. Tenent Walenses indigenae illud volumen pretiosissimum in coniurationibus suis nec audent aperire ad videndum nec confirmant pacem et amicitiam inter inimicos, nisi illud affuerit in primis appositum.

Finito anni spatio et scolaribus recedentibus a studio sanctus abbas Cadocus et Gildas doctor optimus communi consilio adierunt duas insulas, scilicet Ronech et Echin.[2] Cadocus intravit proximiorem Walliae, Gildas adiacentem Angliae. Nolebant impediri in ecclesiastico officio a confluentia hominum, propterea nesciebant melius consilium quam relinquere Carbanam Vallem et adire insulare secretum. Gildas fundavit in honore sanctae et individuae Trinitatis oratorium et iuxta illud suum cubiculum ; non in illo tamen habebat suum lectum, sed sub alta rupe positum, ubi iacebat usque mediam noctem vigilans et orans supra petram omnipotentem Deum. Deinde adibat ecclesiam frigescens nimium,[3] frigus erat ei dulce et tolerabile propter Deum. Pisciculos trahebat a reti et ova a nidis volucrum, unde vivebat, quod sibi sufficiebat

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culture, in times most deplorable, it suffices to know that during this century (sixth), and the six following, they furnished, for the Church of France in particular, a large number of learned bishops, and gave to the republic of letters a cloud of celebrated writers" (*Histoire Littéraire de la France*). The monastery became a school in Britain under Illtud, and continued to be so with his disciples Dewi and Gildas. It seems that we have, in this passage, the echo of a true tradition which joins the Abbot of Llangarfan with them in the same work.

[1] *Opus quatuor evangelistarum.* According to *Vita Cadoci*, this work was done in the island Echni ; " Cum beatus Gildas in Insula Echni Deo ministeriis degeret, missalem librum scripsit . . . . ideoque codex ille Evangelium Gildae vocatur" (Rees' *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 66). From the present statement we learn that there was, about 1150, at Llangarfan, a codex of the Four Gospels, *believed* to have been written by Gildas. But we recall to mind such an example, among others, as the Irish MS. of the Gospels called the *Book of Durrow* (*Codex Durmachensis*), on one page of which is an entry that St. Columba himself, who died in 597, was the scribe ; yet the codex really belongs to the eighth century. So, also, the famous *Book of Kells*, another Irish codex of the Gospels, is in the *Annals of Ulster* called " the Great Gospel of Columcille" ; nevertheless this also is known to be not earlier than the eighth century. We can conclude, thus, no more from this passage than that there was at Llangarfan a Welsh *Evangelistarium* in Latin, and that it was reverenced by all as the actual work

space of one year; and on being requested, he superintended them most advantageously, receiving no fee from the scholars except the prayers of the clergy and scholars. And there he himself wrote out the work of the four evangelists, a work which still remains in the church of St. Cadoc, covered all over with gold and silver in honour of God, of the holy writer, and of the Gospels. The inhabitants of Wales hold this volume as a most valuable possession in their oaths, and neither dare open it in order to look into it, nor confirm peace and friendship between hostile parties, unless it be present, specially placed there for the purpose.

9 At the close of the year, and when the scholars were retiring from study, the saintly abbot Cadoc and the excellent master, Gildas, mutually agreed to repair to two islands, viz., Ronech and Echin. Cadoc landed in the one nearer to Wales, and Gildas in the one that lies over against England. They were unwilling to be hindered in the church offices by the conflux of men; and, on this account, they could think of no better plan than to leave the valley of Carvan and resort to the secrecy of an island. Gildas founded there an oratory in honour of the holy and indivisible Trinity, and close to it was his bed-chamber. It was not in it, however, that he had his bed, but placed upon a steep cliff, where, upon a stone, he lay until midnight, watching and praying to Almighty God. Then he would enter the church quite faint with cold; but, for God's sake, the cold was sweet and endurable to him. He used to take some small fish in a net, and eggs from birds' nests; and it

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of Gildas; but with a grave doubt, at the same time, that a pious belief had fallen into error.

Had this codex been preserved it would probably be found to contain Jerome's Latin version, but with many "mixed" readings, derived from the older version that had been used in Britain until the very time of Gildas' training under Illtud (see p. 92 on the time of the introduction of the Vulgate into Britain).

[2] *Ronech et Echin.* The Cambr. MS. reads *Echni*, and the same form appears in the *Book of Llandâv; . . . . ynys Echni bet aper Tyui* (p. 135), which is translated, "along the Severn *Sea* by the island of Echni as far as the estuary of the Towy" (p. 368). So also, in a passage previously quoted, Gildas is spoken of in the *Life* of Oudoceus as *in insula Echni ducens anchoritalem vitam* (p. 139). The *Life* of Cadoc is silent as to Gildas, but relates that the former saint used to spend the days of Lent on two islands, *Barren et Echni* (c. 15), and tells also of his crossing with two disciples "from *Echni, qui modo Holma vocatur*, to the island of Barren" (c. 25). Echni (=Holma) is now called the Flat Holm. For *Barren* we should probably read *Barreu.*

[3] *Frigescens nimium.* See note on *fluvialem aquam.*

ad alimentum. Visitabat unus alterum; remanentia talis duravit spatio VII annorum.

Summus creator videns suum Gildam dilectum famulum carere 10
durabili aqua praeter guttas pluviales, quae cadebant super saxa et quae retinebantur cadentia, fecit rivum effluere de rupe alta, qui effluxit et effluit et manebit sine defectione aliqua. Dum sic perseveraret sanctus Gildas intentus ieiuniis et orationibus, venerunt piratae de insulis Orcadibus, qui afflixerunt illum raptis ab eo suis famulis servientibus et ductis in exilium cum spoliis et omnibus suae habitationis supellectilibus. Unde afflictus nimium non potuit ibi amplius habitare, reliquit insulam, ascendit naviculam et ingressus est Glastoniam[1] cum magno dolore, Melvas rege regnante in aestiva regione. Susceptus vir suscipiendus a Glastoniense abbate docuit confratres et diversas plebes seminans semen seminandum caelestis doctrinae. Ibi scripsit historias de regibus Britanniae. Glastonia, id est Urbs Vitrea, quae nomen sumsit a vitro, est urbs nomine primitus in Britannico sermone. Obsessa est itaque ab Arturo tyranno cum innumerabili multitudine propter Guennuvar uxorem suam violatam et raptam a praedicto iniquo rege (Melvas?) et ibi ductam propter refugium inviolati loci propter munitiones arundineti et fluminis ac paludis causa tutelae. Quaesiverat rex rebellis reginam per unius anni circulum, audivit tandem illam remanentem. Illico commovit exercitus totius Cornubiae et Dibneniae; paratum est bellum inter inimicos.

Hoc viso abbas Glastoniae comitante clero et Gilda Sapiente 11
intravit medias acies, consuluit Melvas regi suo pacifice, ut redderet

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[1] *Glastoniam.* In the last chapter of his *Hist. Regum Britanniæ*, Geoffrey of Monmouth couples the names of Caradog and Henry of Huntingdon as the two men whom he commends to continue his work. Now, William of Malmesbury was a contemporary of these, with respect to whose account of Glastonbury Dr. Stubbs refers, in the Preface to the *Memorials of St. Dunstan* (Rolls Series), to the "forged history and forged monuments to support" it. Such is, indeed, much of what he writes in the *De Antiquit. Glastoniensis Ecclesiae*, and repeats in *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, i, cc. 20-25, as to St. Patrick and *David Menevensium Archiepiscopus*; of like character, one may gather, is his statement that he had authority from the ancients (*a maioribus*) for stating that Gildas had spent many years at Glastonbury, "enraptured with the sanctity of the place." Caradog, through intimacy with William of Malmesbury, may have been led to believe what is stated in this place as to the last days of Gildas at Glastonbury. It seems not improbable that William's real knowledge of that monastery began just where his *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum* (p. 196) begins it, that is to say, with King Ina (A.D. 688-728). The two men,

was on this, which sufficed him for nourishment, that he lived. The one used to visit the other. This mode of living lasted for the space of seven years.

10 The supreme Creator, seeing that his chosen servant, Gildas, had no constant supply of water beyond the drops of rain which fell upon the stones and were caught as they trickled down, caused a stream to flow out from a steep cliff—and it flowed out, and still flows out, and will remain without exhaustion. While St. Gildas was thus persevering, devoting himself to fastings and prayers, pirates came from the islands of the Orcades, who harassed him by snatching off his servants from him when at their duties, and carrying them to exile, along with spoils and all the furniture of their dwelling. Being thereby exceedingly distressed, he could not remain there any longer: he left the island, embarked on board a small ship, and, in great grief, put in at Glastonia, at the time when king Melvas was reigning in the summer country. He was received with much welcome by the abbot of Glastonia, and taught the brethren and the scattered people, sowing the precious seed of the heavenly doctrine. It was there that he wrote the history of the kings of Britain. Glastonia, that is, the glassy city, which took its name from *glass*, is a city that had its name originally in the British tongue. It was besieged by the tyrant Arthur with a countless multitude on account of his wife Gwenhwyfar, whom the aforesaid wicked king had violated and carried off, and brought there for protection, owing to the asylum afforded by the invulnerable position due to the fortifications of thickets of reed, river, and marsh. The rebellious king had searched for the queen throughout the course of one year, and at last heard that she remained there. Thereupon he roused the armies of the whole of Cornubia and Dibneria; war was prepared between the enemies.

11 When he saw this, the abbot of Glastonia, attended by the clergy and Gildas the Wise, stepped in between the contending armies, and in a peaceable manner advised his king, Melvas, to

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William and Caradog, imagined, then perhaps believed, like things about earlier times, so that it cannot be rash to pronounce what is related in these chapters as pure fiction; we note also here, particularly, the unpleasant jingle of Caradoc's style: *Susceptus vir suscipiendus; seminans semen seminandum; visitabant sancti viri illum visitandum.*

Gildas could never have sent forth such a work as the *De Excidio*, here erroneously called *Historiae de Regibus Britanniae*, from the quiet retreat at Glastonbury, after being driven there by the incursion of Northern pirates. (See notes on c. 19 of *Vita I.*) Caradoc is dreaming.

raptam. Reddita ergo fuit, quae reddenda fuerat, per pacem et benevolentiam. His peractis duo reges largiti sunt abbati multa territoria, qui venerunt ad templum sanctae Mariae visitandum et orandum confirmante abbate fraternitatem dilectam pro pace habita et pro beneficiis quae fecerant et amplius quae facturi erant. Inde redierunt reges pacificati promittentes veneranter obedire reverentissimo abbati Glastoniensi et numquam violare sanctissimum locum nec etiam subiacentia loco principali.

Habita licentia abbatis Glastoniensis cleri et populi cupivit 12
religiosissimus Gildas heremitariam iterum vitam colere supra ripam fluminis proximi Glastoniae et voluntatem complevit in opere. Ubi aedificavit ecclesiam in nomine sanctae et individuae Trinitatis, in qua ieiunabat et orabat assidue et cilicio indutus, exemplum donans omnibus irreprehensibile bene vivendi cum religione. Visitabant sancti viri illum visitandum de longinquis partibus Britanniae, ammoniti redibant et audita hortamenta et consilia retinebant cum exultatione.

Aegrotavit tandem et dum aggravaretur aegritudine, convocavit 13
abbatem Glastoniae, qui rogavit eum cum magna pietate, ut finito cursu vitae faceret deferri corpus suum ad abbatiam Glastoniae, quam diligebat maxime. Abbate promittente dignos rogatus explere, et propter auditos dolente et nimium lacrimante, exspiravit sanctissimus Gildas aegrotans valde multis videntibus splendorem angelicum circa corpus odoriferum et angelis consociantibus animae. Post conmendationem lacrimabilem expletam defertur a confratribus corpus levissimum ad abbatiam et cum planctu maximo et honore dignissimo sepelitur in medio pavimento ecclesiae Sanctae Mariae, cuius anima requievit et requiescit ac requiescet in caelesti requie. Amen.

Ynisgutrin nominata fuit antiquitus Glastonia[1] et adhuc nomi- 14
natur a Britannis indigenis ; ynis in Britannico sermone insula

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[1] *Ynisgutrin nominata fuit antiquitus Glastonia.* We find a similar statement in William of Malmesbury (*Gesta Regum Anglorum*, c. 27) ; he describes a charter witnessed by Maworn, bishop, and Worgez, abbot, of Glastonbury, containing a grant of land to the Ealdechirche, or the Old Church, as, on account of its antiquity, it was called by the English (c. 20). The land is called in the charter *Ineswitrin* (i.e., *Inis Witrin*), and William concludes the royal donor must be a Devonian king, "because he called Glastonia in his own language Ineswitrin" (*quod Glastoniam sua lingua Ineswitrin appellavit ; sic enim eam Britannice vocari apud eos constat*). One is strongly tempted to think that the false, popular, etymology of Caradoc has misled many writers ; for *Witrin* seems exceedingly like a man's name which, having become *Gutrin* (*Guitrin*)

restore the ravished lady. Accordingly, she who was to be restored, was restored in peace and good will. When these things were done, the two kings gave to the abbot a gift of many domains; and they came to visit the temple of St. Mary and to pray, while the abbot confirmed the beloved brotherhood in return for the peace they enjoyed and the benefits which they had conferred, and were more abundantly about to confer. Then the kings returned reconciled, promising reverently to obey the most venerable abbot of Glastonia, and never to violate the most sacred place nor even the districts adjoining the chief's seat.

12 When he had obtained permission from the abbot of Glastonia and his clergy and people, the most devout Gildas desired to live again a hermit's life upon the bank of a river close to Glastonia, and he actually accomplished his object. He built a church there in the name of the holy and indivisible Trinity, in which he fasted and prayed assiduously, clad in goat's hair, giving to all an irreproachable example of a good religious life. Holy men used to visit him from distant parts of Britain, and when advised, returned and cherished with delight the encouragements and counsels they had heard from him.

13 He fell sick at last, and was weighed down with illness. He summoned the abbot of Glastonia to him, and asked him, with great piety, when the end of his life had come, to cause his body to be borne to the abbey of Glastonia, which he loved exceedingly. When the abbot promised to observe his requests, and was grieved at the requests he had heard, and shed copious tears, St. Gildas, being now very ill, expired, while many were looking at the angelic brightness around his fragrant body, and angels were attending upon his soul. After the mournful words of commendation were over, the very light body was removed by the brethren into the abbey; and amid very loud wailing and with the most befitting funeral rites, he was buried in the middle of the pavement of St. Mary's church; and his soul rested, rests, and will rest, in heavenly repose. Amen.

14 Glastonia was of old called Ynisgutrin, and is still called so by the British inhabitants. Ynis in the British language is *insula* in

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by Caradoc's time, might have been *Vitrinus* originally, while *vitr-eus* could hardly have become *gutr-in* in Welsh. *Ynis Gutrin*, or *Inis Witrin*, the British name for the land granted in 601 to the Church of Glastonbury, would thus mean the *Island of Gutrin*, or *Guitrin;* that the name "*Glastonia*," or *Glastonbury*, has nothing to do with *glass* (from Welsh *gwydr*) is evident,

Latine; gutrin vero vitrea. Sed post adventum Angligenarum et expulsis Britannis, scilicet Walensibus, revocata est Glastigberi ex ordine primi vocabuli, scilicet glas Anglice vitrum Latine, beria civitas, inde Glastiberia id est Vitrea Civitas.

Nancarbanensis dictamina sunt Caratoci:
qui legat, emendet: placet illi compositori.

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because a letter by Wiehtbehrt, a presbyter, between 732 and 755, to "the fathers and brethren" at Glastonbury, is addressed to them *in monasterio Glestingaburg* (*Mon. Germ. Hist.*, Epp. iii, 101, p. 388); Glestinga-burg seems to mean "the *burg* of the *Glaestings*." Other writers give the form "Glestingabirh." How many has Caradoc's crude attempt at etymology led to think and write of the "glassy isle"!

The quotations given in the *Gesta Regum Anglorum* (c. 27), lead us to regard the Charter as a perfectly genuine one; that it should bear a date in the reckoning of the Christian era at so early a time is, indeed, unlikely; but, probably William made the calculation himself from a reference to St. Augustine. "Anno incarnationis sexcentesimo primo, id est adventus beati Augustini quinto, rex Domnoniae terram appellatur *Ineswitrin* ad ecclesiam vetustam concessit." It is not improbable that *Inis* or *Ynys* had, in fact, no reference to any island, since a piece of dedicated land, especially in the case of monasteries, was in Britain termed *insula*, or in the British tongue, *inis* (modern Welsh *ynys*).

Latin, and *gutrin* is *vitrea* (made of glass). But after the coming of the English and the expulsion of the Britons, that is, the Welsh, it received a fresh name, Glastigberi, according to the formation of the first name, that is, English *glass*, Latin *vitrum*, and *beria* a city; then Glastiberia, that is, the City of Glass.

Caradoc of Nancarban's are the words ;
Who reads, may he correct ; so wills the author.

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A third *Vita* is extant in the Paris Codex 5318 (ff. 163-166), and has been published in full, in the *Catalogus Hagiographicorum Latinorum*, Tom. ii, edited by the *Hagiographi Bollandiani*. I have read this through carefully, and must conclude that it is a recension of our *Vita I*, adapted to another locality and to other personages. It is called *Vita Sancti Gildasii confessoris atque abbatis, quae celebratur iiii kalendas Februarii.* Gildas, or Gildasius, is brought to *beatus Filibertus Tornodensium abbati*, that is, "to St. Phylebert, who was then abbot of Tournay," as we find in the old French adaptation of the *Vita* described by Petrie (*Descriptive Catalogue*, No. 441). Nearly throughout, the very order and words of *Vita I* are used, but all names are suppressed, except *Trifina*, which is given as *Trifima;* we have, for instance : "Erat igitur in illis diebus quidam tyrannus," but the name Conomerus is omitted (cf. *Vita I*, c. 20) ; so again, "misit ad quendam principem" (*ibid.*), but here also with the omission of his name, Werocus. The document has evidently nothing to do with Gildas, except as a disguised reproduction of our first *Vita*.

# References to Gildas in Ancient Writers.

1. Letter from Columbanus, then Abbot of Luxeuil (Luxovium), to Pope Gregory I, written between 595 and 600. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, Epistolarum, Tomus iii, pp. 158, 159.

Ceterum de episcopis illis quid iudicas interrogo, qui contra canones ordinantur, id est quaestu—Simoniacos et Gildas (MS. Giltas) auctor pestes scripsit (MS. scripsistis): Numquid cum illis communicandum est? . . . . Tertio interrogationis loco responde adhuc, quaeso si non molestum est, quid faciendum est de monachis illis, qui pro Dei intuitu et vitae perfectioris desiderio accensi contra vota venientes primae conversionis loca relinquunt et invitis abbatibus, fervore monachorum cogente, aut laxantur aut ad deserta fugiunt? Vennianus auctor Gildam (MS. Giltam) de his interrogavit et elegantissime ille rescripsit: sed tamen discendi studio semper maior metus accrescit.

2. Beda. *The Ecclesiastical History of Beda* was written in 731; in it the author has made no small use of the work of Gildas, many passages being incorporated verbatim.

Qui inter inerrabilium scelerum facta, quae historicus eorum Gildus flebili sermone describit.

3. Alcuin. (*a*) Letter to Ethelheard, Archbishop of Canterbury, written A.D. 793. From *Mon. Alcuiniana*, *Ep.* 28, p. 206 (Wattenbach); in Jaffé's *Biblioth. Rerum Germ.* The letter is printed, also, in Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, iii, p. 476.

(*b*) Letter to the Clergy and Nobles of Kent, written A.D. 797. Jaffé, *Ep.* 86, p. 371. Also, Haddan and Stubbs, iii, p. 510.

(*a*) Legitur in libro Gildi Brettonum sapientissimi, quod idem ipsi Brettones propter rapinas et avaritiam principum, propter iniquitatem et iniustitiam iudicum, propter desidiam et pigritiam praedicationis episcoporum, propter luxuriam et malos mores populi patriam perdiderunt.

(*b*) Discite Gyldam Brittonem sapientissimum et videte ex quibus causis parentes Brittonum perdiderunt regnum et patriam, et considerate vosmet ipsos et in vobis poene similia invenietis.

4. Catalogue of the Saints of Ireland (*Catalogus sanctorum Hiberniae*). This anonymous catalogue dates from an early part of the eighth century [*c.* A.D. 730]. It is printed in Ussher's *Antiquities*, vi, pp. 477-479, and from a different MS. in Fleming's *Col. Sacra*, pp. 430-431.

### (1) Primus Ordo.—A.D. 432-544.

Primus ordo Catholicorum sanctorum erat in tempore Patricii. Et tunc erant episcopi omnes clari et sancti et Spiritu Sancto pleni CCCL numero, ecclesiarum fundatores. . . . . . .

### (2) Secundus Ordo.—A.D. 544-598.

Secundus ordo Catholicorum presbyterorum. In hoc enim ordine pauci erant episcopi, et multi presbyteri, numero CCC. Unum caput Dominum nostrum habebant, diversas missas celebrabant et diversas regulas, unum Pascha quartadecima luna post aequinoctium, unam tonsuram ab aure ad aurem ; abnegabant mulierum administrationem, separantes eas a monasteriis. Hic ordo per quaterna adhuc regna duravit, hoc est, ab extremis Tuathail et per totum Diarmata regis regnum, et duorum Muredaig nepotum, et Aedo filii Ainmerech. A Davide episcopo et Gilla (Gilda) et a Doco Britonibus missam acceperunt : quorum nomina haec sunt : duo Finiani, duo Brendani (etc., eighteen more names), et alii multi.

### (3) Tertius Ordo.—A.D.598-664.

Tertius ordo sanctorum erat talis. Erant presbyteri sancti, et pauci episcopi, numero centum, etc.

These dates are taken from a Paper by Dr. B. MacCarthy in the *Transactions of Royal Irish Academy*, November 1886, pp. 161-162.

5. Uurdisten, or Gurdestin, Abbot of Landevennec in Brittany.

*Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Landevennec*, edited by M. Arthur de la Bouderie. Rennes, 1888. *Vita Sancti Winwaloei*, founder of the Abbey ; written before A.D. 884, c. 1, *Analecta Bollandiana*, vii, 174 ff.

Et ne eius antiqua profundius repetam facinora, qui haec plenius scire voluerit legat sanctum Gyldam, qui de eius situ et habitatione scribens, et eius mira in Christo conversione statimque ritu pene paganico apostatione, et divina lugubriter insecuta ultione, et eius iterum, ne penitus in favillam et cineres redigeretur, miseratione, multa eiusdem actibus congrua bene et irreprehensibiliter disputat. Britannia insula, de qua stirpis nostrae origo olim, et vulgo refertur, processit, locorum amoenitate inclita, muris, turribus magnisque quondam aedificiis decorata, haec magnam habuisse rerum copiam narratur, exuberasse pre cunctis quae hinc adiacent terris, frumenti, mellis, lactisque

simul fertilissima, sed non omnino vini ferax (Bacchus enim non amat frigus), quia vi acquilonis nimia constringitur, haec igitur, tantis enutrita bonis, ut herba tempore florum primo crevit ; sed mox, ut seges quae nunquam gelu promitur (cito enim caumate exorto omnia nociva quae fruges ruminent, emittit) zes-amam semenque tyrannorum genuit pestiferum. Cui soli fecunditas suberat, et Sabrina et Tamen fluvii per plana diffusi ac per opportuna divisi. Augmentis ubertatis impendebantur. Hinc universae regioni, foedae libidines, idolatria, sacrilegia, furta, adulteria, periuria, homicidia et ceterae vitiorum soboles, quibus omne humanum genus obligari solet, adolevere, et ne eius antiqua profundius repetam facinora, qui haec plenius scire voluerit legat sanctum Gyldam, qui de eius situ et habitatione scribens, et eius mira in Christo conversione statimque ritu paene paganico apostatione et divina lugubriter insecuta ultione et eius iterum, ne penitus in favillam et cineres redigeretur, miseratione, multa eius actibus congrua bene et irreprehensibiliter disputat. Haec autem quondam patria Cyclopum, nunc vero nutrix, ut fertur, tyrannorum divinis non multa raro diu quievit, propter sua peccata, flagellis. Aut enim crebris hostium irruptionibus aut civium inter se invicem concussionibus aut fame peste gladio morbisque insectata acerrimis, sed longe ab huius quoque moribus parvam distasse sobolem suam non opinor, quae quondam ratibus ad istam devecta est, citra mare Britannicum, terram, tempore non alio quo gens barbara dudum, aspera iam armis, moribus indiscreta Saxonum maternum possedit cespitem. Hinc se cara soboles in istum conclusit sinum quo se tuta loco, magnis laboribus fessa, ad oram concessit sine bello quieta, interea miserorum, qui materna incolebant rura, peste foeda repente exorta, catervatim et absque numero et absque sepultura miseranda sternuntur corpora, et hac lue magna ex parte antiqua desolatur patria. Tandemque pauci et multo pauci, qui vix ancipitem effugissent gladium, aut Scoticam quamvis inimicam, aut Belgicam natalem autem propriam linguentes, coacti acriter alienam petivere terram.

6. Vita S. Pauli Leonensis, in *Analecta Bollandiana*, p. 215, written in the year 884 by Wermonocus, a disciple of Uurdisten. Both master and disciple are well acquainted with the *De Excidio* of Gildas. M. Cuissard printed the same *Vita* from another MS. in the *Revue Celtique*, vol. v. It has been surmised that these MSS. came from Britanny to Fleury, and that the name *Ormesta* (= Welsh *Gormes*), is found also applied to the *Historiae* of Orosius through the influence of a Fleury MS. of that work.

Sanctum Paulum cuius de vita . . . . . Sanctumque Devium qui . . . . . . cognomento dicebatur Aquaticus. Atque Samsonem sanctum pontificem . . . . Nec non et Sanctum Gyldam, cuius sagacitate(m) ingenii industria(m)que legendi atque in sacris canonum libris peritia(m) liber ille artificiosa compositur instructione quem *Ormestam Britanniae* vocant, declarat, in quo de ipsius insulae situ atque miseriis scribens plurima eiusdem moribus more pardi discoloribus valde convenientia oracula ad illius actus, ubi ei visum est congruere, exprobrandos vel potius commonendos sua inter verba attestando prophetica cum magna attestione bene ac subtiliter disputat.

7. Wulfstan, or Wlstan, Archbishop of York (1002-1023), wrote a book of Homilies in Anglo-Saxon ; the extract printed here is taken from one of these Homilies, written in 1014 ; Napier's edition, p. 166 (Dr. Plummer's *Beda*, ii, 36, 35).

There was a prophet of the people in the time of the Britons called Gildas. He wrote about their misdeeds, how they so angered God, that at the last He caused the army of the English to conquer their land, and utterly destroy the strength of the Britons. And that came about through the irregularity of the clergy, and the lawlessness of the laity. Come then, let us take warning by such, and sooth is it that I say ; we know of worse deeds done among the English than we ever heard of among the Britons.

8. Annals, Welsh and Irish. In Irish Annals, *Gillas* stands for *Gildas*.

*Annales Cambriae.* Published in *Y Cymmrodor*, ix, p. 152-162.

562. Columcillae in Brittania(m) exivit.
570. Gildas obiit.
601. David episcopus Moni Iudeorum (Muni = Mynyw).

*Annals of Tigernach.* Published by Dr. Whitley Stokes in *Revue Celtique*, 1896, pp. 119-263 ; no dates attached.

Ite Cluana Credil (Ite of Cluain Credail), Gillasque.
Dabid Cille Muni (Cil-Mynyw) obit.

*Annals of Ulster* (Rolls Series), pp. 62, 63.

569. Oena abb(as) Cluana-mic-Nois et Itae Cluana Credail dormierunt, Gillasque obiit.
588. Dabid Cille Muni (David of Cil-Mynyw).

*Book of Leinster.* "Tripartite Life," pp. 514, 515.

570. Gillas Sapiens quievit.
588. Dabid Cille Muini (David of Cil-Mynyw).

9. William of Malmesbury (Guilelmus Malmesbiriensis monachus). *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, vol. i, p. 20 ; the first edition was written in 1124-5 (p. xlv of Dr. Stubbs' Preface, Rolls Series).

Nam sicut a maioribus accepimus, Gildas, neque insulsus neque infacetus historicus, cui Britanni debent si quid notitiae inter ceteras gentes habent, multum annorum ibi (Glastonbury) exegit loci sanctitudine captus.

10. The *Book of Llandâv*, or *Liber Landavensis*, compiled about A.D. 1152. The following extracts are (*a*) from the *Vita Sancti*

*Teiliavi*, pp. 99, 100, which is, in fact, a Sermon or *Legenda* for the Saint's day, or his *natalicium*, (*b*) *Vita beati Oudocei*, p. 138.

(*a*) In illorum autem sanctorum diebus quidam populi de Scythia, qui sive a pictis vestibus sive propter oculorum stigmata, Picti dicebantur, innumera classe ad Britanniam devenerunt. Et capti amore terrae potiendae, propter bonarum rerum copiam, qua super omnes insulas tunc temporis pollebat, magis fraude quam viribus Britannos invaserunt, et in eos miram tirannidem ad tempus exercuerunt. Nec mirum istam superari ab illa ; nam Picta gens erat subdola et multis conflictionibus terra et mari exercitata : ista autem quamvis viribus corporis esset praedita, tamen simplex et pacifica ; et quia nondum esset a quoquam temptata quasi bellandi nescia, levius subiugari potuit. Si quis autem plenius scire desiderat, in historia Gildae, Britannorum historiographi repperiet.

(*b*) Ecce vir bonus et iustus et totius Brittannie historiographus Gildas sapiens ut in historiis nominatur, qui eo tempore conversabatur in insula Echni ducens anchoritalem vitam.

11. Giraldus Cambrensis, (*a*) *Descriptio Kambriae*, Prefatio prima, p. 158 ; (*b*) *ibid.*, ii, pp. 207, 208. This work was written A.D. 1194.

(*a*) Prae aliis Britanniae scriptoribus solus mihi Gildas, quoties eundem materiae cursus obtulerit, imitabilis esse videtur, qui ea quae vidit et ipse cognovit scripto commendans excidiumque gentis suae deplorans potius quam describens veram magis historiam texuit quam ornatam. Gildam itaque Giraldus sequitur. Quem utinam moribus et vita se qui posset ; . . . factus eiusdem plus sapientia quam eloquentia . . . . plus animo quam calamo, plus zelo quam stilo, plus vita quam verbis imitator.

(*b*) Quod et Gildas olim in libro *De excidio Britonum* more historico suae gentis vitia veritatis amore non supprimens his verbis declaravit : Nec in bello fortes nec in pace fideles ! . . . . Et quod istorum validius ignaviae eorum argumentum est, quod Gildas, qui vir sanctus erat et de gente eadem, in cunctis quas de gestis eorum scripsit historiis, nihil unquam egregium de ipsis posteritati reliquit.

12. William of Newbury (Guilelmus Neuburgensis), *Historia Anglicana*, A.D. 1066-1198. The exact date of his work, or death, is not known ; it may have been near 1200.

Habuit gens Britonum ante nostrum Bedam proprium historiographum Gildam, quod et Beda testatur, quaedam eius verba suis litteris inserens, sicut ipse probavi, cum ante annos aliquot in eiusdem Gilde librum legendum incidissem. Cum eius sermone sit admodum impolitus atque insipidus, paucis eum vel transcribere vel habere curantibus, raro invenitur. Integritatis tamen eius non leve documentum est, quia in veritate promenda propriae genti non parcit et, cum admodum parce bona de suis loquatur, multa in eis mala deplorat nec veretur, ut verum non taceat, Brito de Britonibus scribere quod nec in bello fortes fuerint nec in pace fideles.

13. *Vita S. Brendani*, c. 15. Warren, *Celtic Liturgies*, p. 157, *n.*

Et habebat Sanctus Gylldas missalem librum scriptum Graecis litteris, et possitus est ille liber super altare. Et custos templi ex iussione sancti Gilldae dixit sancto Brendano ; "Vir Dei, praecipit tibi sanctus senex noster ut offeras corpus Christi ; ecce altare hic et librum Graecis litteris scriptum et canta in eo sicut abbas noster." Aperiensque sanctus Brendanus librum ait : "Demonstra michi, Domine Ihesu, istas litteras ignotas sicut operuisti ostia clausa ante nos ; profecto possibilia sunt omnia credenti." Ilico iam litteras Grecas scivit sanctus Brendanus sicuti Latinas quas didicit ab infancia.

14. (*a*) The *Stowe Missal.* Among the list of names commemorated in the *Stowe Missal*, we find that of Gildas on fol. 31a, according to the new arrangement made by MacCarthy (*The Stowe Missal*, p. 218), on fol. 32a, as given by Warren (*The Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*, p. 240). This *Missal* may, in its present form, date from about A.D. 750.

Item et sacerdotum Vinniani, Ciarini, Oengusso, Endi, Gilde (Gildae), Brendini, Brendini, Cainnichi, Columbe (Columbae), Columbe, Colmani, Comgelli, Coemgeni.

(*b*) The Rheims Litanies (Mabillon, *Vetera Analecta*, ii, 669 ; 2nd ed., 168, col. 2). *Tripartite Life*, vol. i, p. 502.

De Confessoribus.

S. Leo, S. Silvester, S. Donate, S. Gregori, S. Augustine, S. Hieronyme, S. Benedicte II, S. Hilari, S. Martine, S. Samson, S. Brioce, S. Melore, S. Branwalatre, S. Patrici, S. Brindane, S. Carnache, S. Gilda, S. Paterne, S. Petrane, S. Gwinwaloce, S. Courentine, S. Citawe, S. Goidiane, S. Munna, E. (leg. S.) Serwane, S. Serecine, S. Guiniave, S. Tutwale, S. Germane, S. Columcille, S. Paule, S. Judicaile, S. Mevinne, S. Guoidwale, S. Dircille, S. Bachla, S. Rawele, S. Racate, S. Loutierne, S. Riacate, S. Tonninane. Omnes sancti chori confessorum, orate pro nobis.

. . . . . Ut clerum et plebem Anglorum conservare digneris. Te rogamus, audi nos.